

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR



HELD AT
NEW YORK, N. Y.
SEPTEMBER 15 TO 23, INCLUSIVE
1952

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1953

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DELEGATES

TO THE

SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated.....	4		<div> 75 George Heller, care Television Authority, 15 West 44th St., New York, N. Y. 75 H. O'Neil Shanks, 723 North Western Ave., care Screen Extras Guild, Holly- wood, Calif. 75 Pat Somerset, 7046 Hollywood Blvd., care Screen Actors Guild, Hollywood, Calif. 75 Jack Irving, 1697 Broadway, care American Guild of Variety Artists, New York, N. Y. </div>
Agricultural Workers' Union, National.....	2		<div> 27 H. L. Mitchell, 825 Victor Bldg., Wash- ington 1, D. C. 26 Hank Hasiwar, 825 Victor Bldg., Wash- ington 1, D. C. </div>
Air Line Dispatchers' Association.....	1		5 William B. Dunne, 240 Dartmouth St., Baldwin, N. Y.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	2		<div> 30 Joseph A. Mullaney, 211 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. 30 C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C. </div>
Automobile Workers of America, International Union United.....	3		<div> 232 Lester Washburn, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee, Wis. 232 George Grisham, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee, Wis. 231 Anthony Doria, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee, Wis. </div>
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	7		<div> 191 Wm. F. Schnitzler, 2719 North Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. 191 James G. Cross, 2719 North Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. 191 Herman Winter, 6900 James Reed Road, Kansas City, Mo. 191 Curtis Sims, 2719 North Wilton Ave., Chicago 14, Ill. 191 William McGuern, 1340 North 79th St., Seattle, Wash. 191 James Landriscina, 315 Vanderbilt Ave., Brooklyn 5, N. Y. 191 Seb Ollinger, 5576 Samver Road, Cincin- nati 24, Ohio. * Max Kralstein. † Leo Izziary. </div>

* Max Kralstein substituted for James Landriscina, Sept. 22, 1952.

† Leo Izziary substituted for Seb Ollinger, Sept. 22, 1952.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen.....	5	126	William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis 7, Ind.
		126	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas 6, Tex.
		126	Alvin L. Holt, 4942 Navarro, Los Angeles, Calif.
		126	Fred Scaffidi, 1739 Boston Road, Bronx 60, New York.
		126	George Husk, 601 AFL Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....	1	16	Leo Abernathy, 303 Bessemer Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	34	John Pelkofer, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago 12, Ill.
		33	A. J. Eberhardy, 2922 Washington Blvd., Chicago 12, Ill.
		33	George Edgerton, 8604 Wade Park Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	215	Charles J. MacGowan, 570 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		215	William J. Buckley, 565 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		214	Harry Nacey, 147 Fourth Ave., Room 207, New York, N. Y.
		214	George Nolan, 36 S. Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
		214	W. G. Pendergast, 147 Fourth Ave., Room 205, New York, N. Y.
		214	John V. Kearney, 1321 Arch St., Room 403, Philadelphia, Pa.
		214	Earl B. Ashbrook, 592 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	4	110	John B. Haggerty, 302 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		110	Joseph Denny, 301 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		110	Mrs. Florence Williams, 204 Market St., Room 1102, Newark, N. J.
		110	Robert E. Haskin, 4911 Waveland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	4	110	John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston 10, Mass.
		110	Frank W. Anderson, 5734 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago 34, Ill.
		110	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minn.
		110	Ben Berk, 4401 Fair Ave., St. Louis 15, Mo.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	167	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		167	A. J. Cleland, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		167	James Fittin, 407 Baltimore Blvd., Sea Girt, N. J.
		167	John J. Murphy, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		166	Thomas F. Murphy, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		166	Thomas O'Donnell, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago 7, Ill.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	3	77	Harold R. Flegal, 1550 West 95th St., Chicago 43, Ill.
		77	William Tracy, 1550 West 95th St., Chicago 43, Ill.
		76	Nathan Duff, 1550 West 95th St., Chicago 43, Ill.
		*	Carmine Santo, 175 South St., Perth Amboy, N. J.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	6	205	J. H. Lyons, Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		205	J. R. Downes, Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		205	William F. Bauers, 15 Olcott Place, Buffalo, N. Y.
		204	Joseph F. Boyen, 265, West 14th St., New York, N. Y.
		204	Stanley Rounds, Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.
		204	Leslie L. Myers, 1420 New York Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Building Service Employees' International Union	6	320	W. L. McFetridge, 318 West Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		319	William H. Cooper, 749 North Second St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		319	David Sullivan, 1 East 35th St., New York 16, N. Y.
		319	George Hardy, 240 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.
		319	Thomas Burke, 509 South Wabash Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
		319	James Kemp, 4654 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.
		†	Thomas Shortman, 1 East 35th St., New York, N. Y.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	6	191	Irvin Barney, 4929 Main St., Kansas City 2, Mo.
		191	A. J. Bernhardt, 4929 Main St., Kansas City 2, Mo.
		191	J. L. Duffin, 269 Post Ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
		191	Edward C. Doll, 1423 Taylor Ave., Utica, N. Y.
		191	Raymond McElroy, 1616 Pennsylvania Ave., West Sacramento, Calif.
		191	Lucien Denis, 362 Second Ave., Verdun, Montreal 19, Que., Canada.
		667	M. A. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		667	William L. Hutcheson, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		667	Frank Duffy, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		667	Albert E. Fischer, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	9	667	Charles W. Hanson, 444 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		667	Ted Kenney, 12 East Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
		666	J. L. Hazard, 400 Brannan St., San Francisco, Calif.
		666	Cecil O. Johnson, 1340 Patton St., San Pedro, Calif.
		666	John R. Stevenson, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.

* Carmine Santo substituted for Wm. Tracy, Monday, Sept. 22, 1952.

† Thomas Shortman substituted for Thomas Burke, Sept. 17, 1952.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United.....	5	68	William Schoenberg, 3329 West Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		68	Toney Gallo, 3329 West Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		68	Felis C. Jones, 3329 West Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		68	Reuben Roe, Box 191, Buffalo, Iowa.
		68	Joseph J. Knapik, 511 Half Moon Terrace, Bellefonte, Pa.
Chemical Workers' Union, International	4	190	H. A. Bradley, 1659 West Market St., Akron 13, Ohio.
		190	Marshall Shafer, 1659 West Market St., Akron 13, Ohio.
		190	A. Vincent Busby, 1060 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
		189	Joseph J. Donovan, 14 Jean Road, Arlington, Mass.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	3	34	Mario Aspetia, Room 604, Carpenters' Bldg., 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		33	Frank Diez, 1736 Palmetto St., West Tampa, Fla.
		33	Servando F. Lopez, 3701½ Nebraska Ave., Tampa, Fla.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of	4	50	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		50	John J. Zitello, 1771 East 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		50	Michael J. Minaden, 1771 East 12th St., Room 202, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		50	Morris Tusher, 236 West 55th St., New York, N. Y.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	6	148	Leo E. George, 4121 31st St., Mt. Rainier, Md.
		148	E. C. Hallbeck, 5303 Dorsett Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		148	Joseph Mahoney, 512 South Moore Road, Chattanooga, Tenn.
		148	Joseph Fogarty, 2416 Pinkney St., Omaha, Nebr.
		147	Albert W. Smith, 3302 Floyd Ave., Richmond, Va.
		147	Wallace Ziebarth, 1702 Jefferson St., St. Paul, Minn.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	7	358	George M. Harrison, Room 701, Brotherhood Bldg., 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		357	Phil E. Ziegler, Room 600, Brotherhood Bldg., 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		357	J. H. Sylvester, 1808 Consumers Bldg., 220 South State St., Chicago 4, Ill.
		357	Robert Morgan, Room 706, Brotherhood Bldg., 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		357	L. B. Snedden, P. O. Box 13, Greenock, Pa.
		357	H. R. Lyons, Room 818, Missouri Insurance Bldg., 105 North Seventh St., St. Louis 1, Mo.
		357	G. B. Goble, 9 South Clinton St., Room 812, Chicago 6, Ill.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Clerks, International Association, Retail	7	300	Vernon A. Housewright, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		300	James A. Suffridge, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		299	Guy A. Sackett, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		299	Frank C. Shea, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		299	Phillip F. Koerner, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		299	Samuel J. Meyers, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
		299	Edward T. Shay, Levering Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	2	25	James J. Doyle, Park Square Bldg., Room 946, Boston 16, Mass.
		25	Joseph Kunz, 1133 Harford Ave., Baltimore 2, Md.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union.....	4	63	Joseph O'Neill, 320 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		63	Sol Cilento, 707 Summit Ave., Union City, N. J.
		62	Mort Brandenburg, 250 West 57th St., No. 821, New York 19, N. Y.
		62	George Oneto, 1860 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	2	44	Russell M. Stephens, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		43	J. Lawrence Rainist, 160 West 44th St., New York, N. Y.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of.....	6	550	D. W. Tracy, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		550	J. Scott Milne, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		550	Frank C. Riley, 55 Adelaide St., Detroit 1, Mich.
		550	Joseph D. Keenan, 47 Ogden Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		550	Ross Martin, Route 1, Box 122, Birmingham, Ala.
		550	Joseph W. Liggett, 32 Eagle St., Albany 1, N. Y.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	John C. MacDonald, 48 Stockton St., Dorchester, Mass.
		34	Edward A. Smith, 208 East 54th St., New York 22, N. Y.
		34	Richard W. Williams, 2500 West Sixth St., Los Angeles 5, Calif.
Engineers, International Union of, Operating.....	7	286	William E. Maloney, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Charles B. Gramling, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Joseph J. Delaney, 111 Eighth Ave., Room 1567, New York, N. Y.
		286	Frank P. Converse, 216 High Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		286	Victor S. Swanson, 474 Valencia, San Francisco, Calif.
		285	William E. Carter, 15 Colony Court, Summit, N. J.
		285	Frank G. Daly, Bible House, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Engravers' Union, International Metal	1	5	Jack Stone, 2685 University Ave., Bronx, N. Y.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo-	3	47	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		47	Matthew Woll, 200 East 70th St., New York 21, N. Y.
		47	Wilfrid T. Connell, 405 Old South Bldg., 294 Washington St., Boston 8, Mass.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	5	124	John P. Redmond, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		124	George J. Richardson, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		124	Glenn Thom, 16668 Freeland Ave., Detroit, Mich.
		123	Michael F. Smith, 430 Grier Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
		123	Howard P. Barry, 63 Park Row, New York 7, N. Y.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	5	116	Anthony E. Matz, 1321 Arch St., 508 Keystone State Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		116	Joseph P. Clark, 330 South Wells St., Room 1510, Chicago, Ill.
		116	George Wright, 330 South Wells St., Room 1510, Chicago, Ill.
		116	Robert J. Tormey, 100 North La Salle St., Room 1510, Chicago, Ill.
		116	James M. Kennedy, 100 North La Salle St., Room 1510, Chicago, Ill.
Flight Engineers' International Association	1	9	Sidney R. Carter, 32 Third Ave., Mineola, Long Island, N. Y.
		*	John Lovell.
		†	Albert Marshall.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	80	Joseph P. McCurdy, 1505 Riverside Ave., Baltimore, Md.
		80	W. R. Brooks, 6030 Truman Road, Kansas City, Mo.
		80	Madge King, 534 Maple Ave., Galesburg, Ill.
		80	Emily Jordan, 926 East Cincinnati, San Antonio, Tex.
		80	A. Berkson, 200 East Mosholu Parkway South, Bronx, N. Y.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	8	438	David Dubinsky, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		438	Luigi Antonini, 218 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		438	Isidore Nagler, 22 West 38th St., New York, N. Y.
		438	Charles S. Zimmerman, 218 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		437	Julius Hochman, 218 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		437	Joseph Breslaw, 60 West 35th St., New York, N. Y.
		437	David Gingold, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		437	Harry Greenberg, 100 East 17th St., New York, N. Y.

* John Lovell substituted for Sidney Carter, Sept. 17.

† Albert Marshall substituted for John Lovell, Sept. 19.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	5		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 85 Lee W. Minton, Room 1531, Philadelphia Saving Fund Building, 12 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 85 Raymond H. Dalton, Room 1531, Philadelphia Saving Fund Building, 12 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 85 J. Belton Warren, 1032 South Harper St., Laurens, S. C. 84 George Baumbach, Box 152 Beacon Ave., South Vineland, N. J. 84 Mrs. Shirley Staley, 1203 Oak St., Kenova, W. Va.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	1		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16 George W. Berger, 714 North 21st St., Fort Smith, Ark. * Marcel Boucher, 1078 South High St., Columbus 6, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint..	3		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 99 Harry H. Cook, 204 Huron St., Toledo, Ohio. 99 Enoch E. Snyder, 215 McDowell St., Clarksburg, W. Va. 98 Berl H. Hannah, 1111½ East Main St., Clarksburg, W. Va.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1		30 Thomas Durian, 5328 North 39th St., Milwaukee 9, Wis.
Government Employees, American Federation of.....	3		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 174 James A. Campbell, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C. 174 Berniece B. Heffner, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C. 173 Henrietta E. Olding, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	2		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20 Costanzo Pagnano, 25 School St., Quincy 69, Mass. 20 Claude Palmiotti, 3342 12th Ave., Brooklyn 18, N. Y.
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International.....	4		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 63 Ossip Walinsky, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 63 Norman Zukowsky, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 62 Charles Feinstein, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 62 Edward Friss, 1733 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United.....	5		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 64 Alex Rose, 245 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 64 Marx Lewis, 245 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 64 William Harding, 100 First St., Newark, N. J. 64 Jacob Roberts, 104 East 9th St., New York 3, N. Y. 64 Miss Minnie Teitelbaum, 45 Astor Place, Room 307, New York 3, N. Y.

* Marcel Boucher substituted for George W. Berger, Sept. 18, 1952.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	8		393 Joseph V. Moreschi, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th Floor, Washington 5, D. C. 393 Charles J. Sullivan, 731 Bryant Park Bldg., 55 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 393 Robert B. Sheets, 207 Lloyd Bldg., 6th and Stewart Sts., Seattle 1, Wash. 393 Lee Lalor, 607 Golden Gate Bldg., 25 Taylor St., San Francisco, Calif. 393 Peter Fosco, 105 West Madison St., Room 1005, Chicago 2, Ill. 392 John W. Garvey, 821 15th St., N. W., 5th Floor, Washington 5, D. C. 392 A. C. D'Andrea, 814 West Harrison St., Chicago 7, Ill. 392 A. Salimbene, 205 East 112th St., New York 29, N. Y.
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1		2 John T. Keefer, 4202 La Salle Ave., Baltimore 6, Md.
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of	4		73 Alexander McKeown, 2319 North Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa. 73 Major Banachowicz, 304 Metropolitan Block, 1012 North 3rd St., Milwaukee, Wis. 73 Fred G. Held, 2319 North Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa. 73 William M. Leader, 2530 North Fourth St., Philadelphia 33, Pa.
Insurance Agents' International Union	3		33 George L. Russ, 724 9th St., N. W., Rooms 420-428, Washington 1, D. C. 33 Charles G. Heisel, 724 9th St., N. W., Rooms 420-428, Washington 1, D. C. 33 Max Shine, 724 9th St., N. W., Rooms 420-428, Washington 1, D. C.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	3		53 Joseph Morris, 551 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 53 Hyman J. Powell, 551 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 53 Harry Spodick, 45 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	3		44 Wm. J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio. 44 Harry J. Hagen, 9046 Monmouth Drive, St. Louis 17, Mo. 44 Walter M. Matthews, 1322 Third Ave., New York 21, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	5		140 Sam J. Byers, 30 West Washington St., 10th Floor, Indianapolis, Ind. 140 E. C. James, 1640 West Van Buren St., Chicago 12, Ill. 140 Charles Naddco, 1239 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia 23, Pa. 140 Winfield Chasmar, 611 Summit Ave., Jersey City 6, N. J. 140 John F. Donovan, 457 Stuart St., Room 208, Boston 16, Mass.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	6		150 William C. Doherty, 1525 H St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 150 John J. Nolan, Buffalo, N. Y. 150 James C. Stocker, St. Louis, Mo. 150 Edward F. Benning, Springfield, Ill. 150 C. N. Coyle, Portland, Oreg. 150 Peter J. Cahill, 294 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	5		<div> 123 Joseph P. Ryan, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. 123 Harry R. Hasselgren, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. 123 Larry Long, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. 123 Frank A. Yeager, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y. 122 E. G. Mareno, P. O. Box 2374, San Juan, P. R. </div>
Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of.....	7		<div> 227 T. C. Carroll, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich. 227 A. Shoemaker, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich. 227 M. G. Plunk, P. O. Box 1007, Jackson, Tenn. 227 J. P. Wilson, Box 268, New Hampton, Iowa. 226 J. A. Huneault, Box 443, Billings Bridge, Ottawa, Ont., Can. 226 R. Freccia, 401 East 26th St., Brooklyn 26, N. Y. 226 C. L. Lambert, 717 Missouri Ins. Bldg., 7th and Chestnut Sts., St. Louis 1, Mo. </div>
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Ter- razzo Helpers, International As- sociation of.....	2		<div> 28 William McCarthy, Room 306, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 27 John J. Conway, 1105 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia 23, Pa. </div>
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1		<div> 90 Captain C. T. Atkins, 105 Washington St., New York 6, N. Y. </div>
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.....	7		<div> 294 Earl W. Jimerson, 2800 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. 293 Patrick E. Gorman, 2800 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill. 293 Milton S. Maxwell, 3012 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 293 T. J. Lloyd, 239 East 3rd St., S. Salt Lake City, Utah. 293 Joseph Belsky, 113 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 293 R. Emmett Kelly, 130 North Wells St., Chicago, Ill. 293 Karl Muller, 119 East 18th St., New York 3, N. Y. </div>
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	5		<div> 64 Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. 64 Edward Carlough, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C. 64 James J. Ryan, 710 South 3rd Ave., Maywood, Ill. 64 James Tracy, 3350 Jackson Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill. 64 Mel Farrell, 128 Lafayette St., New York 13, N. Y. </div>
Millers, American Federation of Grain..	4		<div> 80 S. P. Ming, 918 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn. 80 H. A. Schneider, 918 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn. 79 G. D. Weiny, 1426 Carroll St., Keokuk, Iowa. 79 J. A. Leveridge, 1108 Central St., Kansas City, Mo. </div>

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International.....	6		109 Chester A. Sample, 1225 East McMillan St., Cincinnati 6, Ohio. 109 George A. Dreger, 214 South Loma Drive, Los Angeles 26, Calif. 108 William J. Finn, 2800 First Ave., Room 321, Seattle 1, Wash. 108 John Kelly, 425 Cedar Ave., Highland Park, N. J. 108 William Lorenz, 2901 West Monroe St., Room 202, Chicago, Ill. 108 H. W. Sprague, 1130 S. W. 3rd Ave., Room 17, Portland 4, Oreg.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	7		344 James C. Petrillo, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y. 343 Edward P. Ringius, 436 Wabasha St., St. Paul 2, Minn. 343 Frank B. Field, 76 King St., Brooklawn, Bridgeport 4, Conn. 343 Harry J. Steeper, 220 Mt. Pleasant Ave., Newark 4, N. J. 343 Charles L. Bagley, 900 Continental Bldg., 408 South Spring St., Los Angeles 13, Calif. 343 Pete Kleinkauf, 634 Rutter Ave., Kingston, Pa. 343 Albert A. Greenbaum, 230 Jones St., San Francisco, Calif.
Office Employees' International Union...	3		116 Paul R. Hutchings, 625 Bond Bldg., Wash- ington 5, D. C. 116 J. Howard Hicks, 625 Bond Bldg., Wash- ington 5, D. C. 116 Howard Coughlin, 265 West 14th St., Suite 1212, New York 11, N. Y.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	7		264 L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. 264 Lawrence M. Rafferty, Painters and Deco- rators Bldg., Lafayette, Ind. 263 Christian Madsen, 3209 West Evergreen Ave., Chicago 51, Ill. 263 Frank Owens, 1705 Bell Ave., Houston 3, Tex. 263 Peter Yablonsky, 14 Yates St., Newark, N. J. 263 James P. Meehan, 79 Pearl St., Lawrence, Mass. 263 Herbert Baker, 932 West University Ave., San Diego 3, Calif.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	5		106 Paul L. Phillips, North Pearl Street and Wolfert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. 106 John R. Jones, North Pearl St., and Wolfert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. 106 Joseph Addy, North Pearl St., and Wol- fert Ave., Albany 1, N. Y. 106 John W. Bailey, 206 Capitol Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo 5, Mich. 106 Al E. Brown, 614 Henry Bldg., Portland 4, Oreg.
Pattern Makers' League of North America	1		110 George Q. Lynch, 304 Ring Bldg., 1200 18th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plasterers and Cement Finishers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	5	80	John E. Rooney, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		80	Walter A. Redmond, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		80	John J. Brennan, 128 Longfellow St., Hartsdale, N. Y.
		80	Benedict Tantillo, 2237 Kingsland Ave., Bronx 69, N. Y.
		80	Louis Klehm, 120 Granite Place, Milton 86, Mass.
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the.....	7	215	Martin P. Durkin, 502 Ring Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		215	George Meany, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		214	Edward J. Hillock, 502 Ring Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		214	William J. McLaughlin, care C. Sheeler, 661 East 37th St., Brooklyn 3, N. Y.
		214	Robert Lynch, 28 Patterson St., Jersey City 7, N. J.
		214	John Tracey, 147 Fourth Ave., New York 3, N. Y.
		214	Francis D. Ford, Labor Temple, 97 Park St., Hartford, Conn.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal.....	3	54	Ray Muchlhofer, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
		53	Dennis J. Oates, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
		53	Irving Weisler, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car ...	3	34	A. Philip Randolph, 217 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.
		33	Milton P. Webster, 3947 Drexel Blvd., 2nd Floor, Chicago, Ill.
		33	Theodore E. Brown, 217 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.
Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of.....	1	13	Harold McAvoy, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
Postal Supervisors, The National Association of.....	3	37	Oscar Lieberman, Post Office, Brooklyn, N. Y.
		37	Jesse V. Horton, Box 2013 City Post Office, Washington 13, D. C.
		37	Peter J. McEntee, Room 3102 General Post Office, New York 1, N. Y.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	4	69	James M. Duffy, Box 752, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		69	E. L. Wheatley, Room 215, Broad St., Bank Bldg., Trenton, N. J.
		69	Leonard Greco, Box 303, Beaver Falls, Pa.
		69	Robert A. McCann, 1122 West North St., Kokomo, Ind.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	11	James Mowatt, 3709 Quincy St., Brentwood, Md.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, Inter- national	6	133	Thomas E. Dunwody, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		133	George L. Googe, 711 14th St., N. W., Room 613, Washington 5, D. C.
		132	Walter A. Curran, 22 West 16th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		132	Peter A. Tufo, 212 West 15th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		132	Joseph F. Dwyer, 5 Beekman St., Room 411, New York 38, N. Y.
		132	James P. Kepple, 159 Nassau St., 23rd Floor, New York 7, N. Y.
		*	A. J. Deandrade, 613 Sheraton Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	7	193	John P. Burke, 118 Broadway, Fort Ed- ward, N. Y.
		193	James S. Killen, 522 Meadow Lane, Falls Church, Va.
		193	Elmer P. Meinz, 343 Cooper Ave., North, St. Cloud, Minn.
		193	Henry Segal, 1024 West Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		193	Joseph Tonelli, 652 St. Marys St., Bronx, N. Y.
		192	Miss Harriet Wray, 101 East 13th St., New York 3, N. Y.
		192	Bernard Cianciulli, 225 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y.
Radio and Television Directors' Guild...	1	5	Oliver W. Nicoll, 37 West 46th St., New York 36, N. Y.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	6	200	A. L. Spradling, 5925 Dianna Drive, Cin- cinnati, Ohio.
		200	Daniel J. McNamara, 9014 South May St., Chicago, Ill.
		200	Joseph Fahey, 31 Bothwell Road, Brigh- ton, Mass.
		200	C. E. Long, 1122 Schley Ave., San An- tonio 10, Tex.
		200	Merlin Gerkin, 4711 Polk St., San Diego, Calif.
		200	Clark K. Dorsey, 2905 Edison Highway, Baltimore 13, Md.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	54	Paul A. Nagle, 35 Hannum Drive, Ard- more, Pa.
		53	John L. Reilly, 1525 H St., N. W., Wash- ington 5, D. C.
		53	Wallace J. Legge, Jr., Box 100, Cheshire, Conn.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	3	42	Charles D. Aquadro, 6 East Lake St., Chicago 1, Ill.
		41	Homer J. Meyers, 6 East Lake St., Chi- cago 1, Ill.
		41	Ben D. Vetter, 6 East Lake St., Chicago 1, Ill.

* A. J. Deandrade substituted for Thomas E. Dunwody, Sept. 18, 1952.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Seafarers' International Union of North America.....	5	90	Lloyd A. Gardner, 675 4th Ave., Brooklyn 32, N. Y.
		90	Paul Hall, 675 4th Ave., Brooklyn 32, N. Y.
		90	Morris Weisberger, 675 4th Ave., Brooklyn 32, N. Y.
		90	Matthew Dushane, 1424 K St., N. W., Room 601, Washington, D. C.
		90	Andrea Gomez, 450 Seaside Ave., Terminal Island, Calif.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.....	3	48	Jesse Clark, 503 Wellington Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
		47	D. C. Cone, Labor Bldg., 10 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington 4, D. C.
		47	John F. Hogan, Box 15, Denville, N. J.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of.....	1	20	George L. Warfel, 112 C St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	5	84	Richard F. Walsh, 1270 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	William F. Raoul, 1270 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark 6, N. Y.
		84	James McNabb, 124 Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		84	Michael J. Mungovan, R. F. D. No. 1, Albion, N. Y.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of.....	5	157	Arnold S. Zander, 448 West Washington Ave., Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis.
		156	William J. McEntee, 681 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
		156	Gordon W. Chapman, 448 West Washington Ave., Federation Bldg., Madison 1, Wis.
		156	Jerry Wurf, 261 Broadway, Room 717, New York 7, N. Y.
		156	George S. Sparkes, 1084 West Onondaga St., Syracuse, N. Y.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	57	Leo J. Buckley, 475 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
		56	Frank Farrenkopf, 926 Pulitzer Bldg., New York 38, N. Y.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	1	19	Paul A. Givens, 324 Insurance Bldg., 8 East Market St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union...	3	40	Joseph Lewis, 30 South 8th St., Belleville, Ill.
		40	Edw. W. Kaiser, 1513 Hogan St., St. Louis 6, Mo.
		40	Leo F. Lucas, care 1710 North Grand Blvd., St. Louis 6, Mo.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	5	78	Carl J. Megel, 28 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.
		78	Irvin R. Kuenzli, 28 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.
		78	John M. Eklund, 210 Denham Bldg., Denver 2, Colo.
		78	Selma M. Borchardt, Homer Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		78	Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, 2 East 23rd St., New York 10, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	7		{ 929 Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan St., Room 303, Indianapolis 4, Ind. 929 John F. English, 222 East Michigan St., Room 311, Indianapolis 4, Ind. 929 John J. O'Rourke, 265 West 14th St., New York, N. Y. 929 Robert Lester, 720 5th St., N. W., Wash- ington, D. C. 928 Joseph J. Diviny, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Calif. 928 J. P. Poteet, 851 G St., San Diego, Calif. 928 Donald Peters, 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad... ..	2		{ 150 G. E. Leighty, 3860 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo. 150 E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial	1		350 Frank B. Powers, 5913 Georgia Ave., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.
Textile Workers of America, United....	6		{ 150 Anthony Valente, 818 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C. 150 Lloyd Klenert, 818 13th St., N. W., Wash- ington 5, D. C. 150 George Baldanzi, 7 Church St., Paterson, N. J. 150 Joseph Jacobs, 160 Central Ave., S. W., Atlanta, Ga. 150 Herman Ackroyd, 34 Grammer St., San- ford, Me. 150 George Ritzer, 824 Foote Ave., James- town, N. Y.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2		{ 110 John O'Hare, 801 Carpenters Bldg., Wash- ington 1, D. C. 110 R. J. Petree, 801 Carpenters Bldg., Wash- ington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International. . . .	6		{ 117 Woodruff Randolph, 2820 North Meridian St., P. O. Box 428, Indianapolis, Ind. 117 John W. Austin, 2315 Valdez St., Room 109, Oakland 12, Calif. 117 Horace L. Imeson, 143 East 61st St., Seattle, Wash. 117 Lewis M. Herrmann, 624 Sanford Ave., Newark 6, N. J. 116 J. Arthur Moriarty, 53 State St., Room 711, Boston 9, Mass. 116 Wallace C. Reilly, 1727 Young St., Dallas, Tex.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	5		{ 100 Sal B. Hoffmann, 1500 North Broad St., Philadelphia 21, Pa. 100 Alfred R. Rota, 729 South Western Ave., Chicago 12, Ill. 100 R. Alvin Albarino, 10 East 46th St., New York 17, N. Y. 100 Tony Remshardt, 4249 Gibson Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 100 George Bucher, 2132 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

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DEPARTMENTS

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Building and Construction Trades Department.....	1	1	Richard J. Gray, 501 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James A. Brownlow, 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	Michael Fox, 220 South State St., Room 1212, Chicago 4, Ill.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	Raymond F. Leheney, Room 202, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.

STATE BRANCHES

Alabama State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Mrs. Mary Sue Densmore, 2 South 64th St., Birmingham, Ala.
Arizona State Federation of Labor....	1	1	William A. Gray, 20 South 16th Ave., Phoenix, Ariz.
California State Federation of Labor...	1	1	C. J. Haggerty, 995 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.
Colorado State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Frank G. Van Portfliet, 312 Insurance Bldg., 2 Denver, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Joseph M. Rourke, 65 Spring St., New Haven, Conn.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank G. Roche, 2500 N. W., 26th St., Miami, Fla.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. B. Pate, Room 12, Hardeman Bldg., Macon, Ga.
Idaho State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Elmer F. McIntire, 613 Idaho St., Boise, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. G. Soderstrom, 503 Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Earl J. Baum, 412 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.
Kansas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. E. Solander, 1901 East 30th St., Hutchinson, Kans.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor...	1	1	E. J. Bourg, 405 St. Ferdinand St., Baton Rouge, La.
Maine State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	B. J. Dorsey, 193 Exchange St., Bangor, Me.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Bernard A. Downey, 414 Washington Loan & Trust Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Kenneth J. Kelley, 11 Beacon St., Room 801, Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor....	1	1	John H. Thorpe, 312 North Capitol Ave., Lansing, Mich.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Minnesota State Federation of Labor...	1	1	R. A. Olson, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Holt Ross, 537 5th St., Laurel, Miss.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Otto Bowles, 325 South Dollison St., Springfield, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor....	1	1	James S. UMBER, Montana Bldg., P. O. Box 1176, Helena, Mont.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Gordon C. Preble, 1821 California St., Omaha, Nebr.
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Harry A. Depaoli, 1035 Plumas St., Reno, Nev.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor	1	1	Harry Parr, Hampton, N. H.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Louis P. Marciante, 119 Morningside Drive, Trenton, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Thomas A. Murray, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Phil Hannah, 273 East State St., Columbus 15, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor...	1	1	J. Cline House, 413 N. W. 2nd, Bethany, Okla.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. T. Marr, 605 Labor Temple, Portland 1, Oreg.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 101 Pine St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.	1	1	John J. White, 77 Washington St., Providence, R. I.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	Carroll L. Addy, 4801 James St., Columbia, S. C.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Stanton E. Smith, 540 Vine St., Chattanooga 3, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Paul C. Sparks, 412 Littlefield Bldg., Austin 15, Tex.
Vermont State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Francis B. Butler, 99 High St., St. Albans, Vt.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. S. Smith, 407 Buckroe Ave., Buckroe Beach, Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor..	1	1	E. M. Weston, 2800 First Ave., Seattle 1, Wash.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor	1	1	E. A. Carter, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor...	1	1	George W. Hall, 3402 North Murray Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.

CENTRAL BODIES

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Akron, Ohio, Summit County Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	C. E. Raleigh, 1282 Oakland Ave., Akron 10, Ohio.
Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph P. Cerutti, 35 Turner Place, Al- bany, N. Y.
Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Raymond B. Olivier, 129 Kathryn St., Alexandria, La.
Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Eugene R. Hubbard, 2033 North Cleveland St., Arlington, Va.
Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	A. A. Schoch, 1516 Eighth St., Altoona, Pa.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Washtenaw County Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 South 5th Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades....	1	1	Henry W. Chandler, P. O. Box 1207, Atlanta 1, Ga.
Atlantic City, N. J., Atlantic County Trades Council.....	1	1	William Abramoff, 15 S. N. Carolina Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union....	1	1	W. W. Holley, 2516 North View Ave., Augusta, Ga.
Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Howard E. Munro, P. O. Box 747, Balboa, Canal Zone.
Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	Leroy Griffin, 600 Washington Blvd., Bal- timore 30, Md.
Barre, Vt., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frederick C. Dykeman, 16 Averill St., Barre, Vt.
Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	George W. Snowden, 1335 North Boule- vard, Baton Rouge, La.
Beaver County, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James J. Russo, 4730 5th Ave., Beaver Falls, Pa.
Bergen County, N. J., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John McEntee, 1012 Main Ave., Clifton, N. J.
Birmingham, Ala., Federation of Labor. 1	1	1	B. B. Jones, P. O. Box 489, Birmingham 1, Ala.
Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor. 1	1	1	Morris G. Mitchell, 1113 South Washing- ton St., Bloomington, Ind.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.... 1	1	1	Harry P. Grages, 120 Boylston St., Bos- ton, Mass.
Bradford, Pa., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	Paul B. Abernethy, 35 South Gate Road, Bradford, Pa.
Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	Joseph P. Cleary, 1024 Main St., Bridge- port, Conn.
Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union.. 1	1	1	Henry J. Brides, 63 Main St., Brockton 43, Mass.
Bucks County, Pa., Central Labor Union 1	1	1	Henry J. Rodgers, 95 Pennsylvania Ave., Southampton, Pa.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes cast by Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Charles W. Halloran, 311 White Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.
Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Edward T. Sullivan, 1 Gray St., Cambridge, Mass.
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Leon B. Schachter, 224 Federal St., Camden, N. J.
Carbondale, Pa., Central Labor Union..	1	1	C. Omar Fitch, P. O. Box 150, Carbondale, Pa.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Edward Joyce, 10633 South California Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union.	1	1	John J. Hurst, Room 524, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	William R. Smith, 205 East 11th St., Vancouver, Wash.
Clarksburg, W. Va., Harrison County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Norbert Renick, 208 Edison St., Nutter Fort, W. Va.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor... 1	1	1	William Finegan, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Clinton County, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	Edgar F. Smith, 75 South Cherry St., Breeze, Ill.
Columbia County, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Howard De Groff, Philmont, N. Y.
Cumberland, Md., Trades Council.....	1	1	Charles J. Bell, 1500 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council....	1	1	John W. Hays, 1727 Young St., Dallas, Tex.
Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union....	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, 202 South Ludlow St., Dayton 2, Ohio.
Delaware County, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jack Mullen, 4 West 24th St., Chester, Pa.
Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Edgar C. Hartzer, 821 Des Moines St., Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 82 West Montcalm, Detroit, Mich.
Dover, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Frank C. Thompson, P. O. Box 133, Dover, N. J.
Dunkirk, N. Y., Central Labor Council.	1	1	Harold F. Friedah, 55 Point Drive North, Dunkirk, N. Y.
East Liverpool, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Frank Duffy, 1623 Holiday St., East Liverpool, Ohio.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stewart A. Seifert, 1322 Washington St., Easton, Pa.
El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Max J. Osslo, 227 E St., San Diego 2, Calif.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 1139 East Jersey St., Elizabeth, N. J.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Michael Ricci, 1701 State St., Erie, Pa.
Everett, Wash., Trades Council.....	1	1	P. L. Cope, Labor Temple, 2810 Lombard Ave., Everett, Wash.
Fayette County, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James A. Woods, Jr., Brownsville, Pa.
Freeport, Ill., Central Labor Union...	1	1	John L. Held, 1128 West Staver St., Freeport, Ill.
Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	C. H. Cary, 323 Anglo Bank Bldg., Fresno, Calif.
Glens Falls, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Joseph L. Mayrand, 24 Taylor St., Fort Edward, N. Y.
Gloucester, Mass., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Mrs. Rose Norwood, 393 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
Hagerstown, Md., Central Labor Union.	1	1	J. C. Turner, 5707 Kansas Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union..	1	1	William Scott, 244 Fairfield Ave., Hartford, Conn.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union..	1	1	Alan E. Kline, 101 Pine St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Hermiston-Umatilla, Oreg., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Edd Clarey, 110 North 2nd, Pasco, Wash.
Honolulu, T. H., Central Labor Council.	1	1	A. S. Reile, 211 McCandless Bldg., Honolulu, Hawaii.
Houston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	B. B. Morgan, 2501 1/2 Crawford, Houston, Tex.
Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Joseph G. Quinn, 583 Summit Ave., Jersey City 6, N. J.
Huntington, W. Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	William Kaufman, 517 Twelfth Ave., Huntington, W. Va.
Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Myron Clift, 313 Liberty, Hutchinson, Kans.
Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	S. P. Miller, 68 West Van Buren St., Joliet, Ill.
Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Mrs. Florence Bailey, 1618 Colgrove, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Leo H. Boylan, 1946 North 42nd St., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Hugh L. Raymond, 101 East Armour Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Paul L. Whiteside, 5129 17th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	William T. Koester, 219 West 12th St., Cincinnati 10, Ohio.
Keokuk, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Vivian Weiny, 1428 Carroll St., Keokuk, Iowa.
Klamath Falls, Oreg., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Alma Sweetman, Box 708, Klamath Falls, Oreg.

DELEGATES TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	C. C. Reed, 1626 University Ave., N. W., Knoxville, Tenn.
Lake County, Ohio, Federation of Labor	1	1	Victor J. Bukky, 126 Willowbrook Drive, Painesville, Ohio.
Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Turner W. Gregg, 420 West High St., Lexington, Ky.
Lorain City, Ohio, Federation of Labor.	1	1	A. C. Shibley, 112 West 18th St., Lorain, Ohio.
Los Angeles County, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	W. J. Bassett, 536 Maple Ave., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
Louisville, Ky., Federation of Labor...	1	1	William E. Fredenberger, 1406 Washington Bldg., Louisville 2, Ky.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union....	1	1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 11 Belmont St., Lowell, Mass.
Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Louis R. Govoni, 25 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.
Macon, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	George W. Lewis, 574 Poplar St., Macon, Ga.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor....	1	1	Mrs. Ruby Allman, 2228 Myrtle St., Madison 4, Wis.
Malden and vic., Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas P. Ahearn, 306 Fairburn Bldg., Lowell, Mass.
Manchester, N. H., Central Labor Union	1	1	Louis I. Martel, 102 Bridge St., Manchester, N. H.
Marion and Grant County, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Victor Hood, 4209 Queensbury Rd., Hyattsville, Md.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	B. P. Nuckols, 3221 S. W. 22nd St., Miami, Fla.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	J. P. Friedrich, 1012 North Third St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Monmouth and Ocean Counties, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Kenneth C. Whitmore, 704 Morford Ave., Long Branch, N. J.
Montgomery, Ala., Central Labor Union	1	1	Ted Williams, 10 Brantwood Drive, Montgomery, Ala.
Muncie, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George McMahon, 308 West Washington St., Muncie, Ind.
Muskegon County, Mich., Federation of Labor	1	1	Earl L. Smith, 1140 Peck St., Muskegon Heights, Mich.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council...	1	1	William C. De Koning, Sr., Labor Lyceum, Front St., Uniondale, Hempstead, N. Y.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council...	1	1	John J. Vohden, Jr., 1875 Berkshire Drive, Union, N. J.
New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	S. P. Jason, 129 Union St., New Bedford, Mass.
New Britain, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Alex Miller, 555 Arch St., New Britain, Conn.

DELEGATES TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
New Haven, Conn., Central Labor Council	1	1	Joseph J. Egan, 154 Cedar Hill Ave., New Haven, Conn.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Robert L. Soule, 627 North St., New Orleans 12, La.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	R. G. Joyner, 3305 Washington Ave., Newport News, Va.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vic.	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	Harry S. Jordan, 1103 Main St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Oakland, Calif., Alameda County Central Labor Council	1	1	Robert S. Ash, 2315 Valdez St., Oakland, Calif.
Olean, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Osborn Myrick, Box 279, Olean, N. Y.
Omaha, Nebr., Federation of Labor ...	1	1	Albert M. Witzling, Labor Temple, Omaha, Nebr.
Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	L. McClain, 203 East Pine, Santa Ana, Calif.
Oswego, N. Y., Oswego Federation of Labor	1	1	George F. Lavery, 225 East 5th St., Oswego, N. Y.
Pasadena, Calif., San Gabriel Valley Central Labor Council	1	1	Al Schneider, 536 Maple Ave., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Sal Maso, 45 East 21st St., Paterson 4, N. J.
Pawtucket, R. I., Central Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Alexander Hylek, 4 Ann St., Providence, R. I.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly. 1	1	1	Anna C. Rimington, 1308 Ellis St., Peoria, Ill.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union. 1	1	1	Joseph A. McDonough, 1008 City Centre Bldg., 121 North Broad St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council	1	1	Clifton C. Caldwell, 700 Clark Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Portland, Me., Central Labor Union.... 1	1	1	Horace E. Howe, 55 Morning St., Portland, Me.
Portland and vic., Oreg., Central Labor Council	1	1	Gust Anderson, Room 101, Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union	1	1	Basil D. French, 852 Elm St., Manchester, N. H.
Pottsville, Pa., Central Labor Union... 1	1	1	George H. Fey, 220 North Centre St., Pottsville, Pa.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	John A. McConnell, 78 Chace Ave., Providence, R. I.
Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union... 1	1	1	John Carroll, 17 Elmire St., Brighton, Mass.
Reading and Berks County, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	John Haletsky, 113 North 8th St., Reading, Pa.

DELEGATES TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Renton, Wash., Central Labor Council . . .	1	1	Ray Babula, 11736 Empire Way, Seattle 88, Wash.
Roanoke, Va., Central Labor Union . . .	1	1	William E. Harvey, P. O. Box 870, Roanoke, Va.
Sacramento, Calif., Labor Council . . .	1	1	Harry Finks, 2525 Stockton Blvd., Sacramento, Calif.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union . .	1	1	Louis J. Renschen, Room 206, 1411 North Grand Blvd., St. Louis 6, Mo.
St. Thomas, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Albert Victor Sallaway, 337 Talbot St., St. Thomas, Ontario, Canada.
Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union . . .	1	1	John C. Whiting, 30 Japonica St., Salem, Mass.
Salem County, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Elmer Hewitt, Bridgeton, N. J.
Salisbury, Md., Del-Mar-Va Peninsula Central Labor Union	1	1	John T. Buzby, 100 Charles Road, North Linthicum, Linthicum Heights P. O. A.A. Co., Md.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council	1	1	William B. Arnold, 126 North St., San Antonio, Tex.
San Diego County, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	John W. Quimby, 525 "E" St., San Diego 1, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council . . .	1	1	George Kelly, 3705 25th St., San Francisco, Calif.
San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council	1	1	Richard J. Seltzer, 1239 Locust Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas L. Pitts, 846 South Union Ave., Los Angeles 17, Calif.
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	J. W. Cain, P. O. Box 1650, Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor . .	1	1	R. J. Carmichael, 1568 Kingston Ave., Schenectady 8, N. Y.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union . . .	1	1	John F. Holleran, 932 South Webster Ave., Scranton, Pa. * William J. McGrath, 432 Colfax Ave., Scranton, Pa.
Seattle and vic., Wash., Central Labor Council	1	1	Harry Carr, 1620 Fourth Ave., Seattle, Wash.
Sheffield, Florence, Tusculumbia, Ala., Tri-City Central Labor Union	1	1	James Hampton, 914-19th St., Sheffield, Ala.
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Victor Bussie, P. O. Box 1005, Shreveport, La.
Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union . .	1	1	John J. Regan, 61 Verndale Road, Newton Highlands, Mass.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 South Coles Ave., Chicago 49, Ill.
South Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Walter J. Arndt, 26 Ambler Drive, Norwalk, Conn.

* William J. McGrath substituted for John F. Holleran, Sept. 22, 1953.

DELEGATES TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Sam N. Bonansinga, Elks Club, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Joseph P. Mullahy, 105 South Freeman St., Springfield, Ohio.
Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Nicholas Ferrante, 309 South Franklin St., Syracuse 2, N. Y.
Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union	1	1	O. B. Soucie, 209 I.O.O.F. Bldg., Terre Haute, Ind.
Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council	1	1	Joseph Beale, 117 Morrison Ave., Toronto 10, Ontario, Canada.
Torrington, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Thomas Gangi, 224 North Elm St., Torrington, Conn.
Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Joseph G. Landgraf, 1100 South Broad St., Trenton, N. J.
Tri-City Federation of Labor, Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill.	1	1	Jasper Rose, 1401 West 3rd, Davenport, Iowa.
Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Walter C. Flanigan, 1340 Sixth Ave., Watervliet, N. Y.
Urbana and Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Clifford H. James, 708 South Grove, Urbana, Ill.
Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Miguel Garriga, 719 Humbert Ave., Utica, N. Y.
Vallejo, Calif., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Thomas Rotell, care Box 616, Vallejo, Calif.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	Francis Howard McGuigan, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Watertown, N. Y., Federation of Labor.	1	1	William L. Lawyer, 197 Stone St., Watertown, N. Y.
Waukesha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John R. Davis, 606 Hamilton Ave., Waukesha, Wis.
Westchester County, N. Y., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lewis Stauber, 226 North 6th Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Fred Griffith, 1725 South Washington, Wichita, Kans.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Eugene A. Burke, 2 Brown St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Leo B. Green, 815 West St., Wilmington 43, Del.
Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Edward R. Quirk, 4 Ann St., P. O. Box 1452, Providence, R. I.
Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union.	1	1	James B. McNamara, 15 Montello St., Worcester, Mass.
York County, Pa., Central Labor Union.	1	1	David J. Hopkins, 227 East College Ave., York, Pa.

LOCAL UNIONS

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.	1		1 Maury E. Rubin, 4903 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.
Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mo- bile, Ala.	1		1 Stanton Dann, P. O. Box 949, Mobile, Ala.
Aluminum Workers' Union No. 19256, Massena, N. Y.	1		36 Eddie R. Stahl, 24 Woodlawn Ave., Mas- sena, N. Y.
Aluminum and Tinfoil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.	1		14 Matthew W. Davis, 316 South 42nd St., Louisville, Ky.
Architectural Metal Workers Union No. 18267, Cleveland, Ohio.	1		3 Esther Schueller, 3496 West 120th St., Cleveland 11, Ohio.
Brass Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 24411, Bridgeport, Conn.	1		23 Frank Mazzabufi, 380 Pembroke St., Bridgeport, Conn.
Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.	1		8 Anthony Varonne, 799 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Phila- delphia, Pa.	1		20 Domenic Capitulo, 1239 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Commercial and Photo-Finishers' Union, American Federation of, No. 21314, New York, N. Y.	1		1 Calvin Hiller, 321 West 90th St., New York, N. Y.
Dental Technicians' Union of Northern California, No. 24116, San Francisco, Calif.	1		1 Lew C. Blix, 693 Mission St., Suite 708, San Francisco, Calif.
Display Fixture Workers' Union No. 21625, New York, N. Y.	1		7 Herman Silverman, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.
Editorial Association No. 21241, Los Angeles, Calif.	1		1 Sid King, 532 Maple Ave., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.	1		1 William J. Williams, 258 Parker Ave., San Francisco 18, Calif.
Enamel Workers' Union No. 22614, Moundsville, W. Va.	1		2 Charles Mills, 10 Ash Ave., Moundsville, W. Va.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Ken- nosha, Wis.	1		38 Howard Colby, 7954 29th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Phila- delphia, Pa.	1		26 Alex I. Dever, 28 Melrose Ave., East Lans- downe, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Ken- nosha, Wis.	1		11 John Madison, 6212 14th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Mil- waukee, Wis.	1		56 Wilbur Le Clair, 4471 West Leon Terrace, Milwaukee 16, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 21664, Syra- cuse, N. Y.	1		3 Frank Galuski, 62 Frederick St., East Syracuse, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 22177, De- troit, Mich.	1		22 John M. Briody, 25670 Orchard Drive, Inkster, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La.	1		2 Claude P. Babin, 4421 Iberville St., New Orleans 19, La.

DELEGATES TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	34	John E. Cudahy, 2118 West National Ave., Milwaukee 4, Wis.
Federal Labor Union No. 22879, Waltham, Mass.....	1	1	Frank C. Burke, 372 River St., Waltham, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 23422, Latonia, Ky.....	1	2	V. O. Cottengim, 4312 Church St., Covington, Ky.
Federal Labor Union No. 23393, Jersey City, N. J.....	1	25	Angelo Fracasso, 50 Garrison Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 23569, Jersey City, N. J.....	1	1	Anthony Marchitto, 68 Hudson St., Jersey City, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 23827, Bayonne, N. J.....	1	2	Joseph Clarino, 153 Carlton Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 23843, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Continental Hotel, Minneapolis, Minn.
Federal Labor Union No. 23981, Albany, N. Y.....	1	3	Henry W. Dewane, 119 Hudson Ave., Green Island, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 23983, Syracuse, N. Y.....	1	3	Wilfred Stevenson, 201 Avery Ave., Syracuse 4, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 24044, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	Marion Macioce, 82 West Montcalm, Detroit, Mich.
Federal Labor Union No. 24251, Newark, N. J.....	1	1	Walter Ruhnke, 20 Marshall St., Apt. 9-W, Irvington, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 24368, New York, N. Y.....	1	4	Milton Silverman, 120 East 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 24472, Sunbury, Pa.....	1	1	Edward Shellenberger, 133 Walnut St., Sunbury, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 24683, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	1	Albert C. Longo, 1230 South Juniper St., Philadelphia 47, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 24745, New Brunswick, N. J.....	1	1	Dominic Cantanese, 203 Hamilton St., New Brunswick, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 24760, Bridgeport, Conn.....	1	6	John G. Charters, 245 Wells St., Bridgeport 6, Conn.
Federal Labor Union No. 24766, Irvington, N. J.....	1	1	Joseph T. Ambrose, 917 Grove St., Irvington, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 24772, Torrington, Conn.....	1	3	Cecil Hohnke, 459 Charles St., Torrington, Conn.
Federal Labor Union No. 24779, Buffalo, N. Y.....	1	1	Arthur Wismar, 17 Springer Ave., Buffalo 11, N. Y.
Federal Labor Union No. 24824, Roselle, N. J.....	1	3	Attilio Alvino, 26 Stockman St., West Orange, N. J.
Federal Labor Union No. 24832, Olean, N. Y.....	1	1	Wm. H. Brown, 10 Boardman Ave., Bradford, Pa.
Funeral Directors, Embalmers and Undertakers' Union No. 21381, Greater New York, N. Y.....	1	5	Edward G. Wicoff, 575 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Fur Workers' Unions Nos. 21479 (3 votes), 21480 (2 votes), 21481 (1 vote), Toronto, Ont., Canada.....	1	6	Max Federman, 547 Douglas Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.	1	22	James E. Fitzpatrick, 8151 South Anthony Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Match Workers' Union, United, No. 18563, Wadsworth, Ohio.....	1	11	Raymond Barnett, 68 Fairview, Wadsworth, Ohio.
Metal Workers' Union No. 18047, Scranton, Pa.	1	2	Theodore Edwards, 917 West Elm St., Scranton, Pa.
Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.	1	1	Frank Turco, 305 Empress Bldg., 2nd and Spring, Seattle 4, Wash.
Newspaper Workers' Union, Labor and Community, No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Irwin E. Klass, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago 11, Ill.
Nurses and Aides' Union, American Federation of Practical, No. 24862, New Orleans, La.	1	1	Mrs. Melinda P. Scott, 2229 Third St., New Orleans, La.
Oilcloth Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19655, Buchanan, N. Y.	1	4	Casper Dahlquist, 115 Tate Ave., Buchanan, N. Y.
Optical Workers' Union, Photographic and Precision, No. 24659, Rochester, N. Y.	1	8	Charles M. Kaiser, 107 Wildmere Road, Rochester 17, N. Y.
Packers and Repackers' Union, Dairy Products, Fruit and Vegetable, No. 21888, New York, N. Y.	1	1	Al Bookman, 56-40 217th St., Bayside 64, N. Y.
Picture Frame Workers' Union No. 18468, New York, N. Y.	1	2	Wilfred Lamoureux, 130 West 42nd St., Room 310, New York, N. Y.
Rubber Workers' Union, American Federation of, No. 20499, New York, N. Y.	1	6	George Schmidt, 18-31 129th St., College Point, N. Y.
Rubber Workers' Union No. 21172, Providence, R. I.	1	2	Arthur F. Schofield, 4 Ann St., Providence, R. I.
Salesmen's Union of Connecticut, Wholesale Beer, No. 22901, New Britain, Conn.	1	1	Thomas Dowling, 70 Plaza Ave., Waterbury, Conn.
Saw File and Steel Products Workers' Union, United, No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	20	Eugene Murphy, 7029 Gillespie St., Philadelphia 35, Pa.
Seltzer Water Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.	1	1	William Wolpert, 175 East Broadway, New York 2, N. Y.
Shorthand Reporters, Illinois Federation of, No. 20145, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	William M. Siegel, 160 North La Salle St., Chicago 1, Ill.
Shrimp Headers' Union No. 21044, Galveston, Tex.	1	1	Miguel A. Suarez, 2709 Ave. H, Galveston, Tex.
Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.	1	9	O. C. Campbell, 222 West Kansas Ave., Blackwell, Okla.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, Greater New York, N. Y.	1	4	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18632, New York, N. Y.	1	4	Milton Weintraub, 141-15 73rd Ave., Flushing, L. I., N. Y.

DELEGATES' TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Ushers' Union, Theatre, No. 15293, Greater New York and vic., N. Y....	1	1	Meyer Wolpert, 4015 Dickinson Ave., Bronx, N. Y.
Waste Material Handlers' Union No. 20467, Chicago, Ill.....	1	5	Paul J. Dorfman, 7347 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.
Watch Workers' Union No. 24369, Waterbury, Conn.....	1	7	Nettie Davis, 62 Grand St., Waterbury 2, Conn.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Alfred Roberts, C.B.E., 51 Mosley St., Manchester 2, England.
		1	William M. Arthur, 5 Westminster Bridge Road, London, S. E. 1, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress .	1	1	J. B. Graham, Labor Temple, 165 James Ave., East, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
97	National and International Unions	396	71,383
4	Departments	4	4
39	State Branches.....	39	39
159	Central Labor Unions.....	159	159
69	Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	67	499
2	Fraternal Organizations.....	3	3
—	—	—	—
370		668	72,087

DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909	Samuel Gompers.	1911	James Duncan.	*1915	
		1913	George W. Perkins.	*1917	
To British Trades Union Congress					
1895	Samuel Gompers.	†1915	W. D. Mahon.	1934	Michael J. Colleran.
	P. J. McGuire.		Matthew Woll.		Edward Flore.
1896	J. W. Sullivan.	1916	W. D. Mahon.	1935	Henry F. Schmal.
	Adolph Strasser.		Matthew Woll.		Dennis Lane.
1897	Martin Fox.	1917	John Golden.	1936	William J. McSorley.
	Geo. E. McNeill.		James Lord.		Edward Canavan.
1898	James Duncan.	1918	J. A. Franklin.	1937	William C. Birthright.
	Harry Lloyd.		Wm. J. Bowen.		John B. Haggerty.
1899	James O'Connell.	1919	*Wm. L. Hutcheson.	1938	P. J. Morrin.
	Thomas F. Tracy.		John J. Hynes.		Daniel J. Tobin.
1900	J. M. Hunter.	1920	Timothy Healy.	1939	Felix H. Knight.
	Sidney J. Kent.		Mrs. Sarah Conboy.		James Maloney.
1901	Daniel J. Keefe.	1921	Wm. J. Spencer.	**1940	
	Eugene F. O'Rourke.		James J. Forrester.		
1902	Patrick Dolan.	1922	Benjamin Schlesinger.	**1941	
	Henry Blackmore.		E. J. McGivern.		
1903	Max S. Hayes.	1923	Peter Shaughnessy.	1942	Daniel J. Tobin.
	Martin Lawlor.		Anthony J. Chlopek.		
1904	W. D. Ryan.	1924	Peter J. Brady.	1943	Isidore Nagler.
	D. D. Driscoll.		Edward J. Gainer.		Harold D. Ulrich.
1905	John A. Moffitt.	1925	A. Adamski.	1944	Hugo Ernst.
	James Wood.		Edw. J. Evans.		Holt Ross.
1906	Frank K. Foster.	1926	†Frank Farrington.	1945	W. C. Doherty.
	James Wilson.		Wm. L. Hutcheson.		George Meany.
1907	John T. Dempsey.	1927	John Coefield.	1946	Ed. J. Brown.
	W. E. Klapsetzky.		Michael Casey.		Thos. Kennedy.
1908	Andrew Furuseth.	1928	Michael F. Greene.	1947	George Richardson.
	James J. Creamer.		William B. Fitzgerald.		Arnold S. Zander.
1909	John P. Frey.	1929	William J. Rooney.	1948	Edward J. Vols.
	B. A. Larger.		William P. Clarke.		Patrick E. Gorman.
1910	W. B. Wilson.	1930	John J. Manning.	1949	H. C. Bates.
	T. V. O'Connor.		Thomas E. Maloy.		Dave Beck.
1911	Wm. B. Macfarlane.	1931	Joseph P. Ryan.	1950	Alex Rose.
	Daniel J. Tobin.		Joseph V. Moreschi.		Joseph P. McCurdy.
1912	George L. Berry.	1932	Joseph A. Franklin.	1951	Chas. J. MacGowan.
	John H. Walker.		E. E. Milliman.		Richard J. Gray.
1913	Charles L. Baine.	1933	Thomas E. Burke.	1952	Richard F. Walsh.
	Louis Kemper.		Christian M. Madsen.		John R. Stevenson.
*1914	W. D. Mahon.				
	Matthew Woll.				

From British Trades Union Congress

1894	John Burns.	1907	David J. Shackleton.	1920	J. W. Ogden.
	David Holmes.		John Hodge.		J. Jones.
1895	Edward Cowey.	1908	John Wadsworth.	1921	J. H. Thomas.
	James Mawdsley.		H. Skinner.		James Walker.
1896	Sam Woods.	1909	A. H. Gill.	1922	E. L. Poulton.
	John Mallinson.		J. R. Clynes.		H. Smith.
1897	Edward Harford.	1910	W. Brace.	1923	R. B. Walker.
	J. Havelock Wilson.		Ben Turner.		W. C. Robinson.
1898	William Inskip.	1911	G. H. Roberts.	1924	C. T. Cramp.
	William Thorne.		J. Crinion.		A. B. Swales.
1899	James Haslam.	1912	J. A. Seddon.	1925	Ben Smith.
	Alexander Wilkie.		R. Smillie.		A. A. Purcell.
1900	John Weir.	1913	I. H. Gwynne.	1926	J. Bromley.
	Pete Curran.		T. Greenall.		G. Hicks.
1901	Frank Chandler.	**1914		1927	Arthur Pugh.
	Ben Tillett.				W. Sherwood.
1902	M. Arrandale.	1915	C. G. Ammon.	1928	John Marchbank.
	E. Edwards.		E. Bevin.		E. Edwards.
1903	William Mullin.	1916	H. Gosling.	1929	J. T. Brownlie.
	James O'Grady.		W. Whitefield.		J. Bell.
1904	William Abraham.	1917	John Hill.	1930	A. A. Findlay.
	James Gignall.		Arthur Hayday.		A. Shaw.
1905	William Mosses.	1918	F. Hall.	1931	F. Wolstencroft.
	David Gilmour.		Miss M. Bondfield.		J. Beard.
1906	Allen Gee.	1919	S. Finney.	1932	W. Holmes.
	J. N. Bell.		Miss M. Bondfield.		Charles Duke.

DELEGATES TO THE SEVENTY-FIRST CONVENTION

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From British Trades Union Congress (Continued)

1933 { James Rowan.	1940 { Rt. Hon. Sir W. Citrine.	1947 { Arthur Deakin.
1934 { J. A. Hall.		{ Robert Openshaw.
1934 { A. G. Walkden.	1941 { George W. Thompson.	1948 { H. L. Bullock.
1935 { John Stokes.	{ Edward Hough.	{ W. Hutchinson.
1935 { Andrew Conley.	1942 { Jack Tanner.	1949 { Lincoln Evans.
1935 { Andrew Naesmith.	{ Arthur Eryn Roberts.	{ T. Williamson.
1936 { William Kean.	1943 { Harry N. Harrison.	1950 { Florence Hancock.
1936 { George Gibson.	{ W. Bayliss.	{ Sir William Lawther.
1937 { William R. Townley.	1944 { John Brown.	1951 { Thomas Yates.
1937 { John C. Little.	{ Arthur Horner.	1951 { James Kelly.
1938 { Joseph Jones.	*1945	1952 { Alfred Roberts, G.B.E.
1938 { J. W. Stephenson.		{ William M. Arthur.
1939 { Herbert Henry Elvin.	1946 { Tom O'Brien.	
1939 { John Brown.	{ Sam Watson.	

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1935 James Maloney.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1937 R. A. Henning.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1920 W. C. Shea.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1921 John O'Hara.	1939 E. L. Wheatley.
1903 John Coleman.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1940 Claude O'Reilly.
1904 John H. Richards.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1941 Harry Stevenson.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1942 Thomas J. Lyons.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1925 James Duncan.	1943 Arnold S. Zander.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1926 James B. Connors.	1944 Anthony Valente.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.	*1945
1909 Jerome Jones.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.	1946 Matthew Will.
1910 John J. Manning.	1929 John D. Haggerty.	1947 Leo George.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1930 Adolph Kummer.	1948 Richard Walsh.
1912 John T. Smith.	1931 Charles J. Case.	1949 H. A. Bradley.
1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1932 Frank B. Powers.	1950 Anthony Valente.
1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1933 James C. Quinn.	1951 Lee W. Minton.
1915 H. J. Conway.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.	1952 John J. Hauck.
1916 Harry P. Corcoran.		

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M.C.
1899 David A. Carey.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1900 David A. Carey.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1937 Rod Plant.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1938 W. G. Russell.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1939 D. W. Kennedy.
1903 James Simpson.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1940 E. A. Jamieson.
1904 John A. Flett.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1941 H. C. Simpson.
1905 William V. Todd.	1924 John Colbert.	1942 Donovan Swales.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1925 Donald Dear.	1943 Joseph Matte.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1926 Richard Lynch.	1944 A. R. Johnstone.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.	*1945
1909 F. Bancroft.	1928 Wm. Varley.	1946 Percy Bengough.
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1929 James A. Whitebone.	1947 Robert H. Brown.
1911 Wm. Glocking.	1930 William E. Stephenson.	1948 Hugh J. Sedgwick.
1912 John W. Bruce.	1931 Colin McDonald.	1949 R. P. Rintoul.
1913 Gus Franca.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.	1950 Roger Provost.
1914 R. A. Rigg.	1933 Fred J. White.	1951 Bernard Shane.
1915 Fred Bancroft.	1934 William Dunn.	1952 J. B. Graham.
1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.		

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino.
{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Jose F. Gutierrez.
	1941 { Luis N. Morones.	{ Salustrio Hernandez.
	{ Roberto Haberman.	

* No convention.

** No delegates.

† Did not attend.

Conventions of the American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15
1901	Seranton, Pa.	December 5-14
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21
1909	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	November 8-20
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23
1920	Montreal, Quebec, Canada	June 7-19
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28
1929	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 7-18
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17
1931	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	October 5-15
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15
1938	Houston, Tex.	October 3-13
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13
1940	New Orleans, La.	November 18-29
1941	Seattle, Wash.	October 6-16
1942	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 5-14
1943	Boston, Mass.	October 4-14
1944	New Orleans, La.	November 20-30
1945	Convention canceled because of wartime conditions	
1946	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-17
1947	San Francisco, Calif.	October 6-16
1948	Cincinnati, Ohio	November 15-22
1949	St. Paul, Minn.	October 3-19
1950	Houston, Tex.	September 18-23
1951	San Francisco, Calif.	September 17-25
1952	New York, N. Y.	September 15-23

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1953

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid, and encourage the sale of union label goods and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the third Monday in September at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention by order of the Executive Council or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair, and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of 15 members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organization; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least 10 days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such

place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding 12 months and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.—1 All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2 All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3 Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4 Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5 All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals, received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature and contents, character of subjects embraced, and committees to which they are to be referred, and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

6 The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention, to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than 4,000 members, one delegate; 4,000 or more, two delegates; 8,000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates, 32,000 or more, five delegates; and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every 100 members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each 100 members or major fraction

CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than June 30, preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in any central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 13 Vice Presidents and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session unless otherwise determined by the convention and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December in the year succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C. for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all

official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$25,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the Constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served them the emergency action

shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall, within 15 days, render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposits at the expiration of each interest period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal La-

bor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council, and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council and for his services he shall receive \$23,000 per annum payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on June 30 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited in the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, 13 Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. All Executive Council members shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor. All Executive Council members shall function as such until December 31st in the year succeeding the convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Executive

Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 3. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 4. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with within three months, their charter shall be revoked.

SEC. 5. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 6. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 7. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 8. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 9. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the Constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 10. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 11. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President

of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 12. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade or profession provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and if found guilty by it, said organization or organizations may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 14. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws, as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of four (4) cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-eight (38) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar; from Central and State Bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention or when derived in accordance with the provisions of Sec. 1, Art. XII.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union or other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be sent from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council, subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein

described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of Local Unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; one additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding twenty-six weeks in any one year when the interests of the American Federation of Labor require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within 60 days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUNDS FOR LOCAL TRADES AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the moneys of the Defense Fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article.

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such

union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the Defense Fund on that account unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall within 24 hours, call a meeting of said union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the Defense Fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said Defense Fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the union involved, or his order, for a period of ten weeks, an amount equal to ten (\$10.00) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (provided said work is not in conflict with labor's interest) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike

the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the Defense Fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of 10 cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand dollars (\$5,000) in the Defense Fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the Defense Fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than 5 cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one dollar (\$1.00), together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the financial secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies, affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership, and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five dollars (\$5.00), payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliations shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING
DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments, subordinate to the American Federation of Labor, are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Departments, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the convention of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in any pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this, in no instance, shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The executive council of each department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building and Construction Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall, on roll call, be entitled to two votes. A roll call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various Departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION DULY MADE, SECONDED and PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

"1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adapt their policies—legislative political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without condition to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor shall be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or Local Labor Union and where the President

of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of this authority, has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

"3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor."

Approved by 1936 convention, held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497, official proceedings).

THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937.

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and on recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 15, 1952

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Report of FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

New York City, New York
September 15, 1952

Pursuant to law the Seventy-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order in the Grand Ballroom of the Commodore Hotel at 10:15 o'clock, a.m., by James C. Quinn, Secretary-Treasurer of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

While the delegates and visitors were assembling an orchestra composed of members of New York Musicians' Union No. 802 entertained with musical selections.

SECRETARY QUINN: At this time I want to extend to the delegates, visitors

and guests to the Seventy-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor a welcome to the city of New York. It has been 57 years since the convention was held in this city.

You all recall that the late Samuel Gompers worked and lived for many years in this city—the founder of this American Federation of Labor.

It gives me pleasure now to introduce to you a man who has had wide experience in the labor movement. He has been an officer in the city of New York, in his local union, in the Teamsters' Joint Council, and now President of the Central Trades and Labor Council and Chairman of our Convention Committee.

I present to you the Temporary Chairman, Martin T. Lacey.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN LACEY:
Thank you, Brother Quinn. At this time it gives me pleasure to introduce Miss Lillian Hayes, who will sing the National Anthem.

Miss Lillian Hayes sang the National Anthem.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN LACEY:
It gives me distinct pleasure and a great honor to present to you now one who does not necessarily need any introduction—His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of the Diocese of New York.

INVOCATION

(His Eminence,

Francis Cardinal Spellman)

(Archbishop of the Roman Catholic
Diocese of New York)

God of the worker!
Thou art known to man,
As a worker in the shop,
As a carpenter by trade,
Laboring in the sweat of Thy brow,
Laying by the toil of Thy hands,
Preaching the gospel of work.
Thou didst enoble work
By becoming a laborer,
Thou who needest not have labored;
For Thou art the Creator,
Producing without labor,
Creating by Thy word alone.
Yet didst Thou labor
To teach man to labor,
Through Thy holy example,
Working in accord with Thy precepts,
Living by Thy Commandments.

God of the worker!
Assist Thy sorely troubled worker
That he may know
Thy saving gospel of toil.
Teach dignity to the worker
That he may know and act
Agreeable to Thy Holy Will.
For he is Thy instrument!
Teach duty to the worker
Who is able to work through Thee.
His products are from Thee.
He is Thy dispenser!
Teach destiny to the worker
Who lives and works for Thee,
His loved ones and his neighbors.
He is Thy glory!
Teach wisdom to the worker
Who wills to follow Thee,
That Thy will may be done on earth.
The worker is Thy agent!
Give him, O God, of Thy Spirit
To serve Thee at all times,
Giving and forgiving,
Bind him to Thy very self
With bonds ever enduring
In love, justice and peace.

God of the worker!
Dark grows this night

In which men wander
And transgress Thy laws—
Lying in tears and frenzy
In the darkness of tears and terror
In this night of wars and slaughter,
Scorning Thy plans for peace
In a hell-born lust for power,
Power over men's souls.
Hidden is the vision of Thy glory
Which can bring peace into a world at war,
Which can calm the tempest of hatreds now raging,
Which can salvage the hopes of the workers
Now hurrying to slay and be slain.

God of the worker!
Bring peace back into the world
Lest man perish from the earth.
Bring back Christ, the worker,
To walk again among men
And show men the truth of His way,
His way to Brotherly Love and to Peace.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN MARTIN T. LACEY: Thank you, Your Eminence.

Cardinal Spellman, Governor Dewey, Mayor Impellitteri, distinguished officers and leaders of the American Federation of Labor, fellow delegates and friends:

It is a high privilege and a great pleasure for me to welcome you to the 71st Annual Convention of the great American Federation of Labor. I give you my assurance that the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, of which I have the honor to be president, has spared no effort to make your stay here not only enjoyable but memorable. It is expected there will be in attendance here some eight hundred delegates representing more than eight million members enrolled in 109 national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Ours is the mightiest army of free labor in all the world. It is fifty-seven years since an annual convention of our American Federation of Labor was held in this city.

In this time, the labor movement has become a powerful force, with great economic, political and social influence, and with still greater potentialities. It is unthinkable that we of this movement should go on being pushed around and betrayed by a lot of political porch-climbers. This convention will serve notice in no uncertain terms that those days are gone forever. It will serve notice that we are determined to match our solidarity on the industrial field with similar solidarity on the political field. That it must be one for all and all for one politically, as it is one for all and all for one industrially. It was to this city that the immortal Sam Gompers came as a lad in his early teens. It was here he was introduced to trade unionism; here where he first joined a labor union and here where he first became a union official. It was here that the first headquarters of the new born American Federation of Labor was located, a few minutes by automobile from where we are meeting. Sam was voted

an annual salary of \$1,000 and used the family kitchen table for a desk, and a box for a chair. It is a far cry from those days of poverty and struggle to our own day when so much has been accomplished for the wage-earners and the nation at large through the efforts of organized labor. But it would be folly, indeed, to conclude that all's well. Our gains—yes, our effective survival—these are threatened by well organized, heavily financed and astutely led reactionary forces. They constitute a resourceful and ruthless enemy reaching out for control of the entire federal government, for dominance of the nation.

Taft-Hartley is still with us after five years, and there are little Taft-Hartleys on the statute books of many of the states, some of them worse than their evil federal prototype. And we are warned that should an anti-labor Congress be elected in November, industry-wide bargaining may be outlawed and our great and powerful national and international unions reduced to futile fragments.

That would just about finish what Taft-Hartley started. It was the enactment of Taft-Hartley which led, at the 1947 San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to the formation of Labor's League for Political Education. This was to put more teeth into the traditional non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, regardless of party labels. We have reached a time when it is beyond question that politics is imperatively number one trade union business and when the ballot has become our most important weapon in the struggle for effective survival. I don't have to tell you the role the scab has played in trade union struggles. Scabbing was bad enough on the industrial field. But it is even worse today on the political field. If we are to present a united front to our enemies on the political field, there must be no political scabbing. The trade unionist who votes for a candidate who is not a dependable friend of labor is strike-breaking at the ballot box. Politically speaking, he is crossing the picket line. Socially, he is stabbing his fellow workers in the back. Where, in public office, there are enemies, they must be replaced with our friends. It's as simple as that. The enemy is fully using political power in an all out campaign to reduce us to impotence. The only effective way we can meet this threat is by our united use of the ballot. It was Gompers who said the ballot is the one sure way to reach the conscience of the politician. There is something seriously wrong with the wage earner who fails to see the vital connection between the ballot box and the bread box. You all know that the A. F. of L. submitted platform proposals to the appropriate committees at the two recent conventions of our major political parties. One of these proposals called for repeal of Taft-Hartley.

The Republican Party rejected our proposals and declared flatly for retention of Taft-Hartley. The Democratic Party reacted sympathetically to our proposals

and even more flatly declared for repeal of Taft-Hartley, using almost the identical language of the A. F. of L. representatives. I do not see how any trade unionist can support a party and candidates who support Taft-Hartley.

It should not be difficult, therefore, to determine who are our friends in the great campaign of 1952. And respect for our policy of political non-partisanship requires that we should go all out for those who have gone all out for us.

That's what Gompers said. That's what L. L. P. E. says. This is no time for political fence sitting. The issues are too grave for equivocation of any kind. We meet in a fateful hour in response to which this convention will make historic decisions, but I think you will all agree with me when I say that none will be more important to organized labor and the nation—yes, to the free world—than what we shall say and resolve here about labor and politics. Necessity has compelled us fully to enter into the political arena. There can be no retreat. This much is certain. In your deliberations you have the fraternal regard and sincerest best wishes of the Central Trades and the approximately million members of organized labor we represent.

At this time it gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the President of the New York State Federation of Labor, Brother Thomas A. Murray.

MR. THOMAS A. MURRAY

(President, New York State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, your Eminence Cardinal Spellman, your Excellency Governor Dewey, Honorable Mayor Impellitteri, President Green, Secretary Meany, delegates and friends: It is a rare privilege that I enjoy here today. It is a privilege granted to only one of my predecessors. Only once before have we here in the Empire State had the opportunity of welcoming to our midst a convention of the great American Federation of Labor. That was fifty-seven years ago. We value this opportunity and we have long looked forward to it. And you may be sure that we of New York will outdo ourselves to make your stay a memorable and most enjoyable one.

The New York State Federation of Labor which I have the honor to represent, has the unique distinction of being older in years than its parent body. During July of this year our State Federation held its 89th annual convention and attracted to the City of Rochester over one thousand delegates representing more than a million and a half workers in this state.

Just as the beginnings of the American Federation of Labor are linked with an eight hour day so the early days of the State Federation of Labor are linked with a fight for a ten hour day. So you can see how far back we go.

Like our parent body we must grow stronger and more vigorous every year to continue to defeat the reactionaries who have failed throughout the years in their never-ending attempts to discourage and eliminate labor unions. They have now turned to legislation and through this channel have had some success in enacting laws that are detrimental to our cause. We all realize our only avenue of success is the full utilization of our rights as American citizens in carrying out the Gompers policy and in supporting Labor's League for Political Education. Yet very little progress is being made in the building up of a voluntary fund to aid in the election of those who are considerate of our problems. I am certain this issue will be a most important issue of this convention and will result in having the workers of our country realize the necessity to register and vote to preserve their interest.

We of the New York State Federation of Labor are proud of the record of labor and social legislation that has been achieved in this state; we are proud of the pioneering role that we have played in unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, safety laws, anti-discrimination in employment and sickness and disability insurance.

We are proud of the active role we have played in the promotion of the union label and finally we are proud of the fact that we have contributed men of the stature of George Meany to the American Federation of Labor and to the leadership of our international unions.

While we are proud of all these things we are also humble. We know that these accomplishments would not be ours without the support and guidance and the prestige of the great American Federation of Labor and its far-reaching leadership.

I know that this 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor will go a long way in convincing the workers of this country that their best interest lies in solidification.

It has been a pleasure and a privilege to greet you today and an honor which we shall long cherish.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN LACEY:

Thank you, Brother Murray.

The next speaker I am to introduce requires no introduction. He is the Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable Thomas E. Dewey.

HONORABLE THOMAS E. DEWEY

(Governor of the State of New York)

Mr. Chairman, Your Eminence, Mr. Green, Mr. Mayor, distinguished officers, delegates and guests of the American Federation of Labor: I am the only living Governor of New York ever to welcome a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I am delighted to be. As a matter of fact, I am a little

shocked that you have not found it necessary or appropriate to honor us with your presence in 57 years. I will admit that you have done pretty well by not holding your conventions in New York, but I think you would have done better if you had come here oftener.

You have a great and magnificent history, and those 57 years which were started off by your last convention in New York have been surely the most productive in all the history of organized labor. More than that, it seems to me that in these last 50 years the American people,—not just the workers—but the whole people, the farmers, the unorganized, the organized, industry, the professions and everybody in this country have benefited enormously and permanently by the great contribution made by the American Federation of Labor.

I am happy to welcome you to the fine industrial climate of the State of New York. That is not an accident. It is the result of years of growing up, of fine labor leadership, of an adult acceptance by both labor and industry of the essential functions of each other. I am proud to say that in New York we have the finest wage scales, the best conditions in the United States, and the lowest strike record of any industrial state in the Union for all the ten years that I have been Governor.

I notice, if I detect the atmosphere correctly from the Chairman's introductory remarks, that Mr. Lacey suspects that this is a Democratic clambake. I should regret that if it were so. The last time the American Federation of Labor endorsed a Presidential candidate was in 1924, and he didn't do so well. I trust you will not be offended if I recall political history to your minds. In my own case I was opposed by the State Federation of Labor in the year 1942 when I ran for Governor, and I proceeded to win by a plurality of 600,000 votes and a majority of a quarter of a million. After that we nevertheless have established a fine working relationship, and we did exceedingly well.

In 1946 the State Federation of Labor took no position, and I was elected again by 680,000. In 1950 they were supposed to endorse me, but something happened in the Executive Committee and they endorsed the other fellow, and I still won by 580,000 votes.

I have one interesting observation in that respect from personal experience. We have a fine relationship in Albany. We have had all these ten years when we have been together, and when they have been kicking me around, and there is no man in the State of New York more welcome to the Executive chamber or wherever else I am than one of the finest leaders of labor I ever knew—Tom Murray.

The thing that brought about this happy climate in our state where we have achieved the finest results for organized labor as an institution, for the workers as individuals, both in earnings, in conditions and in freedom from industrial strife has been the atmosphere created by the State

government. During these last ten years we have developed skillfully, I believe, and soundly the administration of the New York State labor relations law, with reduction of strikes to a minimum. We have developed and expanded beyond the dreams of anyone ever before the oldest Mediation Board in America, to the point where it operates now with a skilled and experienced staff all over the State of New York, and I may say that in these ten years one of the best reasons we have had such successful labor relations is that the State Administration never played politics with labor. We played it straight down the middle, square to both sides, and we never used industrial strife for political profit once in ten years.

During this period we passed the first law in the United States prohibiting discrimination against any man on the grounds of race, color or creed or national origin; and as a result it is law today. It is more than law, it is engraved on the hearts of 15 million people that no man shall be deprived of the right to earn his bread because of who his father might have been.

In addition to that we have established that principle in higher education, in public housing and in every restaurant, hotel and place of public accommodation in the State of New York. We have enlarged the scope of minimum wage protection from 400,000 people to 1,080,000 people. We have established the largest apprentice training program in the United States with 30,000 apprentices, and it is growing monthly. We have established the pioneering effort, blazing a great, new trail in a state college of industrial and labor relations at Cornell University.

I could go on for an hour. During this period, regardless of political activities, we have been carving out an incredible record which is unduplicated in any place else in the United States. But I would make this one qualification, that after the 1946 election in which our relations were closest, we had perhaps the finest flower of cooperation, not because the State Federation of Labor took part in the election, but because it kept its nose clean and our relationships remained good and got better.

After that we were able to do what nobody else had ever been able to do here, and only one or two states had even tried—we worked out in full and equal partnership, after six months of conferences, a law providing for sickness disability for all of the employed workers in the State of New York from one end of the State to the other, all the way down to the lowest level permitted by the comparable unemployment insurance laws. Had it not been for that full partnership with the State Federation of Labor, not at the political but at the achievement level, we never would have got it. We never would have been able to pass it. We passed it over some very selfish and narrow opposition. It is now the law: It is the finest law in the United States, and I believe we have made great progress in the health and welfare and security

of the workers of this state than all the other states in the Union put together.

I have enjoyed my relationship with the State Federation of Labor. I think I know most of the men who lead it, and I don't think there is any one of them who does not know that he is welcome and wish whom I have not worked in one good cause or another.

I think we have served the people well. It is my hope that as you come to this State for this first visit in altogether too many years you will enjoy something more than the good food of the Commodore Hotel and the uninterrupted flow of oratory you will hear from this rostrum. I assume that by the end of the third day you will find it almost impossible to sit still. I am very glad I got here so early so nobody can have a good excuse to walk out.

You are going to hear from great men. I hope also that while you are here you will take the trouble to look around, to visit some of the rest of this city and this State. The Mayor will speak eloquently on behalf of the City of New York, and I am sure he will tell you that you are welcome in every nook and corner of it. I would like to add that I hope while you are here you will not neglect the opportunity to take a look around this, the finest, the most highly organized, the most beautiful and the greatest city in the world, and then that you will look around some more of the State from Jones Beach on Long Island all the way up through the Adirondacks, the Catskills, our Finger Lakes of unequalled beauty, and on out to Niagara Falls even though you are not on a honeymoon.

Come back again sooner. Please don't wait another 57 years.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN LACEY: Thank you, Your Honor. It is not my intention, Governor, to enter into any kind of a debate with you, political or otherwise. However, I wish to thank you for your remarks and recommend to the delegates to abide by your suggestion and look the town over.

It is now my great pleasure to introduce to you the Mayor of the City of New York, Mayor Impellitteri.

HONORABLE VINCENT R. IMPELLITTERI (Mayor of New York City)

President Lacey: Your Eminence, Cardinal Spellman; Your Excellency, Governor Dewey; President Green; Secretary Meany; officers and members of the American Federation of Labor: This is one of the most privileged moments in my career to appear as Mayor of this great city to welcome the representatives in

convention of the largest group of organized workers in the entire world, the American Federation of Labor, with its more than 100 great national and international unions and its numerous affiliated state and local Councils.

To me it represents the opportunity to greet in a body one of the sturdiest forces upholding our democracy and among the staunchest defenders of a free society.

In extending these greetings to all of you it is equally an honor for me as Mayor of New York to join with the host to this Convention, the General Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, and its president, one of the most robust, forceful, colorful and beloved citizens in our entire City, my good friend, Marty Lacey.

I might point out in line with those remarks that it was Marty Lacey in the political campaign of 1950 who was one of the few labor leaders who supported me as candidate of the experienced party for Mayor of the City of New York.

I would like now to give you some tangible evidence of my feelings, which I think very appropriately should be announced first to the representatives of labor.

This is distinctly a labor matter and it affects thousands upon thousands of our City employees.

This morning I received the report and recommendations of a fact-finding committee I appointed just a few weeks ago to ascertain whether in the planned transition to a forty-hour week for all City employees which I have directed, the step calling for a forty-two hour week could be advanced and instituted before June 30, 1953.

The committee recommended, at least for the Department most seriously affected and presently on a six-day, forty-eight hour week, the Department of Sanitation, that the institution of the forty-two hour week be advanced by six months to January 1, 1953. I am pleased to announce that I shall adopt this recommendation forthwith. Moreover, I shall direct that the forty-two hour week be installed for all City employees beginning the new year, January 1, 1953.

Of course, this still leaves one more step to my cherished goal of a 40-hour week for all municipal employees. It is my ardent hope that the City finances will permit this step to be completed in the course of the next fiscal year, beginning on July 1, 1953.

I want to make it clear that at all times I recognized and stated publicly that city employees were entitled to a five-day, 40-hour week. At all times I said publicly that the only thing that stood in the way was the question of the money with which to finance it.

So it is a great pleasure for me on this occasion to tell you now that the fact-finding committee has made its recommendation that the city will be in a position to put the 42 hour week in not later than January 1st of '53; and we hope, we sincerely hope that our finances will justify putting in the final step, the 40-hour week, which is the step that will cost the most money as soon as is humanly possible.

The Governor has pointed out the great charms of the entire State of New York. I fully subscribe to everything he had to say about it. New York City, which is a part of the State of New York, has a great many attractions. I know, although you haven't been in convention here in the City of New York in 57 years, that most, if not all of you have had occasion to visit this city time and time again. I know that from your past experiences you know that New York City is a very hospitable town. You know in addition to that that New York City is a great labor town. You know that during your entire stay here in the City of New York everything humanly possible will be done to make your stay a most pleasant one.

There are very few pleasant parts of this city that I know you will omit, and most of them are that way, in spite of what you might read in your local press, because sometimes unfortunately it is the one or two little bad spots either in a labor organization or in a municipal or state government or otherwise that attract newspaper headlines. Don't pay too much attention to them because, in spite of one or two of those spots, you will find New York City a clean, decent town, one of the cleanest towns in the entire country.

Here in the City of New York you will find churches where you can worship your God in the way you choose—just as nice churches, if not better, than in many other communities in our country. You will find wonderful places of entertainment. You will find one of the nice parts of my job—and there are not too many of them that are nice—as you cruise around the waterline of New York today, somebody will point out Gracey Mansion. That is the Mayor's official residence, and I am sure that one of your brother delegates coming from New York City will nudge you and say, "Look at where the Mayor lives. What a wonderful job he has."

Don't be misled by it. It is a very comfortable, a very pleasant place to live, but I don't get a chance to enjoy it very much. So please bear that in mind as you cruise around New York City.

I hope that you will have a wonderful time here in the City of New York. I hope that your convention and its deliberations will be very fruitful not only for the American Federation of Labor but also for your cities, for your states and for the United States of America.

Thank you very much.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN LACEY:
Thank you, Mr. Mayor.

I want to take this opportunity in behalf of the Central Trades and Labor Council and the Civil Service Employees of the City of New York to thank you for accomplishing a job well-done.

At this time it gives me great pleasure to present to the American Federation of Labor a union-made gavel given to me by the Chairman of the Carpenters Joint Council of the City of New York. I wish

to present it to the President of the American Federation of Labor, Brother William Green.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency, the Governor of the great State of New York, the Honorable Mayor of this great city, beloved Cardinal Spellman, other distinguished guests, representatives of our great organized labor movement in the City of New York: I know I express the personal feeling of every officer and delegate and visitor in attendance at this meeting this morning, a feeling of deep appreciation because of the warm welcome you have extended us to this Seventy-First Annual Convention. We are deeply touched by feelings of emotion, because those who come from remote sections of our great country, as well as those who come from nearby cities, expected that they would be extended a very warm and cordial welcome. But the sincere words of all speakers this morning have exceeded our fondest expectations. Therefore, we are moved by a feeling of emotion, of deep appreciation, and I cannot command language that will extend to you our thanks in a proper way for the very cordial welcome we have received.

We hope that in the transaction of our business we will find it possible to measure up to a high standard of excellency, and that when we complete our work and return to our cities, our states, our communities and our homes we may feel assured that we have built up in estimation the standing and strength of this great American organized labor movement, the American Federation of Labor.

We have just passed through a great year since we held the Seventieth Annual Convention at the extreme end of our nation, on the Pacific Coast in the City of San Francisco. Now we are here at the eastern limits of our great country. We realize we have passed through a tremendously important year. It has been difficult in some respects, in fact, in many respects different than other years we have passed through since the American Federation of Labor was formed.

Economic conditions have been different. Of course there have been variations. Wages have gone up. Wages have come down very few times. Economic conditions

have improved. Some have not been so good.

We have succeeded in bringing about the passage of some desirable legislation. In others we have failed, but the one keen, bitter disappointment that touches and moves the hearts and the souls of every worker in America has been our failure to bring about the repeal of the obnoxious dirty Taft-Hartley Act. That is still our task, and we will concentrate, we will mobilize every ounce of strength we possess. We will use our economic strength as well as our political power in an effort to bring about repeal of this un-American act at the earliest possible date.

So this convention, I know, will be moved by a sincere consideration of the policy that we will pursue in an effort to achieve our purpose in this respect. We will center our efforts on it. It is the outstanding task of the organized labor movement at the present time to make us free men in a free nation, in a free world, so that we can help make this free world a better world in which people can live. That is our aim and our purpose.

Now, may I refer to some of the very important things that have happened since we adjourned our convention in San Francisco one year ago? I know I can truthfully say that we come back here to this city, the great city of New York, stronger, more united and more determined to achieve our praiseworthy purposes than we did at any convention we have heretofore attended. We are a stronger, better united organization today than we have ever been in the history of our movement.

I want to refer to the cost of living. That is a very important matter to labor, the men and women of labor, the workers of our country. The cost of living has been sweeping upward during the past year and has maintained without change an upward trend. New all-time peaks have been reached. The Consumers Price Index in July, 1952 was 3 per cent above July, 1951. This increase following the recent serious inflation means that today the balance in our pay envelopes has been reduced to 52 per cent as compared with 1939. Experts expect the price rise to continue and forecast by next July living costs may be up 3 per cent from the present high point.

Isn't that important? Even a close rise in living costs is a very serious matter for wage earners. It means that dollars set aside for emergency, for education of children, for old age or other provisions against the future lose a large part of their value before the workers' family is ready to use them. Unions can affect current costs by raising wages, but they cannot check the depression of dollars in savings accounts due to the increase in living costs.

Many of the workers' living necessities have gone up much faster in the last year than the general average of 3 per cent. The rise in some food prices is truly astounding. Oranges have gone up 17 per cent; potatoes, 52 per cent; green beans, 59 per cent and cabbage, 90 per cent. These are all essential foods for the workers' family. If the wage earner wants to protect his family with group hospitalization he will have to pay 16 per cent more. Auto insurance is 16 per cent more; carfare $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and much more in some cities. A low-priced automobile costs about \$200 more. Even cigarettes are up 7 per cent.

The minimum adequate yearly budget total cost for a family of four has risen \$171 in the last year, and \$561 since war broke out in Korea. This minimum budget today costs \$4,155 a year, or \$90 a week if a man works full time. He needs \$2 per hour to provide even a minimum living for his family, and there are millions of us whose wages are far below that figure.

Wages have increased in the last two years but not enough to offset the rise in prices and also the rise in taxes. The actual purchasing power of the average factory worker's take-home pay after taxes is 80 per cent a week less today than before Korea for a worker with three dependents, and \$2.05 a week for a single worker.

Union members in some industries have won increases large enough to avoid this loss and have also supplemented their wage gains with improvement in pensions and welfare plans and fringe benefits, but in some depressed industries workers have had to take wage cuts. Many millions have lost ground in the last two years.

I prepared this on this occasion for incorporation in the proceedings of our convention. It will be valuable informa-

tion to the workers who are fighting for better wages where they wish to use it.

Our affiliated unions have added more than 252,000 members in the last ten months ending June 3rd, 1952. This brings our total paid up membership to 8,098,302, and if we include those other members whose per capita tax payments have not yet been received the figure will be close to 8,500,000 American Federation of Labor members.

In only 13 years since 1939 the membership of the American Federation of Labor has doubled, rising from four million to more than eight million since 1939.

Since World War II the American companies have spent unprecedented amounts of money to improve and enlarge their plants and install labor-saving equipment. For instance, the new super-pressure presses in airplane manufacture create pressed metals of greatly superior strength, with enormous reductions in labor time. A new combination drilling machine reduces work time from 96 hours to five hours on a certain operation. Streamlining of production, new conveyors and carrying and loading devices speed the process of work through a plant. Thousands of examples could be given of the new miracle-working machines which have been installed throughout industry. Workers ought to share justly in this profit. With productivity advancing so rapidly the American economy cannot be kept in a healthy state unless wage increases keep pace with workers' rising power to produce. But wages have not kept pace with productivity from 1949 to 1952. While the workers' output per man hour was $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in two and a half years, his week's average or buying power per hour rose only five per cent, due to wage controls since early 1951 and the rise in prices.

It is urgent that the resolutions presented by A. F. of L. members to the Wage Stabilization Board be adopted at the earliest possible time to correct this serious lag in workers' buying power. It provides that the WSB approve the techniques and the increasing skill and ability of American workers, which result from more efficient production. This is a fair proposal and should not be denied.

On legislation—one has only to read the pages of the Executive Council's re-

port to see the amount and the far reaching value of labor legislation considered at the last session of Congress and to realize how much intelligent care and vigilance must be given to this field alone by the Federation.

There is the matter of taxation which vitally affects every citizen and seriously concerns wage earners. Our tax collections are higher than when we were fighting the second World War.

For years the American Federation of Labor has proposed and urged federal aid for education so that our children might have better educational opportunities both through the public school system and opportunities for higher education. We have urged adequate services for all children regardless of their nationality, their color, their creed or their parents. We have urged better educational opportunities for boys and girls preparing to work in industry.

The report deals with the following legislation with which we have been concerned in the past year. It foreshadows the future:

Attempts of members of Congress to restrict the application of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

Emergency Powers Continuation Act.

Existing G.I. educational benefits to Korean veterans.

Legislation affecting government employees, including efforts to improve retirement provisions.

Efforts to reduce the flexibility of annual leave provisions.

Recognition of the unions of federal employees.

Increases in compensation by providing full payment for overtime.

Restoration of adequate postal service including employment for postal employees.

Legislation to adjust salaries of postal classified and D. C. Government employees. Government Reorganization Plans.

Canal Zone Legislation.

Long Range Merchant Marine legislation.

Appropriations for Civil Defense Administration.

Legislation for Flood Stream Areas.

Recreational facilities in our national forests.

Forestry Resources Conservation.

Proposed St. Lawrence Seaway.

Armed Forces Reserves and Manpower. This act makes it necessary for the Armed Services to consider conservation of special skills for both defense and civilian needs.

Immigration and Naturalization Act. This legislation revised and codified all existing immigration and naturalization laws and eliminated barriers discriminating against some races and nations.

Relief for Displaced Persons.

Subversive Activities Act. This law permits the discharge of persons who are members of subversive organizations and also would have permitted greater governmental control of unions.

Universal Military Training Act.

Custom Simplification Bill.

Physically Handicapped Legislation.

Health Care for Dependents of Service Men.

National Leprosy Act.

Central Arizona Power Project.

Self-Government for Puerto Rico on approval of Draft Constitution.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

Tullahoma Tennessee Wind Tunnel.

Plattsburg Cantonment.

Federal Construction Lease Purchase.

Post Offices.

Delaware River Port Authority. Basic in the expansion of port facilities attendant on steel and other industrial expansion.

Even though the year 1952 is not yet three-quarters spent, reports already show outstanding industrial achievements, with old records broken and amazing new peaks achieved.

In the defense program deliveries of finished military items and construction have more than doubled in the twelve months ending in mid-1952, from \$3.7 billion to \$7.7 billion per quarter. Progress has been especially marked in the newer weapons, presenting the greatest problems of design and production; deliveries in 120 of these rose 50 per cent in only three months of 1952—February to May.

Amazing progress has been made in expanding our plant capacity and industrial potential. Total investment of private business for new plant and equipment will exceed even the astonishing all-time record of last year, rising from \$23.3 billion in 1951 to \$24.1 billion in 1952.

Expansion of producing capacity in some basic industries has been almost

twice as fast as last year. In steel and petroleum we created almost as much new capacity in the first six months of 1952 as in the full year of 1951. Production of primary aluminum has been increased almost 60 per cent more this year than last year. Expansion of the electric power industry continues at an exceptionally rapid rate with capital outlays for the present quarter of 1952 25 per cent above the high level reached at the end of 1951.

Productivity continues to increase at a rate more than double the usual rate of progress. For the last three years, 1950, 1951 and 1952, productivity has increased five per cent or more each year, compared to the normal rate of two per cent per year. This is due to new equipment and techniques and the increasing skill and ability of American workers. These are facts and figures which are deeply impressive.

I want to bring to your attention a matter that I seem to think causes serious consideration on the part of all of us. In order that I might acquaint you with what it is I am going to read a statement. It was published in an international publication, and after I read it, then see if you can guess the origin of the statement:

"American labor faces an era of danger and of threats to its very existence.

"There are those politicians beholden to reactionary interests, and those who are still advocates of the institution of human slavery, who would take from us the only effective weapon we have in our struggle for a better America.

"There are those intellectually corrupt corporate interests in this country who would sell a free, democratic and progressive America down the river in their mad gamble for unchallenged control of the economic future of our great nation.

"Those politicians and those money changers have no effective opponent. But that opponent could be the American labor movement. Our labor movement is not now even an effective challenger. Our labor movement is split asunder. It is a house divided against itself. The leaders of the American labor movement babble and prate and prattle. They view one another askance. They utter petty words of venom.

"But the men and women of the ranks of labor cry aloud for unity. They seek a strong organization with singleness of

purpose, policy and action. Their hopes and aspirations are answered with cynical words and viewed with suspicion by those whose policy it seems to be to seek their own salvation at the expense of others.

"The spectacle of the segments of organized labor in America heaving and shoving in all directions—or in no direction—gives aid and comfort to those who would destroy us and institute their own, modern version of serfdom.

"For five years now they have made of us second class citizens through the instrument of their iniquitous Taft slave statute. They have stopped our natural growth and expansion. We are weak. We are disarmed. Like wolves, they are now ready to move in for the kill.

"The United Mine Workers of America never has ceased to raise the warning cry. We reiterate that call now. We have no choice but to capitulate or fight back. We cannot fight back effectively without unity and singleness of purpose. America's coal mine workers, the shock troops of organized labor, stand ready, willing and able to lend their time, resources, abilities and experience to the end that that goal may be attained.

"What is the answer? It is up to the leaders of labor. The time to stop uttering words of fear and to act in unison is upon us."

Who do you think wrote it? The great disrupter, the divider of labor in America, the great John L. Lewis is the author of that statement. I am glad that he had reached the point in life where he realizes that unity is an essential qualification to the success of labor. A united labor movement is stronger than a divided labor movement. A million men united are stronger than a million men organized into four or five unions.

The American Federation of Labor pleaded for unity. We appealed to the one who wrote this to stop, to stay in the House of Labor, to refuse to carry on the fight to divide us, to keep us united so we could fight together.

Now it seems that experience, which is the greatest teacher in life, has taught him a valuable lesson. Division in the ranks of labor is injurious. It weakens us, and the American Federation of Labor has projected that doctrine ever since it was formed in 1881. And when the

attempt was made to divide, to create different unions and different organizations functioning separately, the American Federation of Labor appealed to their hearts and to their consciences not to do it, they appealed to them to stay with us, to live in the House of Labor, all united in a common family, so that together we could fight more effectively than we ever fought in the history of America.

Ever since they left us we have extended the hand of welcome to come back home—back where? Back home to the House of Labor. And what is the House of Labor? It is the American Federation of Labor and it will always be that.

Now, my friends, our appeal is still there. We call to the one who led in the division of labor and who now says we are weak because we are divided, to come back. Let's be united. Let it be one labor movement in America, and notwithstanding our feelings, we still urge and beg and coax them to come back to the House of Labor and live together with us.

I am happy to make this address to you on this occasion, to submit the facts which I have assembled for your information and for your education. I say to you that this is going to be one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest convention the American Federation of Labor has ever had.

Today we stand in a more important relation to the economic and industrial life of the nation than we have ever stood before, and we are going to unite our political forces more completely during the coming year than they have ever been united before.

We are going to use that force, the political strength of the workers of the nation as we have used our economic force to improve economic conditions.

I am of the opinion that labor, as it is in many countries of Europe, will be a very deciding factor in the election which will be held next November. I extend to you a hearty welcome to this convention, and I am pleased to sit with you during the sessions of the convention in the transaction of our business.

Now, as Chairman of this convention I officially declare the Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor open for the transaction of business. We will now proceed to that business, and the Chair will recognize the

Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Curtis R. Sims, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

New York, N. Y.,
September 15, 1952

President Green, Officers and Delegates to the Seventy-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 652 Delegates, representing 97 National and International Unions, 4 Departments, 39 State Branches, 149 Central Bodies, 65 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Our Secretary, Brother H. A. Schneider will read the names of the delegates.

Secretary Schneider read the following list:

Actors and Artistes of America, Associated—George Heller H. O'Neil Shanks, Pat Somerset, Jack Irving, 300 votes.

Agricultural Workers' Union, National—H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, 53 votes.

Air Line Dispatchers' Association—William B. Dunne, 5 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, 60 votes.

Automobile Workers of America, International Union United—Lester Washburn, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, 695 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—Wm. F. Schnitzler, James G. Cross, Herman Winter, Curtis Sims, Wm. McGuern, James Landriscina, Seb Ollinger, 1,337 votes.

Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen—William C. Birthright, John B. Robinson, Alvin L. Holt, Fred Scaffidi, George Husk, 630 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—John Pelkofer, A. J. Eberhardy, George Edgerton, 100 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Charles J. MacGowan, William J. Buckley, Harry Nacey, George Nolan, W. G. Pendergast, John V. Kearney, Earl B. Ashbrook, 1,500 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, 440 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, Frank W. Anderson, George W. Lawson, Ben Berk, 440 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—Harry C. Bates, A. J. Cleland, James Fittin, John J. Murphy, Thomas F. Murphy, Thomas O'Donnell, 1,000 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Harold R. Flegal, William Tracy, Nathan Duff, 230 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—J. H. Lyons, J. R. Downes, Wm. F. Bauers, Joseph F. Boyen, Stanley Rounds, Leslie L. Myers, 1,227 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—W. L. McFetridge, Wm. H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, Thomas Burke, James Kemp, 1,915 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Irvin Barney, A. J. Bernhardt, J. L. Duffin, Edward C. Doll, Raymond McElroy, Lucien Denis, 1,146 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—M. A. Hutcheson, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Albert E. Fischer, Charles W. Hanson, Ted Kenney, J. L. Hazard, Cecil O. Johnson, John R. Stevenson, 6,000 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United—William Schoenberg, Toney Gallo, Felix C. Jones, Reuben Roe, Joseph J. Knapik, 340 votes.

Chemical Workers' Union, International—H. A. Bradley, Marshall Shafer, A. Vincent Busby, Joseph J. Donovan, 759 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—Mario Azpeltia, Frank Diez, Servando F. Lopez, 100 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, John J. Zitello, Michael J. Minaden, Morris Tusher, 200 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Joseph Mahoney, Joseph Fogarty, Albert N. Smith, Wallace Ziebarth, 886 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, J. H. Sylvester, Robert Morgan, L. B. Snedden, H. R. Lyons, G. B. Goble, 2,500 votes.

Clerks' International Association, Retail—Vernon A. Housewright, James A. Sufridge, Guy A. Sackett, Frank C. Shea, Phillip F. Koerner, Samuel J. Meyers, Edward T. Shay, 2,095 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, Joseph Kunz, 50 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union—Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cileto, Mort Brandenburg, George Oneto, 250 votes.

Draftmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—Russell M. Stephens, 87 votes.

Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of—D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Frank C. Riley, Joseph D. Keenan, Ross Martin, Joseph W. Liggett, 3,300 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, Edward A. Smith, Richard W. Williams, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—William E. Maloney, Chas. B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, Frank P. Converse, Victor S. Swanson, Wm. E. Carter, Frank G. Daly, 2,000 votes.

Engravers' Union, International Metal—Jack Stone, 5 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfrid T. Connell, 141 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Glenn Thom, Michael F. Smith, 618 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—Anthony E. Matz, Joseph P. Clark, George Wright, Robert J. Tormey, James M. Kennedy, 580 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—Joseph P. McCurdy, W. R. Brooks, Madge King, Emily Jordan, A. Berkson, 400 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman, Julius Hochman, Joseph Breslaw, David Gingold, Harry Greenberg, 3,500 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—Lee W. Minton, Raymond H. Dalton, J. Belton Warren, George Baumbach, Shirley Staley, 423 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—George W. Berger, 16 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Harry H. Cook, Enoch E. Snyder, Berl H. Hannah, 296 votes.

Glove Workers' Union of America, International—Thomas Durian, 30 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—James A. Campbell, Berniece B. Heffner, Henrietta E. Olding, 521 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Costanzo Pagnano, Claude Palmiotti, 40 votes.

Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International—Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Charles Feinstein, Edward Friss, 250 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, William Harding, Jacob Roberts, Minnie Teitelbaum, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Salimbene, 3,141 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—John T. Keefer, 2 votes.

Hosiery Workers, American Federation of—Alexander McKeown, Major Banachowicz, Fred G. Held, William M. Leader, 292 votes.

Insurance Agents' International Union—George L. Russ, Charles G. Heisel, Max Shine, 99 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Joseph Morris, Hyman J. Powell, Harry Spodick, 159 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagen, Walter M. Matthews, 132 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Sam J. Byers, E. C. James, Charles Naddeo, Winfield Chasmar, John F. Donovan, 700 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—William C. Doherty, John J. Nolan, James C. Stocker, Edward F. Benning, C. N. Coyle, Peter J. Cahill, 900 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph E. Ryan, Harry R. Hasselgren, Larry Long, Frank A. Yeager, E. G. Mareno, 614 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—T. C. Carroll, A. Shoemaker, M. G. Plunk, J. P. Wilson, J. A. Huneault, R. Freccia, C. L. Lambert, 1,586 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—C. T. Atkins, 90 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Milton S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Karl Muller, 2,052 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—Robert Byron, Edward Carrough, James J. Ryan, James Tracy, Mel Farrell, 320 votes.

Millers, American Federation of Grain—S. P. Ming, H. A. Schneider, G. D. Weiny, J. A. Leveridge, 318 votes.

Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International—Chester A. Sample, George A. Dreger, William J. Finn, John Kelly, William Lorenz, H. W. Sprague, 650 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—James C. Petrillo, Edward P. Ringius, Frank B. Field, Harry J. Steeper, Charles L. Bagley, Pete Kleinkauf, Albert A. Greenbaum, 2,402 votes.

Office Employees' International Union—Paul R. Hutchings, J. Howard Hicks, Howard Coughlin, 348 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. F. Lindelof, Lawrence M. Rafferty, Christian Madsen, Frank Owens, Peter Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, Herbert Baker, 1,843 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Paul L. Phillips, John R. Jones, Joseph Addy, John W. Bailey, Al E. Brown, 530 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 110 votes.

Plasterers and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—John E. Rooney, Walter A. Redmond, John J. Brennan, Benedict Tantillo, Louis Klehm, 400 votes.

Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the—Martin P. Durkin, George Meany, Edward J. Hillock, William J. McLaughlin, Robert Lynch, John Tracey, Francis D. Ford, 1,500 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—Ray Muehlhoffer, Dennis J. Oates, Irving Weisler, 160 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, Milton F. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, 100 votes.

Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of—Harold McAvoy, 13 votes.

Postal Supervisors, The National Association of—Oscar Lieberman, Jesse V. Horton, Peter J. McEntee, 111 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, Leonard Greco, Robert A. McCann, 276 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—James Mowatt, 11 votes.

Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International—Thomas E. Dunwoody, George L. Googe, Walter A. Curran, Peter A. Tufo, Joseph F. Dwyer, James P. Kepple, 794 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, James S. Killen, Elmer P. Meinz, Henry Segal, Joseph Tonelli, Harriet Wray, Bernard Cianciulli, 1,349 votes.

Radio and Television Directors' Guild—Oliver W. Nicoll, 5 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—A. L. Spradling, Daniel J. McNamara, Joseph Fahey, C. E. Long, Merlin Gerkin, Clark K. Dorsey, 1,200 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Paul A. Nagle, John L. Reilly, Wallace J. Legge, 160 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—Charles D. Aquadro, Homer J. Meyers, Ben D. Vetter, 124 votes.

Seafarers' International Union of North America—Lloyd A. Gardner, Paul Hall,

Morris Weisberger, Matthew Dushane, Andrea Gomez, 450 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—Jesse Clark, D. C. Cone, John F. Hogan, 142 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 20 votes.

Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—Richard F. Walsh, William P. Raoul, Thomas V. Green, James McNabb, Michael J. Mungovan, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, William J. McEntee, Gordon W. Chapman, Jerry Wurfl, George S. Sparkes, 781 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leo J. Buckley, Frank Farrenkopf, 113 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Paul A. Givens, 19 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Joseph Lewis, Edw. W. Kaiser, Leo F. Lucas, 120 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Rebecca Simonson, 390 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, John F. English, John J. O'Rourke, Robert Lester, Joseph J. Diviny, J. P. Poteet, Donald Peters, 6,500 votes.

Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad—G. E. Leighty, E. J. Manion, 300 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 350 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, 900 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, 220 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace C. Reilly, 700 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred R. Rota, R. Alvin Albarino, Tony Remshardt, George Bucher, 500 votes.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—Richard J. Gray, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James A. Brownlow, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—Michael Fox, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—Raymond F. Leheney, 1 vote.

State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Mary Sue Densmore, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—William A. Gray, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—C. J. Haggerty, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—Frank G. Van Portfliet, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—Joseph M. Rourke, 1 vote.

Florida State Federation of Labor—Frank G. Roche, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—J. B. Pate, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—Elmer F. McIntire, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—R. G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—Earl J. Baum, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—C. E. Solander, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—E. J. Bourg, 1 vote.

Maine State Federation of Labor—B. J. Dorsey, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Bernard A. Downey, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth J. Kelley, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—John H. Thorpe, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—R. A. Olson, 1 vote.

Mississippi State Federation of Labor—Holt Ross, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Otto Bowles, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James S. Umber, 1 vote.

Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Gordon C. Preble, 1 vote.

Nevada State Federation of Labor—Harry A. Depaoli, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—Harry Parr, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marciano, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Murray, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Phil Hannah, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—J. Cline House, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—J. T. Marr, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor—John J. White, 1 vote.

South Carolina State Federation of Labor—Carroll L. Addy, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—
Stanton E. Smith, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Paul
C. Sparks, 1 vote.

Vermont State Federation of Labor—
Francis B. Butler, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—
J. S. Smith, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor
—E. M. Weston, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of
Labor—E. A. Carter, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—
George W. Hall, 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Akron, Ohio, Summit County Trades
and Labor Assembly—C. E. Raleigh, 1
vote.

Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union—
Eugene R. Hubbard, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central
Labor Union—A. A. Schoch, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Labor—
Henry W. Chandler, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J., Atlantic County
Trades Council—William Abramoff, 1
vote.

Augusta, Ga., Central Labor Union—
W. W. Holley, 1 vote.

Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Un-
ion—Howard E. Munro, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—
Leroy Griffin, 1 vote.

Barre, Vt., Central Labor Union—Fred-
erick C. Dykeman, 1 vote.

Baton Rouge, La., Central Trades and
Labor Council—George W. Snowden, 1
vote.

Beaver County Pa., Central Labor
Union—James J. Russo, 1 vote.

Bergen County, N. J., Trades and Labor
Council—John McEntee, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Federation of Labor
—B. B. Jones, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor
—Morris G. Mitchell, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—
Harry P. Grages, 1 vote.

Bradford, Pa., Trades Assembly—Paul
B. Abernethy, 1 vote.

Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union
—Joseph P. Cleary, 1 vote.

Brockton, Mass., Central Labor Union
—Henry J. Brides, 1 vote.

Bucks County, Pa., Central Labor Union
—Henry J. Rodgers, 1 vote.

Buffalo, N. Y., Federation of Labor—
Charles W. Halloran, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union
—Edward T. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—
Leon B. Schachter, 1 vote.

Carbondale, Pa., Central Labor Union—
C. Omar Fitch, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—
Edward Joyce, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union
—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.

Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat
Counties, Wash., Central Labor Union—
William R. Smith, 1 vote.

Clarksburg, West Va., Harrison County
Central Labor Union—Norbert Renick, 1
vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—
William Finegan, 1 vote.

Clinton County, Ill., Central Trades and
Labor Union—Edgar F. Smith, 1 vote.

Columbia County, N. Y., Federation of
Labor—J. Howard De Groff, 1 vote.

Cumberland, Md., Trades Council—
Charles J. Bell, 1 vote.

Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council—
John W. Hays, 1 vote.

Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union—
John E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.

Delaware County, Pa., Central Labor
Union—Jack Mullen, 1 vote.

Des Moines, Iowa, Trades and Labor
Assembly—Edgar C. Hartzler, 1 vote.

Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Fed-
eration of Labor—Frank X. Martel, 1
vote.

Dunkirk, N. Y., Central Labor Council
—Harold F. Friedah, 1 vote.

East Liverpool, Ohio, Trades and Labor
Council—Frank Duffy, 1 vote.

Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Stew-
art A. Seifert, 1 vote.

El Centro, Calif., Imperial Valley Central
Labor Union—Max J. Osslo, 1 vote.

Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central
Labor Union—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.

Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union—Michael
Ricci, 1 vote.

Everett, Wash., Trades Council—P. L.
Cope, 1 vote.

Fayette County, Pa., Central Labor
Union—James A. Woods, 1 vote.

Freeport, Ill., Central Labor Union—
John L. Held, 1 vote.

Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and
Labor Council—C. H. Cary, 1 vote.

Glen Falls, N. Y., Central Trades and
Labor Assembly—Joseph L. Mayrand, 1
vote.

Gloucester, Mass., Central Labor Union
—Rose Norwood, 1 vote.

Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—
Alan E. Kline, 1 vote.

Hermiston-Umatilla, Oregon, Central
Labor Council—Edd Clarey, 1 vote.

Honolulu, T. H., Central Labor Council
—A. S. Reile, 1 vote.

Houston, Texas, Labor Council—B. B.
Morgan, 1 vote.

Hudson County, N. J., Central Labor
Union—Joseph G. Quinn, 1 vote.

Huntington, West Va., Central Labor
Union—William Kaufman, 1 vote.

Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union
—Myron Clift, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Will County Central Trades
and Labor Council—S. P. Miller, 1 vote.

- Kalamazoo, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Florence Bailey, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Leo H. Boylan, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—Hugh L. Raymond, 1 vote.
- Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Paul L. Whiteside, 1 vote.
- Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly—William T. Koester, 1 vote.
- Keokuk, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly—Vivian Weiny, 1 vote.
- Klamath Falls, Oregon, Central Labor Union—Alma Sweetman, 1 vote.
- Lake County, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Victor J. Bukky, 1 vote.
- Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union—Turner W. Gregg, 1 vote.
- Lorain City, Ohio, Federation of Labor—A. C. Shibley, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—W. J. Bassett, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., Federation of Labor—William E. Fredenberger, 1 vote.
- Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.
- Lynn, Mass., Central Labor Union—Louis R. Govoni, 1 vote.
- Macon, Ga., Federation of Trades—George W. Lewis, 1 vote.
- Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—Ruby Allman, 1 vote.
- Malden and Vic., Mass., Central Labor Union—Thomas P. Ahearn, 1 vote.
- Manchester, N. H., Central Labor Union—Louis I. Martel, 1 vote.
- Marion and Grant County, Ind., Central Labor Union—Victor Hood, 1 vote.
- Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—B. P. Nuckols, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—J. P. Friedrich, 1 vote.
- Monmouth and Ocean Counties, N. J., Central Labor Union—Kenneth C. Whitmore, 1 vote.
- Montgomery, Ala., Central Labor Union—Ted Williams, 1 vote.
- Muncie, Ind., Central Labor Union—George McMahan, 1 vote.
- Muskegon County, Mich., Federation of Labor—Earl L. Smith, 1 vote.
- Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—William C. DeKoning, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—John J. Vohden, 1 vote.
- New Bedford, Mass., Central Labor Union—S. P. Jason, 1 vote.
- New Britain, Conn., Central Labor Union—Alex Miller, 1 vote.
- New Haven, Conn., Central Labor Council—Joseph J. Egan, 1 vote.
- New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Robert L. Soule, 1 vote.
- Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—R. G. Joyner, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.
- Niagara Falls, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Harry S. Jordan, 1 vote.
- Oakland, Calif., Alameda County Central Labor Council—Robert S. Ash, 1 vote.
- Olean, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Osborn Myrick, 1 vote.
- Omaha, Nebr., Federation of Labor—Albert M. Witzling, 1 vote.
- Orange County, Calif., Central Labor Council—L. McClain, 1 vote.
- Oswego, N. Y., Oswego Federation of Labor—George F. Lavery, 1 vote.
- Pasadena, Calif., San Gabriel Valley Central Labor Council—Al Schneider, 1 vote.
- Passaic County, N. J., Central Labor Union—Sal Maso, 1 vote.
- Pawtucket, R. I., Central Trades and Labor Union—Alexander Hylek, 1 vote.
- Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Anna C. Rimington, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Joseph A. McDonough, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—Clifton C. Caldwell, 1 vote.
- Portland, Maine, Central Labor Union—Horace E. Howe, 1 vote.
- Portland and Vic., Oregon, Central Labor Council—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Basil D. French, 1 vote.
- Pottsville, Pa., Central Labor Union—George H. Fey, 1 vote.
- Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—John A. McConnell, 1 vote.
- Quincy, Mass., Central Labor Union—John Carroll, 1 vote.
- Reading and Berks County, Pa., Central Labor Union—John Haletsky, 1 vote.
- Renton, Wash., Central Labor Council—Ray Babula, 1 vote.
- Roanoke, Va., Central Labor Union—William E. Harvey, 1 vote.
- Sacramento, Calif., Labor Council—Harry Finks, 1 vote.
- St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Louis J. Renschen, 1 vote.
- St. Thomas, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—Albert Victor Sallaway, 1 vote.
- Salem, Mass., Central Labor Union—John C. Whiting, 1 vote.
- Salem County, N. J., Central Labor Union—Elmer Hewitt, 1 vote.
- Salisbury, Md., Del-Mar-Va Peninsula Central Labor Union—John T. Buzby, 1 vote.
- San Antonio, Texas, Trades Council—William B. Arnold, 1 vote.
- San Diego County, Calif., Central Labor Council—John W. Quimby, 1 vote.
- San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—George Kelly, 1 vote.
- San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif., Central Labor Council—Richard J. Seltzer, 1 vote.

Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union—Thomas L. Pitts, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. W. Cain, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Federation of Labor—R. J. Carmichael, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—John F. Holleran, 1 vote.

Seattle and Vic., Wash., Central Labor Council—Harry Carr, 1 vote.

Sheffield, Florence, Tuscumbia, Ala., Tri-City Central Labor Union—James Hampton, 1 vote.

Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Victor Bussie, 1 vote.

Somerville, Mass., Central Labor Union—John J. Regan, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

South Norwalk, Conn., Central Labor Union—Walter J. Arndt, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—Sam N. Bonansinga, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly—Joseph F. Mullahy, 1 vote.

Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Nicholas Ferrante, 1 vote.

Terre Haute, Ind., Central Labor Union—O. B. Soucie, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—Joseph Beale, 1 vote.

Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union—Joseph G. Landgraf, 1 vote.

Tri-City Federation of Labor, Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill.—Jasper Rose, 1 vote.

Troy, N. Y., Federation of Labor—Walter C. Flanigan, 1 vote.

Urbana and Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor—Clifford H. James, 1 vote.

Vallejo, Calif., Trades and Labor Council—Thomas Rotell, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Francis Howard McGuigan, 1 vote.

Watertown, N. Y., Federation of Labor—William L. Lawyer, 1 vote.

Waukesha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—John R. Davis, 1 vote.

Wichita, Kans., Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred Griffith, 1 vote.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—Eugene A. Burke, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—Leo B. Green, 1 vote.

Woonsocket, R. I., Central Labor Union—Edward R. Quirk, 1 vote.

York County, Pa., Central Labor Union—David J. Hopkins, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

Advertising, Publicity and Newspaper Representatives' Union No. 22519, Mobile, Ala.—Stanton Dann, 1 vote.

Aluminum Workers' Union No. 19256, Massena, N. Y.—Eddie R. Stahl, 36 votes.

Aluminum and Tinfoil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—Matthew W. Davis, 14 votes.

Architectural Metal Workers' Union No. 18267, Cleveland, Ohio—Esther Schueller, 3 votes.

Brass Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 24411, Bridgeport, Conn.—Frank Mazza, 23 votes.

Brushmakers' Union No. 16303, New York, N. Y.—Anthony Varrone, 8 votes.

Can Workers' Union No. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Domenic Capitolo, 20 votes.

Commercial and Photo-Finishers' Union No. 21314, New York, N. Y.—Calvin Hiller, 1 vote.

Dental Technicians' Union of Northern California, No. 24116, San Francisco, Calif.—Lew C. Blix, 1 vote.

Display Fixture Workers' Union No. 21625, New York, N. Y.—Herman Silverman, 7 votes.

Editorial Association No. 21241, Los Angeles, Calif.—Sid King, 1 vote.

Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.—William J. Williams, 1 vote.

Enamel Workers' Union No. 22614, Moundsville, W. Va.—Charles Mills, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Howard Colby, 38 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alex I. Dever, 26 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19322, Kenosha, Wis.—John Madison, 11 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—Wilbur Le Clair, 56 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21664, Syracuse, N. Y.—Frank Galuski, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22177, Detroit Mich.—John M. Briody, 22 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22454, New Orleans, La.—Claude P. Babin, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.—John E. Cudahy, 34 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23393, Jersey City, N. J.—Angelo Fracasso, 25 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23422, Latonia, Ky.—V. O. Cottengim, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23569, Jersey City, N. J.—Anthony Marchitto, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23843, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn., L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 23981, Albany N. Y.—Henry W. Dewane, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 23983, Syracuse, N. Y.—Wilfred Stevenson, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 24044, Detroit Mich.—Marion Macioce, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24251, Newark, N. J.—Walter Ruhnke, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24368, New York, N. Y.—Milton Silverman, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 24472, Sunbury, Pa.—Edward Shellenberger, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24683, Philadelphia, Pa.—Albert C. Longo, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24745, New Brunswick, N. J.—Dominic Catanese, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24760, Bridgeport, Conn.—John G. Charters, 6 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 24766, Irvington, N. J.—Joseph T. Ambrose, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24772, Torrington, Conn.—Cecil Hohnke, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 24779, Buffalo, N. Y.—Arthur Wismar, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 24824, Roselle, N. J.—Attilio Alvino, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 24832, Olean, N. Y.—Wm. H. Brown, 1 vote.

Funeral Directors, Embalmers and Undertakers' Union No. 21381, Greater New York, N. Y.—Edward G. Wicoff, 5 votes.

Fur Workers' Union No. 21479 (3 votes); Fur Workers' Union No. 21480 (2 votes); Fur Workers' Union No. 21481 (1 vote); Toronto, Ont., Can.—Max Federman, 6 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—James E. Fitzpatrick, 22 votes.

Match Workers' Union, United, No. 18565, Wadsworth, Ohio—Raymond Barnett, 11 votes.

Meter Workers' Union No. 18047, Scranton, Pa.—Theodore Edwards, 2 votes.

Newsboys' Union No. 15834, Seattle, Wash.—Frank Turco, 1 vote.

Newspaper Workers' Union, Labor and Community, No. 21877, Chicago, Ill.—Irwin E. Klass, 1 vote.

Nurses and Aides' Union, American Federation of Practical, No. 24862, New Orleans, La.—Melinda P. Scott, 1 vote.

Oilcloth Workers' Federal Labor Union, United, No. 19655, Buchanan, N. Y.—Casper Dahlquist, 4 votes.

Optical Workers' Union, Photographic and Precision, No. 24659, Rochester, N. Y.—Charles M. Kaiser, 8 votes.

Picture Frame Workers' Union No. 18465, New York, N. Y.—Wilfred Lamoureux, 2 votes.

Rubber Workers' Union, American Federation of, No. 20499, New York, N. Y.—George Schmidt, 6 votes.

Rubber Workers' Union No. 21172, Providence, R. I.—Arthur F. Schofield, 2 votes.

Salesmen's Union of Connecticut, Wholesale Beer, No. 22901, New Britain, Conn.—Thomas Dowling, 1 vote.

Saw, File and Steel Products Workers' Union, United, No. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa.—Eugene Murphy, 20 votes.

Seltzer Water Workers' Union No. 23181, New York, N. Y.—William Wolpert, 1 vote.

Shorthand Reporters, Illinois Federation of, No. 20145, Chicago, Ill.—William M. Siegel, 1 vote.

Shrimp Headers' Union, United, No. 21044, Galveston, Texas—Miguel A. Suarez, 1 vote.

Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—O. C. Campbell, 9 votes.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lafrano, 4 votes.

Theatrical Agents and Managers, Association of, No. 18032, New York, N. Y.—Milton Weintraub, 4 votes.

Ushers' Union, Theatre, No. 15293, Greater New York and Vic., N. Y.—Meyer Wolpert, 1 vote.

Waste Material Handlers' Union No. 20467, Chicago, Ill.—Paul J. Dorfman, 5 votes.

Fraternal Delegates

British Trades Union Congress—Alfred Roberts, William M. Arthur, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—J. B. Graham, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

CURTIS R. SIMS, Chairman

PETER KLEINKAUF

H. A. SCHNEIDER, Secretary

Committee on Credentials

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SCHNEIDER: Your Committee on Credentials moves, Mr. Chairman, that this partial report of the Credentials Committee be accepted at this time.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

CONVENTION OFFICERS

Secretary Meany announced the appointment of the following Convention Officers by President Green:

John J. Brennan, Assistant Secretary

William Noonan, Sergeant-at-Arms

James J. Murphy, Convention Messenger

Paul Ornburn, Convention Messenger

SECRETARY MEANY: I have been informed by Brother Al Hayes, President of the International Association of Machinists, that the constitution of the Machinists gives their organization a specific date under which they must hold their convention. This year, this date conflicts with the A. F. of L. Convention and they are meeting at the same time. Their convention will most likely run about the same length of time.

President Hayes informs me that there is a proposal before their convention,

which he feels will be adopted, which will permit the Executive Board of the International Association of Machinists to change their date to any date in September or October which will permit the Machinists, in future years, to avoid this conflict in convention dates.

He felt that announcement should be made so that there would be no misunderstanding, due to the absence of Machinist delegates from this convention.

I would like to announce now the appointment by President Green of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business as follows:

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

John B. Robinson, W. R. Brooks, R. J. Petree, John C. MacDonald, William Harding, Charles Aquadro, Frank B. Field, Joseph Lewis, Mike J. Minaden, Daniel J. McNamara, Joseph P. Clark, George W. Berger, George Edgerton, George Nolan, Al. J. Cleland, Robert Morgan, Norman Zukowsky, Robert Soule, J. A. Humeauit, R. Emmett Kelly, Oliver W. Nicoll, Joseph Jacobs, Wm. E. Carter.

SUBSTITUTION

A DELEGATE (Hod Carriers): On behalf of the International Hod Carriers, because of the illness of Brother Lee Lalor, who is a delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention, we wish to make the substitution of Albert Smith in his place.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the announcement that Brother Smith be seated instead of Brother Lee Lalor. Is there any objection? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED WITHIN TIME LIMIT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions have been received within the time limit specified in the Constitution, and therefore, do not require unanimous consent:

From: the Massachusetts Federation of Labor: Nobel Peace Prize to Late Senator Brian McMahon; Partition of Ireland; Social Security Coverage of Municipal

Employees; Repeal of So-Called Whitten Amendment to the 1951 Supplemental Appropriations Act.

From the California State Federation of Labor: Top Pay for Postal Workers after Four Years; Protest Proposed Department of Justice Ruling on Motion Pictures; Strengthen Economic Controls; Foreign Production of Motion Pictures by American Producers; Central Arizona Project; Repeal Amusement Tax; Direct Presidential Primary Elections; Abolish Luxury Tax on Necessities; Equal Organizational Rights for Government Employees; Democratic Candidates for President and Vice-President.

From the International Association of Firefighters: Civil Defense; Benefits for Veterans of Korean Campaign; Cost of Living; Fire Fighters Request Assistance to Remain under Present Pension Plans; Establishment of Training Facilities for Union Members in International Field; Legislation for Establishing Arbitration Procedure for Fire Fighters; Gold Standard; Local 2, Firefighters—Local 587, Operating Engineers.

From the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: St. Lawrence Seaway; Fair Labor Standards Act; Flood Control and Reclamation.

From the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America: Gompers Memorial—City of Hope.

From the American Federation of Teachers: A. F. of L. Department on Civil Rights; Convention Hotel Accommodations; ILO Support Collective Bargaining for Public Employees; Inclusion of Teachers under Social Security; Support of Public Education by General Taxation; Federal Aid to Education.

From the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the New York State Federation of Labor: Plebiscite for Trieste under United Nations' Supervision.

From the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union and the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union: Labor Israel and Peace in the Middle East.

From the International Typographical Union: Support Candidates Favoring Repeal of Taft-Hartley Act; Wages-Hours Government Printing Office Employees.

From the American Federation of Government Employees: Legislative Program—American Federation of Government Employees.

From the Connecticut Federation of Labor: Salary Increases for Postal Employees; Union Recognition for Postal Employees.

From the Metal Trades Department: Physically Handicapped; Bureau of Em-

ployment Security—Department of Labor; Armed Service Personnel Entering Private Industry; Health Protection Services; Adequate Merchant Marine; Temporary Hazardous Duty; Panama Canal Tolls.

... Following announcements by Secretary Meany concerning the time and location of committee meetings, the convention adjourned at 12:40 o'clock P. M. until 9:30 o'clock A. M., Tuesday, September 16, 1952.

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, All resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union of or a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regular constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to the constitutional requirements:

AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 1—By Michigan State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board has recommended to Congress that pensioners on social security pension be given medical attention, and

WHEREAS, People 65 or over usually have maladies requiring lengthy treatment, and

WHEREAS, Pensioners who must live on their social security pensions generally have no other income, and

WHEREAS, They are now required to depend on relatives who may not be in a position to aid, and

WHEREAS, The experience of the Social Security Board dictates this can be handled administratively, and

WHEREAS, The added burden of medical bills to the aged requires them to submit to a humiliating pauper's oath, as well as a minimum of medical aid, and

WHEREAS, The concept of social security pensions is to assure the covered relief from fear of burdensome old age, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board has recommended to Congress that the spouse of a covered person be admitted to pension rolls at 60 years, and

WHEREAS, Facts have clearly shown that men marry women who are generally five years younger than they, and

WHEREAS, It is in the public interest to admit to social security pension rolls those who are totally disabled, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record to do everything in its power to urge our representatives in Congress to amend the Social Security Act to provide as follows:

1. Medical aid to all social security pensioners;

2. To admit spouse to pension rolls at the age of 60 years;

3. Persons declared totally disabled be automatically placed on social security pension rolls;

4. A "pay-as-you-go" pension system based on the National income;

5. That the monthly payments due retiring people be raised to bring them more adequately in line with present living costs;

6. That the retirement age be dropped from the present required sixty-five (65) years to sixty (60) years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING PRACTICE OF ATTACHING RIDERS TO LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We believe the principles of democracy are best served when each piece of legislation before Congress is considered on its own merits, and

WHEREAS, The increasing practice of attaching riders to appropriation and other bills has as its primary purpose the evasion of separate consideration, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemns the practice by certain members of Congress of attaching riders to appropriation and other bills as undemocratic.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMEND LEGISLATION AFFECTING VETERANS AFFAIRS

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Salimbene, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, Many of our membership are veterans of World Wars No. I and II, and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of our members are now enlisted, enrolled, drafted, inducted or appointed into Military or Naval Forces of the United States, and

WHEREAS, Many veterans are of the opinion that the Veterans Administration has not given them just consideration in their claims for benefits available under existing Veterans law, and

WHEREAS, Section 5 of Public Law No. 2, 73rd Congress now states that all decisions rendered by the Administration of Veterans Affairs under the provisions of this title, or the regulations issued pur-

suant thereto, shall be final and conclusive on all questions of law and fact, and no other official or court of the United States should have jurisdiction to review by mandamus or otherwise any such decision, and

WHEREAS, This law is unfair and dictatorial, and

WHEREAS, These veterans desire to have their case reviewed by court of the United States in order to determine if they have received a fair decision, and

WHEREAS, Under existing law this privilege is denied, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a special court be established for the purpose of reviewing claims of veterans, who have been denied benefits by the Veterans Administration, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the court shall have only the power to review the claims after the request has been made by the veteran or his representative, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the court shall be empowered to review any other question of law, concerning laws coming under the Administration of Veterans Affairs, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention requests the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment of legislation to revise the law now in effect, Section No. 5 of Public Law No. 2, 73rd Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LOWERING AGE LIMIT AND INCREASE BENEFITS TO INCLUDE ALL WORKERS

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Salimbene, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, The present age limit of the Social Security Act is too high and the benefits are still too low, even after the recent increase, and

WHEREAS, The present Act exempts untold thousands of workers who should be entitled to some security in the twilight years of their life, and

WHEREAS, Many of these people are the poorer paid citizens of our country, such as agricultural workers, who are unable to put aside anything to help carry them through their declining years, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as endorsing the enactment of legislation to lower the age limit to fifty-

five years for retirement; also to broaden the Act to cover all workers and to raise the benefits to such degree as will assure minimum security at retirement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMEND VETERANS INSURANCE ACT OF 1946

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Sallimbene, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, Section 9 of the Insurance Act of 1946 pertaining to veterans now states that the insured veteran can designate how installments shall be paid to the beneficiary, and

WHEREAS, The members of the Armed Forces of World Wars I and II did not have that privilege, and

WHEREAS, Many families who are in their declining years dependent upon the income of these sons and daughters who lost their lives, receive only a small monthly payment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Section 9 of the Veterans Insurance Act of 1946 be changed to read, retroactive to December 1941, "Installments payable in one sum if desirable by any beneficiary," and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as endorsing legislation to accomplish these objectives and instruct its officers to use their good offices to assist to secure the enactment of this into law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CRAFT UNION ORGANIZATION

Resolution No. 6 — By Delegate Thomas Durian, International Glove Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its organizing campaigns which it has conducted has always assured the interested organizations that where it was advantageous to organize on a vertical basis, those workers being organized, would be segregated into the organization which had a jurisdiction over the work that they performed, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has not carried out the principles as established under the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor as it applies to the labor unions who are established as craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor taking the position of allowing

distinct craftsmen to remain in vertical. National and International Unions which do not properly cover the type of work being done, and

WHEREAS, The craft organizations having jurisdiction over certain type of workers are being impeded and impaired by the conditions that now exist are being faced with absolute disintegration if these conditions are allowed to continue, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor enjoins all National and International Unions, from taking such workers who do not belong to their jurisdiction and, if and when such workers are in view and ready to be organized, to instruct the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to inform and advise said National and International Unions headquarters of impending organization of said craft workers under whose jurisdiction they may belong before any of said Organizers make attempt to organize said workers for their own National and International Unions therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this resolution be given very serious consideration and all National and International Unions be advised to effectuate into practice when organizing workers to adhere to the assigned jurisdiction of their respective unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMPERS' MEMORIAL CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates Sam J. Byers, E. C. James, Charles Naddeo, Winfield Chasmar, John F. Donovan, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor have learned through hard experience that the goals of American Labor are not limited to higher wages and better working conditions; that adequate protection requires a broader concern with the health and welfare of the trade unionist, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor knows that it has an important stake in the battle against the diseases which ravage the bodies and minds of its members and their families, and

WHEREAS, We can be thankful that pioneers in the ranks of labor, as long as 39 years ago, founded the City of Hope, where sufferers from tuberculosis are treated without one penny of cost, and

WHEREAS, The City of Hope has now become a national medical center, aiming to treat all long-term diseases, and has already established the only all-free all-cancer hospital under philanthropic auspices in America, and

WHEREAS, In the fraternal spirit of the labor movement, facilities at the City of Hope are made available to patients, not in a sense of charity, but as a matter of social justice with full regard to human dignity and individual worth, and

WHEREAS, A substantial number of international unions are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope for their members, and

WHEREAS, Leading international unions have given support to the City of Hope, in the form of union-endowed buildings, departments, and equipment, as well as providing for day to day maintenance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in New York City, September 1952, wholeheartedly endorses the work and services of the City of Hope, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated international unions of the American Federation of Labor to embark in the coming year upon a campaign effort, which will culminate in the establishment of a memorial to our late, revered leader, Samuel Gompers, on the grounds of the City of Hope.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ABOLITION OF SENATE RULE 22 AND THE FILIBUSTER

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Rule by the majority must control in order to give validity and integrity to the democratic legislative process, and

WHEREAS, Rule 22 of the United States Senate by permitting filibuster enables a minority of the Senate's members to dictate to the majority what laws shall and shall not be enacted, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New York City, New York, September, 1952, go on record as calling upon the 83rd Congress to take action on its opening day in January, 1953, to obtain adoption of rules in the Senate that will permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate so that the Senate may proceed to a vote on any pending matter after there has been reasonable opportunity for full debate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FEPC

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Discrimination against workers, because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, are in conflict with the ideals and principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution of the United States, as well as the moral order which recognizes the dignity of every human personality, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New York City, New York, September 1952, go on record as reaffirming its position of support for fair employment practice legislation with enforcement powers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOMPERS' MEMORIAL CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor have learned through hard experience that the goals of American Labor are not limited to higher wages and better working conditions; that adequate protection requires a broader concern with the health and welfare of the trade unionist, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor knows that it has an important stake in the battle against the diseases which ravage the bodies and minds of its members and their families, and

WHEREAS, We can be thankful that pioneers in the ranks of labor, as long as 39 years ago, founded the City of Hope, where sufferers from tuberculosis are treated without one penny of cost, and

WHEREAS, The City of Hope has now become a national medical center, aiming to treat all long-term diseases, and has already established the only all-free, all-cancer hospital under philanthropic auspices in America, and

WHEREAS, In the fraternal spirit of the labor movement, facilities at the City of Hope are made available to patients, not in a sense of charity, but as a matter of social justice with full regard to human dignity and individual worth, and

WHEREAS, A substantial number of International Unions are presently utiliz-

ing the facilities of the City of Hope for their members, and

WHEREAS, Leading international unions have given support to the City of Hope, in the form of union-endowed buildings, departments, and equipment, as well as providing for day to day maintenance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in New York City, September 1952, wholeheartedly endorses the work and services of the City of Hope, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated International Unions of the American Federation of Labor to embark in the coming year upon a campaign effort, which will culminate in the establishment of a memorial to our late, revered leader, Samuel Gompers, on the grounds of the City of Hope.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S BIRTHDAY TO BE NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates William F. Schnitzler, James G. Cross, Herman Winter, Curtis Sims, Wm. McGuern, James Landriscina, Seb Ollinger, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The greatest strides that were made by the American labor movement were made during the term of office of our late president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and

WHEREAS, He did, during his term of office, maintain his interest in the welfare of the working men and working women of this nation, and

WHEREAS, It would be fitting to set aside one day of each year to memorialize his many good deeds, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that January 30, the day our late president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was born, be set aside as a national holiday, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor take appropriate action to sponsor legislation that would result in the naming of our late president, Franklin D. Roosevelt's birthday, January 30, as a national holiday.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PETER J. MCGUIRE MEMORIAL

Resolution No. 12 — By Delegates John P. Burke, James S. Killen, Elmer

P. Melitz, Henry Segal, Joseph Tonelli, Harriet Wray, Bernard Cianciulli, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U.S. and Canada.

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has erected in Arlington Cemetery, Pennsauken, New Jersey, a beautiful and imposing memorial to Peter J. McGuire, who helped to found both the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the American Federation of Labor, and who was the first to suggest that one day in the year be set aside as a holiday to be known as Labor Day, and

WHEREAS, This memorial is but a fitting tribute to a man whose life of unselfish and devoted service to the cause of labor should never be forgotten, and

WHEREAS, M. A. Hutcheson, General President, Frank Duffy, General Secretary Emeritus, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Hon. Edward M. Stewart, Mayor of Pennsauken Township, New Jersey; Hon. George E. Brunner, Mayor, Camden, New Jersey; Hon. Maurice J. Tobin, United States Department of Labor; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; Richard A. Gray, President, Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; and George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, in addresses at the dedication of this memorial Saturday, August 9, 1952, extolled the life and the services of Peter J. McGuire and highly praised the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America for the erection of this memorial to perpetuate his memory, and

WHEREAS, The placing of this memorial in the cemetery where Peter J. McGuire is buried and the addresses delivered at the dedication exercises are of great historic significance and interest in the life of the American Federation of Labor and of our country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor express to the executive officers and the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America their sincere appreciation for having demonstrated in a practical way that labor does not forget its champions and its trail blazers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That because of the great historic importance of the addresses delivered at the dedication of the Peter J. McGuire memorial, they be printed as an appendix to the proceedings of this seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RESTORATION OF MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICES

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, Paul Hall, Morris Weisberger, Matthew Dushane, Andrea Gomez, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The first Congress of the United States recognized the need for the establishment of hospitals for sick seamen, and

WHEREAS, Congress passed a law of July 17, 1798 providing for the establishment of marine hospitals, and

WHEREAS, The federal government ever since passage of the law establishing marine hospitals has consistently realized the need for hospital service for seamen and has provided this service, expanding it as the merchant marine operations of the U. S., and

WHEREAS, These marine hospitals now under the administration of the U. S. Public Health Service are located at appropriate points throughout the country, and

WHEREAS, These marine hospitals are essential to the maintenance of a healthy merchant marine personnel valuable for this nation's maritime needs, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Public Health Service has found it necessary to close facilities because of the lack of necessary funds in its budget, and

WHEREAS, This curtailment of operations will immediately work undo hardship on merchant seamen requiring the services of these institutions which have provided seamen with the best possible medical service in a manner that properly takes into account the industry's problems, and

WHEREAS, The Seafarers International Union of North America, AFL, has registered individual and collective protests against this curtailment of medical service as being against the best interests of a healthy merchant marine personnel to serve the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as being vigorously opposed to this retrenchment of marine hospital services and vigorously opposed to any possible future curtailment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inform the Federal Security Agency, Bureau of Budget, Congress and the President of the United States in this regard and urge them to affect restoration of the curtailed facilities immediately, as being in the best interests of this nation and of the working people directly involved.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXTENDING SOCIAL SECURITY TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, When the Congress of the United States first enacted a social security law to provide for a system of old age and survivors' insurance and a program of unemployment insurance to cover workers employed in industry, this Act excluded from protection all workers employed in agriculture, and

WHEREAS, In 1950 the Social Security Law was amended and coverage extended to several million citizens not previously included in the program, and this extension included self-employed businessmen and some agricultural workers who are regularly employed by a single employer; however, the coverage of agricultural workers was so restricted as to exclude most agricultural workers employed on the large scale factory-type farm operations in the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of extending the full benefits of old age and survivors insurance to all agricultural workers including small farm owners, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the extension of the unemployment insurance provisions of social security to farm workers in the same manner that industrial workers are now provided these benefits.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPMENT OF RIO GRANDE VALLEY

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the United States Government to assist undeveloped countries throughout the world in developing their natural and human resources, and

WHEREAS, There is a large undeveloped area in the Rio Grande Valley of the United States and the Republic of Mexico which, if properly developed, could improve the standards of living for the poverty stricken people in both countries, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct its officers to call this matter to the attention of the proper authorities and urge that surveys be made and a joint project be worked out between the United

States and Mexican Governments to develop the Rio Grande Valley basin.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCLUSION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNDER STATE AND NATIONAL SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, In the past 10 years there has been a great increase in the use of machinery to plant, cultivate and harvest food and fiber crops throughout the United States, and there has developed a new type of agricultural worker, who is a skilled mechanic called upon to operate and service valuable farm equipment costing thousands of dollars, such as tractors, combines, wheat, cotton and corn harvesters, etc., and

WHEREAS, These skilled workmen are employed in agriculture and are excluded from all benefits of legislation accorded industrial workers of similar skills and are subject to periods of unemployment in off seasons without protection of unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and they often work extremely long hours at low pay without minimum wage and hour regulations as well as the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor calls for the inclusion of these agricultural workers under all social security legislation, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, wage and hour legislation and the protection of the National Labor Relations Act as well as other types of state and national legislation accorded other American workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONSTITUTION OF JOINT LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, For several years there has been a committee composed of farm employers advising the U. S. Department of Labor on matters concerning the nation's farm workers, and

WHEREAS, As a result of demands by the American Federation of Labor there has been established in the U. S. Department of Labor a Committee on Farm Labor composed of an equal number of representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O., to advise the Secretary on problems concerning agricultural labor, and

WHEREAS, Labor's Committee on Farm Labor has to some extent been effective in defending the rights of American farm workers, securing the appointment of labor advisers to the U. S. Government delegation meeting with representatives of the Mexican Government, and

WHEREAS, These labor advisers have secured some improvements in terms of the Agreement between the two governments for the importation of Mexican Nationals into the United States, and

WHEREAS, Heretofore it has been the practice of agencies of the United States Government in consulting with interested groups to appoint joint committees, representing labor, management and the public, rather than separate groups of labor and management representatives, and

WHEREAS, There is a danger that such a program of separate committees may set a precedent for future use by government agencies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the U. S. Department of Labor to reconstitute its two committees on farm labor giving equal representation for employers and workers in a joint committee which will meet at stated intervals and work out problems jointly and make recommendations to the Secretary of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ILLEGAL ENTRY OF MEXICAN NATIONALS

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Since 1942 there have been Agreements between the United States Government and the Republic of Mexico, as well as other colonial areas such as the British West Indies whereby foreign workers are legally imported for work in agriculture and in related industry such as food processing and during World War II such foreign workers were employed on the nation's railways, and

WHEREAS, Under these programs an average of 100,000 workers a year have been imported and many abuses have arisen leading to exploitation of both foreign and domestic workers, and

WHEREAS, Since 1942, hundreds of thousands of Mexican Nationals have been enticed into the United States illegally by owners of large scale commercialized farms for exploitation at wages which no American citizen will accept, and

WHEREAS, These illegal aliens from Mexico known as wetbacks, cross over the practically ungarded boundary between the United States and Mexico, and have forced native American citizens to flee their homes to escape the unfair competition of low wages and worse conditions of

employment brought about by exploitation of Mexican wetbacks, and

WHEREAS, These illegal aliens have not only adversely affected the wages and working conditions of agricultural workers but are found employed in nearly every industrial area of the United States at trades and crafts organized by various unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and too often such unions have seen the wage scales of their membership reduced and have been prevented from organizing their respective jurisdictions in areas where large numbers of illegal aliens from Mexico are employed, and

WHEREAS, As a result of demands by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions the Congress of the United States in 1952 enacted legislation to strengthen the Immigration Laws and penalize persons found guilty of harboring, concealing or transporting illegal aliens in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Though the law was strengthened, the 82nd Congress acting under the influence of agricultural and industrial interests located on the U. S.-Mexican border and directly benefited by continued exploitation of Mexican wetback labor, refused to appropriate funds for enforcement of this law, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its horror that the processes of democratic government have been so perverted by selfish interests as to prevent the enforcement of our laws and the Convention go on record as demanding the enforcement of our immigration laws and call upon the next Congress to appropriate necessary funds to prevent the illegal entry of Mexican wetbacks.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 19 — By Delegate Ray Mills, Kansas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many working people are nearing the age of 65 and are expecting to retire on their social security payments, and

WHEREAS, Many men are married to wives who are younger than they are, and in view of the fact most of the wives have never worked outside the home and the fact that the Primary Benefit is not adequate to support a husband and wife at prevailing prices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask our Senators and Representatives to lower the retirement age for women and when the Benefit Primary is due the Secondary Benefit also become due.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPRESENTATION TO MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Resolution No. 20 — By Maritime Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The maritime transportation industry of the United States, its possessions, territories and Canada is a highly important section of the American and North American economy, and

WHEREAS, There are more than 200,000 workers—unlicensed seamen, licensed deck and engine officers, longshoremen, operating engineers, radio officers, fishermen, tugboatmen and allied marine workers on all coasts, and inland ports—engaged in the maritime transportation industry in the United States, its territories, possessions and Canada who are working as members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These workers and the industry have problems peculiar to their industry which are unlike problems affecting shoreside workers and industries, and

WHEREAS, The maritime transportation industry in time of war or other national emergency is of extreme concern and importance to the nation and to any program for mobilization, and

WHEREAS, Under such circumstances the AFL unions in the industry would be best qualified to advise our government on policy that would serve the democratic cause and protect the interests of the AFL workers involved, and

WHEREAS, No machinery exists for such advisory functioning through the official medium of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The international and national unions have recognized their common purposes and those of their members in their respective jurisdictions, along with the interests of the AFL movement as a whole, could best be advanced through a united strong body, and

WHEREAS, These AFL unions have therefore been organized under a charter of the American Federation of Labor as the Maritime Trades Department of the AFL, and

WHEREAS, At a meeting in Chicago on March 24-25, 1952, 40 delegates from all sections of the industry and from every one of the affiliated AFL unions met under the auspices of the Maritime Trades Department and adopted a constitution and by-laws, elected officers and an executive board and formulated policy for the days immediately ahead and otherwise acted to set up the Maritime Trades Department as a permanently-functioning department of the AFL which would reflect favorably on the Federation and ad-

vance the welfare of the member unions and their memberships, and

WHEREAS, All of the delegates went on record unanimously instructing the Maritime Trades Department to petition the American Federation of Labor convention for representation on the Executive Council of the AFL as a means of allowing the AFL to establish a closer understanding of the problems of the maritime transportation industry workers, and to enable the AFL Executive Council to more closely be representative of all sections of labor under the AFL banner, and

WHEREAS, All of the member international and national unions, and their affiliated groups, namely: Commercial Telegraphers Union, embracing the radio officers; International Longshoremen's Association, embracing longshoremen, checkers, warehousemen and marine divisions in all sea and inland ports; International Union of Operating Engineers; Masters, Mates and Pilots; Seafarers International Union of North America, embracing the Brotherhood of Marine Engineers, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Inland Boatmen's Union, Seafarers International Union, Atlantic and Gulf District, Marine Allied Workers, SIU Canadian District, Bering Sea Fishermen's Union, SIU Great Lakes District, Staff Officers Association (purser), Atlantic Fishermen's Union, Fish and Cannery Workers of the Pacific, Canadian Marine Engineers, Seafarers Guards and Watchmen's Union, Alaska Fish and Cannery Workers share the viewpoint that such Executive Council representation would answer a profound need for a large number of AFL workers who are bound together in common interest by the nature of their industry and in their sincere desire to strengthen the entire labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled provide representation on the Executive Council of the AFL for a representative of the Maritime Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

Resolution No. 21 — By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Book Company, publishers and manufacturers of school books, is operating its own place located in Cincinnati, Ohio, under non-union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades have, for many years, endeavored to organize the employees of this company and have always met with the direct opposition of the American Book Company and its agents, and

WHEREAS, The American Book Company through its agents have, on numer-

ous occasions, misrepresented their attitude toward organized labor by making statements to the effect that they were fair to organized labor, thereby getting school book contracts from school boards who believed this misrepresentation, and

WHEREAS, The printing trades are, at the present time, carrying on a campaign to organize the workers of the American Book Company, and to enter into contractual relations with this company, and

WHEREAS, We believe that every effort should be made to bring about the unionization of this company's plant; in view of the fact that the school books sold by the American Book Company are in a large part paid for by taxes paid by members of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at this convention go on record as opposed to the American Book Company and condemn their non-union policy as unfair to all members of organized labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various international unions, central trades and labor bodies be informed of the action taken at this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AFL RADIO PROGRAM

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles County, California.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor by sponsoring the daily broadcasts of Frank Edwards provides the only consistent voice of liberal thought in radio, and

WHEREAS, Frank Edwards, through his broadcasts, has in the past given invaluable assistance to the Labor Movement of California in its fight for social progress by giving the public the facts on such issues as public housing, rent control, fair employment practices, protection of consumer interests, and fair economic controls, and

WHEREAS, In the approaching election campaigns there will be a greater need than ever before for the honest, progressive, forthright presentation of the facts as only Frank Edwards has done, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention commend the Frank Edwards broadcasts and expresses its gratitude to the American Federation of Labor for the assistance they have provided,

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON TAXATION

Resolution No. 23 — By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

WHEREAS, A group of millionaires has hatched the biggest swindle ever perpetrated on the American people, and Pierre S. du Pont 3d, of the du Pont Empire, together with representatives of many other corporate empires, have been attempting to sell the American people on a proposal to amend the U. S. Constitution which would limit taxes to 25 per cent of a person's or corporation's income; obviously, this kind of limitation would cut down the taxes of the millionaires and the corporations, the amount which would be cut from their taxes would then be imposed on the working men and women of the country, and

WHEREAS, The drive for the Amendment is being sparked by the Western Tax Council, the American Taxpayers' Association and the Committee for Constitutional Government. Only recently the Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopted a resolution supporting this anti-workers' tax program. The men behind the drive are all representatives of big business. The very people who are complaining against corruption in government are pushing this corrupt conspiracy against the people. The symbol of their patriotism is the dollar sign. The undercover operations of these men have already resulted in affirmative action by the legislatures of twenty-five states in which resolutions have been adopted, requesting Congress to call a convention to amend the Constitution. No such constitutional convention has ever been called in the history of this country. Nevertheless, these various state legislatures have now recorded their demand for such a convention, the purpose of which would be to impose an outrageous tax burden on the working people of this country. According to the Library of Congress, although 25 state legislatures adopted the resolution, eight legislatures have rescinded their motion. The Tax Council says such resolutions may not be rescinded, and

WHEREAS, The proponents of the Amendment are not asleep. This year they have succeeded in adding two more states to their roster. This drive must be stopped. The amendment has well been called the "Millionaires' Amendment." It is a 16 Billion Dollar swindle. A tax load of 16 Billion Dollars will be shifted from those who can best afford to pay to the shoulders of the working men and women of America who certainly should not be subjected to sabotage of their standard of living, and

WHEREAS, Only families with incomes over 40 thousand dollars a year will derive any benefit from the Millionaires'

Amendment. It will be necessary to enact sales taxes of at least 10 per cent to make up the loss. The American Labor Movement must rally to halt the progress of this creeping conspiracy against the American people. If 32 state legislatures adopt the amendment, it will then become necessary to call a constitutional convention in which the earning capacity of the American wage earner will be disastrously crippled, and

WHEREAS, The future of America is at stake. Those people who are demanding the proposed tax limit should realize that their continued efforts will earn them a medal from Stalin. The Communists could not do a better job than they will accomplish in destroying the faith of the American people in the democratic process. They ought to remember that the road to a communistic hell is paved with evil tax intentions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the membership of organized labor in every state of this country must be on the alert. All local unions must maintain contact with the members of the state legislatures to induce repeal of these tax convention resolutions already passed and to prevent new ones from being passed and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take an active part in finally defeating this proposed Millionaire Tax Swindle.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOMPERS' MEMORIAL CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor have learned through hard experience that the goals of American Labor are not limited to higher wages and better working conditions; that adequate protection requires a broader concern with the health and welfare of the trade unionists, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor knows that it has an important stake in the battle against the diseases which ravage the bodies and minds of its members and their families, and

WHEREAS, We can be thankful that pioneers in the ranks of labor, as long as 39 years ago, founded the City of Hope, where sufferers from tuberculosis are treated without one penny of cost, and

WHEREAS, The City of Hope has now become a national medical center, aiming to treat all long-term diseases, and has already established the only all-free all-cancer hospital under philanthropic auspices in America, and

WHEREAS, In the fraternal spirit of the labor movement, facilities at the City of Hope are made available to patients, not in a sense of charity, but as a matter of social justice with full regard to human dignity and individual worth, and

WHEREAS, A substantial number of International Unions are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope for their members, and

WHEREAS, Leading International Unions have given support to the City of Hope, in the form of union-endowed buildings, departments, and equipment, as well as providing for day to day maintenance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in New York City, September 1952, wholeheartedly endorses the work and services of the City of Hope, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated International Unions of the American Federation of Labor to embark in the coming year upon a campaign effort, which will culminate in the establishment of a memorial to our late, revered leader, Samuel Gompers, on the grounds of the City of Hope.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REQUEST FOR EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION BY MEAT CUTTERS

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, R. E. Kelly, Joseph Belsky, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

WHEREAS, For many years the opinion has prevailed among employers in the retail food store industry, as well as among the workers employed therein, that there should be one trade union representing these sales people, and

WHEREAS, Our International Union has almost thoroughly organized the men and women in the meat departments of retail food stores and because of the constant change in operation and selling methods a state of confusion is frequently created because of the work of the so-called meat department employees and those selling products other than meat because they continually overlap, and

WHEREAS, There has been little harmony between the Retail Clerks International Association and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in cases where strikes are necessary and this lack of cooperation has frequently been responsible for the crossing of picket lines which sets a glaring example of lack of unity, and

WHEREAS, The Retail Clerks International Union has a jurisdictional field of approximately five million potential members without including any workers engaged in the sale of retail products through retail food stores, and

WHEREAS, There appears to be no logical reason why there should be two International Unions representing the workers in a food store and the membership of such employees in one union would give greater strength to the workers, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America pioneered organization among employees in the retail food field and in approximately ninety per cent of all cases were the first to bring trade union organization to such employees, and

WHEREAS, Despite the existence of a national understanding between the Retail Clerks and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the situation has not grown better, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention direct that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give favorable consideration to our request that complete and full jurisdiction of all employees in retail food stores be granted to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, with the understanding that in the granting of such jurisdiction to our organization a plan would be worked out which could accomplish this result with the least amount of disadvantage to the owners of the stores and to the workers employed therein, and be it further

RESOLVED, That at a convenient time the Executive Council would set a date for the presentation of further information which we feel would justify our claim for complete and full jurisdiction of all employees in the retail food field.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, When the House and Senate Labor Committee established the seventy-five cents per hour minimum wage provision in Fair Labor Standards Act it may have been fair and equitable, and

WHEREAS, Since the establishment of this minimum wage provision, the cost of living has risen by leaps and bounds, compelling millions of American workers to live far below the boasted American standards, and

WHEREAS, Due to economic conditions in certain localities the established minimum becomes the maximum despite the

greatly reduced purchasing power of the dollar, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act to increase the minimum wage provision of the law to at least one dollar and twenty-five cents per hour.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CLASSIFY UNDULANT FEVER AS OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE IN MEAT PACKING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, Many of our sovereign states lost time benefits for workers suffering from injuries sustained while pursuing their employment duties, and

WHEREAS, The giant meat packing industry is a vital segment of our industrial life, and

WHEREAS, The workers in the meat packing industry are subject and susceptible to certain occupational hazards which are not found in other industries, and

WHEREAS, One such occupational hazard is the malady known as "Undulant Fever," and

WHEREAS, It is well known that "Undulant Fever" is transmitted from livestock to human beings, and is more prevalent among packing plant workers than any other segment of our society, and

WHEREAS, "Undulant Fever" is not now recognized in most of our sovereign states as an occupational hazard, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cooperate with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America to have each state classify "Undulant Fever" as an occupational disease in the meat packing industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASING BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, It is generally conceded

that there should be a broadening of the scope of our social security program, and

WHEREAS, Such would tend to slacken, to some extent, at least, any unemployment situation should it become more aggravated than at present, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as supporting;

1. an increase in the amount of social security benefits paid.
2. a decrease in the age limit from 65 to 60 years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, Under present living conditions the 75¢ per hour minimum wage is highly inadequate, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, On instructions of the 18th General Convention of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, that the American Federation of Labor be petitioned to go on record in support of a minimum hourly wage rate of \$1.25 per hour.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO INCLUDE HOSPITALIZATION PLAN

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, has officially stated that the social security financing is at a point where not only an increase in benefits can be accomplished, but also a 60-day free hospitalization plan for those eligible for social security benefits without any further financing, and

WHEREAS, The greatest fear facing the aged today is sickness, need of care, doctor's services and hospitalization, without money to pay doctors for even the slightest care or treatment, which suicides and death from lack of care prove daily, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record approving Security Administrator Ewing's plan on free hospitalization and doctor's care for those eligible for social security benefits and request the American Federation of Labor, during the next session of Congress, to secure action

in Congress to put this plan in force at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RECOGNITION OF CRAFT UNION JURISDICTION

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Chas. B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, Frank P. Converse, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in the organization campaigns it has conducted had always assured the interested organizations that where it was advantageous to organize on a vertical basis, those people being organized would be segregated into the organization which had jurisdiction over the work they performed, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has not carried out the principles established under the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor as it applies to the labor unions who are established as craft organizations, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in taking the position of allowing distinct craftsmen to remain in Federal Labor Unions and leaving the decision up to the craftsmen affected to use their own discretion as to whether or not they want to affiliate with the established craft organization which properly covers the type of work being done, and

WHEREAS, The craft organizations having jurisdiction over certain types of work are being impeded and impaired by the conditions that now exist are faced with absolute disintegration should these conditions be allowed to continue, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor order any and all member National and International Unions to order their various local unions to transfer to the proper craft organization having jurisdiction over the work being performed, and any and all such members coming under such jurisdiction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor turn over to the various National and International Unions such craftsmen who come under the jurisdiction of the National and International Unions who are now members of any and all Federal Labor Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE; INCREASING BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Louis

P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many workers within the age sphere of sixty are constantly being replaced by younger men and women thus finding themselves in an ever narrowing field for gainful employment, especially in the larger industrial areas of the nations, and

WHEREAS, Many workers reaching the minimum retirement age of sixty-five find it impossible to live on the allotments as presently computed on earnings since the inception of the Social Security Act, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Annual Convention in New York City in September 1952, take steps to sponsor Federal legislation which would expedite a change in the social security laws whereby the minimum age limit of sixty-five could be lowered to sixty, and with a provision for a minimum pension for such retired workers of \$30.00 per week, allowing for increases as presently computed on earnings in accordance with provisions of the Social Security Act, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates at the National A. F. of L. Convention pledge their respective State Federations, Central Labor Bodies, and local unions to seek support on the part of their respective U. S. Senators and Representatives for such proposed legislation in order to have this objective successfully accomplished.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FULL COVERAGE OF ALL WORKERS UNDER UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Congress has been urged to adopt legislation designed to require full coverage of all workers under unemployment compensation laws and also under the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, It is the considered opinion that not only are the various states slow to expand their unemployment compensation laws to provide for full coverage of all workers, but that at the present time these laws, as well as the Federal Social Security Act, unfairly exempt from their operation such persons as agricultural and domestic workers, public employees, and employees in charitable organizations, and

WHEREAS, it is believed that the laws of all states should uniformly protect all workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Annual Convention in New York City in September go on record urging adoption by the Federal Congress of legislation designed to require full coverage of all workers under unemployment compensation laws and the Social Security Act and that the A. F. of L. endeavor to have such legislation enacted speedily.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPEAL OF MERIT RATING SYSTEM UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States is called upon to repeal those provisions of the Social Security Act which permit the various states to enact Merit Rating Systems and asking Congress instead, to pass legislation which would permit horizontal reductions of all employer contributions where, in the opinion of the Social Security Board, subject to well-defined actuarial principles, the state reserve fund is sufficiently large to guarantee the solvency of the funds, and

WHEREAS, The system of merit rating is steadily becoming more menacing as well as a serious danger and an insufferable burden to Unemployment Compensation Reserve Funds, to all smaller, unstable or seasonal employers as well as to the workers of the Nation, and

WHEREAS, It is further pointed out that under the present Federal Social Security Act the various states are not permitted to reduce employers' contributions except by means of this intolerable system of Merit Rating, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952 formally express its opposition to the system of merit rating and that it pledge itself to seek Congressional action to repeal those provisions of the Social Security Act, which permit the various states to enact merit rating systems, and call instead for such legislation permitting horizontal reduction of employer contributions where authorized by the Social Security Board, and subject to sound actuarial principles, and where the State Reserve Fund is sufficiently large to guarantee the solvency of the Unemployment Compensation Fund.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BENEFIT COVERAGE FOR ILLNESS OR PERMANENT DISABILITY

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There appears to have been given little or no consideration to the needs of the chronic sick and those who are permanently and totally dependent due to disability or illness, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is already on record favoring federal social security legislation which would provide benefits for temporary disability resulting from illness, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952 take steps to institute a study of such proposed legislation with a view toward having the Federal Congress subsequently enact legislation which would provide benefits for dependency due to permanent and total disability or illness.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXTENSION OF BENEFITS' COVERAGE TO ALL WORKERS

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Congress is urged to adopt legislation designed to cover all workers on an actuarially sound basis, so that proper insurance benefits may be received for unemployment, sickness, health and other disability, together with adequate payments for old age insurance and survivors' benefits insurance, and

WHEREAS, The history of social security in the United States is proof that the individual states cannot adequately handle so vast a problem because it is quite obvious that unemployment compensation was not adopted by our states until they were virtually forced to do so by Federal action, and since even now Old Age Insurance and Survivors' Benefits' insurance are handled on a Federal basis, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952 take steps to bring about adoption at the next session of Congress of legislation designed to cover all workers on an actuarially sound basis providing insurance benefits as heretofore outlined, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. express its opposition to those Senators and Representatives who oppose extension of social security on a Federal basis, and thus preventing adequate security for Federal employees and even go so far as to obstruct even the underwriting by the Federal Government of the solvency of a State Unemployment Reserve Fund, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all Senators and Representatives to support legislative bills of the type of those proposed by President Truman, which are designed to broaden the coverage and expand the benefits provided by the Social Security laws and thus give the workers the protection to which they are entitled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CREATION OF AFL DEPARTMENT TO ASSIST STATE FEDERATIONS ON LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is essential for organized labor in each state to know of the legislative activities in the various other states, to be forewarned as to adoption of anti-labor legislation, as well as to be familiar with the nature of progressive proposals or legislative actions throughout the country, as well as to be kept informed as to the possible effect of proposed legislation in their own respective State Legislatures, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952 take steps toward the creation of a new Department of the A. F. of L. which might possibly be known as "Department of State Legislation." It would be the function and duties of this Department to act as a clearing house and advisory agency on matters of State legislation, serving the State Federations of Labor throughout the country. Our parent body, the A. F. of L., should be mindful of the fact that it has become a practice for the various state legislatures to watch and copy actions on legislation by other legislatures, particularly measures affecting organized labor. Hence, we deem it essential that there be such a central clearing house of legislative information that will prove of direct service and of constructive value in keeping the various State Federations fully and ably informed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL AFL PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is need for a comprehensive system of public relations, at both the state and national level, in order to depict clearly the aims and objectives in the labor movement and counteract any vicious anti-labor propaganda, and

WHEREAS, A truthful presentation to

the public of the aims and methods of organized labor must necessarily convince the public and press alike that the labor movement should be protected against dismemberment by Congressional action or otherwise, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952, arrange, through its Executive Council, to appropriate substantial sums of money in order to advance a national public relations program and that we also call upon the International Unions to appropriate funds for public relations purposes and meeting the needs therefor, such funds to be channeled through either the American Federation of Labor or their own facilities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we commend the American Federation of Labor for sponsoring the radio broadcasts by Frank Edwards and we pledge our continued support in bringing this program to the attention of our membership, and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the various State Federations of Labor work closely with the A. F. of L. in the advancement of an overall national public relations program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO PERMIT INCREASED EARNINGS

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security law permits beneficiaries to work and earn an amount not to exceed \$50 per month in addition to the social security payment without deduction from the monthly social security benefit, and

WHEREAS, This provision prevents qualified workers from accepting part-time employment when such services are badly needed to augment regular or full-time employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge Congress to amend the social security law to permit beneficiaries to earn \$600 per year, regardless of the amount earned in any month, and that in case the monthly earnings permitted be increased by amendment of the law, the yearly earnings permitted be increased for the year to 12 times the sum permitted for monthly earnings.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TRADE UNION RIGHTS FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Ar-

nold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, William J. McEntee, Jerry Wurf, George S. Sparkes, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

WHEREAS, Certain public officials in state and local government engage in unfair labor practices when their employees attempt to form or join labor unions while some engage in discriminatory employment practices for political reasons, and

WHEREAS, Cases of discrimination and outright dismissal because of union activities are common, and

WHEREAS, Such unfair labor practices do not occur according to any sectional pattern or more frequently at one level of government than the other, but occur in all parts of the country and at all administrative levels, and

WHEREAS, Such unfair labor practices have been outlawed in private employment by federal legislation and by legislation in a number of the States, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, A. F. of L., has exposed this situation to the Congress of the United States by submitting to the United States Senate Sub-Committee on Labor Management Relations documents pertaining to unfair labor practices engaged in by some units of state and local government and has sought relief through federal control of employment practices under grant-in-aid programs to the states, and

WHEREAS, The denial of the fundamental rights of assembly and petition, association and collective negotiation, and of union organization and representation to substantial groups of public employees is incompatible with our democratic doctrines and our democratic form of government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New York City, September 1952, vigorously protest the anti-union attitudes of many states and local public officials toward the organization of their employees and call upon the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to give all possible assistance to the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, A. F. of L., in its efforts to establish and secure for state and local government employees the rights of free trade union organization and representation, and to call upon Congress and the various state legislatures to take prompt and appropriate remedial action so that state and local government employees may exercise the right to organize and the right of collective negotiation for improved conditions of work without fear of discrimination or dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PETITION FCC TO DESIGNATE TV CHANNELS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TO LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 41 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Communications Commission has indicated that the television channels set aside for non-profit, educational operations will not be available to bona fide labor unions who desire to carry on educational programs through this medium, and

WHEREAS, This medium will be vitally important for the promulgation of trade union ideals, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its convention held in New York, N. Y., respectfully petition the Federal Communications Commission to make the designated educational channels available to qualified legitimate labor unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TAXATION

Resolution No. 42 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, An employer, in the necessary course of his business, entertains clients, said expense being tax deductible, and

WHEREAS, A woman worker, in the necessary course of her holding a job must in many instances pay someone for domestic service, said expense being taxable, and

WHEREAS, This results in an inequitable tax structure, favoring business and ignoring the woman worker, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call upon Congress to enact legislation correcting this obvious tax bias.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Resolution No. 43 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The strength of democracy is determined by the extent to which people are guaranteed freedom to exercise their franchise in electing their representatives, and

WHEREAS, The present primary election procedures in this country and state results in the nomination of candidates by

professional political groups operating in the sanctuary of court houses and exclusive clubs, thereby presenting a ticket to the voters which closely approaches the no-choice ballot of the dictator realms, and

WHEREAS, There are such differing and antiquated state primary election systems that out of the ultimate confusion the electorate is finally allowed to choose among the evils that the machines have selected as candidates, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use all means in its power to secure a Constitutional Amendment providing for uniform national primary elections and give to the people the right to vote for the representatives they want, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take necessary action to have the primary election law re-examined on the state level and restore to the people the right to select candidates for election to Congress and state executive positions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Resolution No. 44 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The general welfare and security of a nation depend upon the health of its people, and

WHEREAS, The present cost of adequate medical, surgical and hospital services are beyond the reach of a large portion of our population, and

WHEREAS, There is pending in Congress a bill to provide a program for national health insurance and public health and to assist in increasing the number of adequately trained professional and other health personnel, and

WHEREAS, Reactionary forces such as the American Medical Association are seeking by misrepresentation to stifle such legislation in order to perpetuate their short-sighted and selfish control of the field of medicine, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, call upon Congress to enact the said National Health Insurance and Public Health Act in order to assure adequate medical care to all of our people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the appropriate committees of Congress and to the representatives thereof from the State of New York.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LOWERING AGE LIMIT UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 45 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For a number of sessions the American Federation of Labor has favored reforms to the Social Security Act which would take care of an earlier retirement age and make provisions for those who become incapacitated and not capable of securing sustaining employment before the age of 65 years, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention again go on record as favoring that the age limit for eligibility to social security benefits be lowered to 60 years and that participants incapacitated by illness or injury to the extent that they are no longer able to earn a sustaining livelihood be eligible for the benefits at the age of 55 years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMEND ANTI-INJUNCTION STATUTES

Resolution No. 46 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Despite the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, both the state and federal courts in the climate of the Taft-Hartley Act, are handing down injunctions against Labor organizations more freely than at any time during the past fifteen years, and

WHEREAS, The rights of labor to peacefully advise the public of the existence of a labor dispute has been threatened by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the state courts, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon all its affiliated unions to make such changes or amendments as are necessary in the existing anti-injunction statutes to restore the protection envisaged by these acts.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ALLOCATION

Resolution No. 47 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present defense procurement and allocation policies have created widespread hardships in many areas of our economy, and

WHEREAS, The military officials in charge of procurement and allocations have repeatedly demonstrated that they are interested only in low bids regardless of the fact that such low bids mean low wages, low standards and low working conditions, and

WHEREAS, As a result of such policies many military contracts have been given to non-union plants and non-union areas at a time when union plants have had to close down for lack of orders and materials, and

WHEREAS, The military officials in charge of procurement and allocation have encouraged the construction of non-union, tax-exempt plants in non-union areas while refusing to grant contracts to long-established plants employing experienced union workers, and

WHEREAS, Such policies have resulted in unemployment for union members and have threatened the very existence of union plants, and

WHEREAS, Such policies have created a surplus of cheap unorganized labor which has already begun to undermine established union standards and which will constitute an even more serious threat to such standards in the future, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention vigorously condemn the present procurement and allocation policies of the military officials, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention urge the establishment of a permanent tripartite civilian agency which will supervise such procurement and allocation policies to meet the needs of our defense efforts and to stabilize and maintain the established standards of our economy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNING INDIRECT SUBSIDIES BY MUNICIPALITIES TO BUSINESS

Resolution No. 48 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Plants are moving from New York State stimulated by promises of cheap labor and free, or no, taxation for many years at the expense of the taxpayer, who is also a worker, and

WHEREAS, Large profits from such out-of-town enterprises are made in New York State, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor is not opposed to the freedom of movement of business enterprises nor to the industrialization of new areas, but rather to the exploitation of workers and of taxpayers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call

upon Congress and the state legislatures to enact legislation outlawing the direct and indirect subsidization of municipalities of business enterprises which subsidization works to exploit workers and taxpayers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

H.R. 6492

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Mort Brandenburg, George Oneto, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, Since 1933, Federal taxes on distilled spirits have risen from a moderately low rate of \$1.10 a proof gallon to the prevailing appallingly high and prohibitive rate of \$10.50, and

WHEREAS, The prevailing tax rate has increased the cost of production tenfold, thus making distilled spirits a luxury item economically available only to the rich, and

WHEREAS, As a direct consequence of such excessive taxes, legitimate sales of distilled spirits have been steadily falling off to an alarming degree, presenting a serious threat to the economic security and stability of both labor and management, by forcing the liquor industry with its billions of dollars of investment and four hundred other industries which supply its needs, to be faced with ruination and possible extinction through taxation and confronting labor with the dread prospect of unemployment to one million working men and women in the industry, and

WHEREAS, Because of such rapid decline of sales, the excess of production over consumption for the year has reached the huge figure of seven hundred thousand (700,000) proof gallons per month which must be crammed into warehouses now bulging with nine hundred million gallons, having already increased four hundred million gallons within the last ten years, and

WHEREAS, Because of the enormous decline of legitimate sales and the consequent abnormal accumulation of warehouse stocks, these prohibitive taxes are defeating the very purpose for which they were intended, for in place of receiving an increase of hundreds of millions of dollars of additional much-needed revenue which the government anticipated and expected there have been incalculable losses of millions of dollars of revenue lost, and

WHEREAS, While legitimate liquor industry is rapidly succumbing to overtaxation, the business of illegal production and sale of distilled spirits is growing with such enormously rapid strides, that their sales are estimated to exceed those of legitimate industry; 19,644 illegal

stills, (nearly equalling the number seized during the peak of the Prohibition era) having a daily capacity of 677,179 proof gallons, having been seized during 1950, amounting to approximately 200,000 gallons per day more than the daily production of legal tax-paid whiskey by licensed distillers, and

WHEREAS, The illegal distilled spirits business is parasitically feeding upon and is consuming the blood and sinews of the helpless, heavily tax-burdened legitimate industry, is a serious menace to a free competitive society and is fast hastening the return of the lawlessness, corruption and moral decay of the Prohibition era and possibly the adoption of another Prohibition Amendment, and

WHEREAS, In recognition of the serious nature of the problems which confront both labor and management, fully realizing the causes of those problems and the dangerous consequences if immediate relief is not forthcoming, the Honorable Emanuel Celler, a member of the House of Representatives, has introduced a bill in the House known as H.R. 6492, described as a bill to "amend the Internal Revenue Code so as to reduce the rate of tax applicable to distilled spirits," and designed to reduce the tax to the rate of \$6.00 on each proof gallon, and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid bill proposed by Congressman Celler is a matter of utmost concern to the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union of America and to labor generally and the reduction of the tax rate provided for in the proposed bill is vitally needed for the legitimate distilled spirits industry is to survive; that the reduced rate of tax will tend to promote the welfare of management and labor by increasing sales to a much more extended consumer market, by discouraging illegal production and sales and will tend to prevent and forestall the evils attendant upon the illicit distilled spirits business, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to support and help to achieve the passage of the above mentioned bill as proposed by Hon. Emanuel Celler in the House of Representatives, known as H.R. 6492, described as a bill to "amend the Internal Revenue Code so as to reduce the rate of tax applicable to distilled spirits," and designed to reduce the tax to the rate of \$6.00 on each proof gallon of distilled spirits, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all International Unions, State Federations, City Central bodies, Federal Unions and Local Unions be urged to disseminate the subject matter of this Resolution and otherwise actively support the provisions of H.R. 6492.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES COUNCIL EXTENDS THANKS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates of: Building Service Employees International Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of Government Employees, National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; Railway Mail Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employees Council, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government Service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in this seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNFAIR FOREIGN COMPETITION

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James McDevitt, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Continued employment at fair wages is dependent upon a steady market for the products of labor at fair prices, and

WHEREAS, Our extremely high national financial obligations, including outlays for national defense, interest on the national debt, foreign aid, assistance to veterans and price support of agricultural products require a high national income, and

WHEREAS, Such a level of national income can be maintained only if employment and wages remain at or near the present high level, thus producing a large volume of goods salable only in a strong market backed by a high purchasing power, and

WHEREAS, We are conscious of the need to maintain democratic governments and prevent them from gravitating toward totalitarianism and we are mindful of the fact that as workers in the United States we benefit by an expanding world trade in two particular respects: (1) Over 2 million workers in this country are dependent upon exports for their jobs; the most recent analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates that the employment of nearly 2,400,000 workers in the first half of 1947 were dependent upon exports; (2) As consumers we are able to purchase foreign-made goods, which otherwise would not be available, for consumption in this country, and

WHEREAS, What is true for American Industry as a whole is not true for each specific product made in this country. There are some instances in which foreign competitors utilizing substandard conditions of employment can and do compete directly with American products and could, in the absence of reasonable protection by import duties, drive these producers to lower levels and deprive American workers of employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn as unfair and unjustifiable any foreign competition that derives its competitive advantage in our markets from payment of lower wages and imposition of inferior working conditions in the countries shipping their products to us, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we support all efforts to establish reasonable safeguards against such unfair foreign competition either through the tariff or import quotas to the extent necessary to assure fairness of competition, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be accorded full and adequate representation on all agencies set up to effectuate the above purposes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The textile industry has

expanded its productive capacity greater than ever before while the workers' buying power and consumer demand has lagged so far behind the increased productivity that now we are faced with a depression in the midst of the defense boom, and

WHEREAS, According to a study by the American Federation of Labor, based on reliable government and private economic reports, it is estimated that the rise in productivity since 1939 through 1951 is about 33%, as against the factory workers' buying power of only 12%, or less than one-third the rise in productivity, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Executive Council called on the Wage Stabilization Board to accept the following decision and principle, "that workers must advance their incomes proportionately with their producing power in individual plants, otherwise living standards will lag and the economy cannot be kept in balance, and that the WSB approve wage increases resulting from more efficient and increased productivity," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse this vital principle and economic necessity, and that we petition the Wage Stabilization Board to set forth a new productive regulation in order to rectify a rank injustice done to the workers under wage controls, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we demand a minimum of 10% in the new wage determination under Walsh-Healey for increase productivity in the textile industry as a matter of governmental policy and a requirement in government purchases.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES BETWEEN A.F. of L. UNIONS

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board reported as of May 31, 1952 that American Federation of Labor unions squared off against each other in 52 bargaining elections during the first quarter of this year, and

WHEREAS, Said report showed that in one case there were three American Federation of Labor affiliates on the same ballot, covering a jurisdictional dispute, and

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board's quarterly report also showed that the number of intra-organization squabbles was about average for the past few years, and for the last quarter re-

quests for elections filed showed an increase of 12% over the same period of last year, and

WHEREAS, The International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has been a victim of such jurisdictional disputes and raids more than once, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New York, N. Y., go on record in favor of unity, solidarity and brotherly cooperation among unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to the end that the great trade union family under the banner of the American Federation of Labor avoid jurisdictional disputes among themselves and seek to compose their jurisdictional differences by negotiation, mediation and conciliation within the framework of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That state federations, city central bodies set up such panels on jurisdictional disputes to give consideration on state and local levels to same with a view to help compose such disputes amicably within the family of the American Federation of Labor of their respective states and localities, so that only upon failure of state and city bodies to solve jurisdictional disputes same may be referred to the highest tribunal of the American Federation of Labor—its Executive Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COST OF LIVING

Resolution No. 54 — By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, During the month of July 1952 the price index reached an all-time peak eclipsing all previous mounting records, and

WHEREAS, All evidence available proves that it is due to profiteering right down the line, from the wholesale to the retail level, and that minor wage increases granted to a small minority of the wage earners of the country had nothing to do with the same, and

WHEREAS, Congress, by a majority vote of the reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats in control of the Congress and Senate, refused to pass a proper price control act at its last session, and

WHEREAS, The majority of reactionaries of both Parties in Congress aided the Capehart and Herlong amendments and guaranteed business their pre-Korean war markups and made labor the forgotten man of the country, facing

daily the mounting rise in the cost of living, and

WHEREAS, The reactionaries in Congress made sure that only wage controls were maintained and thus forced a lowering of the living standards of the wage earners of the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New York, N. Y., go on record to urge the President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, to take forthwith any and all necessary steps within his power to arrest the rise in the cost of living and to protect the wage earners of our country and the public at large against the clear and present danger of further inflation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention assembly of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of having the Federation obtain a pledge and a vow from the presidential and vice presidential candidates of both Parties that they will use their respective offices to fight inflation, curb profiteering and roll back prices to the level of pre-Korean war days—giving due consideration only to wage increases granted by industry since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions

EXCISE TAX

Resolution No. 55 — By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States did not keep faith with the working men and women engaged in the making of handbags, luggage, travel and personal leather goods novelties and the consuming public at large, and went back on its pledge to remove the 20% excise tax on said articles of our manufacture after the conclusion of World-War II, and

WHEREAS, The discriminatory 20% excise tax is still being exacted from the consumers of America on the above-enumerated articles which are all daily necessities and not luxuries and thus affect the limited budget of the more than 62 million wage earners of our country, and

WHEREAS, The International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has now redoubled its efforts in a great crusade to remove the 20% excise tax on handbags, luggage, travel and personal leather goods novelties, and one of the requirements of the campaign is an official endorsement of all international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

to go on record against the discriminatory luxury tax on said articles of our manufacture, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New York, N. Y., go on record to support the efforts of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union to instruct the high officers of the Federation to obtain a pledge and a vow from the presidential and vice presidential candidates of both Parties that they will use their respective offices in favor of legislation that will redeem the pledge of Congress to set aside the 20% discriminatory excise tax on all articles of our manufacture and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention assembly of the American Federation of Labor go on record to have each and every international union affiliated with the Federation endorse the crusade of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union for the removal of this discriminatory tax, and shall pass an appropriate resolution appealing to all members of Congress and Senate to set aside said excise tax.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIVILIAN AGENCIES TO PLACE DEFENSE ORDERS WITH UNION SHOPS

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegates Ossip Wallinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The procurement agencies of the Military Forces of the U.S.A. have demonstrated their disregard for union standards and conditions when placing orders on handbags, luggage, brief cases and leather goods novelties, and have embarked upon a policy of aiding and abetting substandard shops, fly-by-night employers, jobbers and men totally alien to our respective trades, and

WHEREAS, They have placed defense orders for all articles of our manufacture on a basis of lowest bidding notwithstanding all assurances of the National Production Authority of the Department of Commerce that defense orders would be placed with our manufacturers on a basis of negotiated contracts, and

WHEREAS, The International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and its entire membership have placed themselves 100% behind the mobilization efforts of our country and have supported said efforts in every way possible, including substantial purchases of U. S. Government Bonds

from the treasuries of our International Union and our local unions as well as by large purchases by our membership from their meager and limited yearly incomes, and

WHEREAS, The placing of defense orders with substandard shops threatens to undermine union standards and conditions in our shops in contractual relations with our union, and

WHEREAS, The underemployment and unemployment of our membership can be reduced to a minimum if defense orders for all articles of our manufacture are placed with union shops, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New York, N. Y., go on record to support the efforts of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, a constituent and integral part of the Federation, to make sure that orders for handbags, luggage, brief cases, travel and personal leather goods shall be placed with union employers of our trades and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will use their good offices to have defense orders taken out of the hands of the military and placed with a civilian agency which will give due consideration that military orders be placed on a basis of negotiated contracts and not lowest bidding and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all state federations, city central bodies, federal unions and local unions extend all their support to the campaign of the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union that military orders on handbags, luggage, brief cases, travel and personal leather goods articles be placed with union shops of our industry and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor petition the candidates of both Parties for president and vice-president with a view to obtaining a pledge from said candidates that they will support said resolution of the Convention that a civilian agency be designated to place orders on all articles of our manufacture, and that orders on handbags for the Women's Auxiliary Forces of our country and travel, brief cases and leather goods novelties for the officers and Armed Forces of the United States be placed with union shops.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ack-

royd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Government contracts for textiles in woolen and worsteds totalled about 33% in 1951, and

WHEREAS, It is estimated that the procurement of all textiles for the Government this year will be over one-quarter of all production, and

WHEREAS, It is a purpose of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act to protect the employees against the imposition of substandard working conditions and depressed wages, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all Government procurement in textiles shall be awarded to those mills in which the wage and working conditions have been established by collective bargaining, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Section 29 of the Walsh-Healey Act, entitled "Determination of Qualifications," should be more strongly invoked by the Department of Labor as the administrator of the Act, in order to prevent any qualifications for contracts which would aid and promote unfair competitive conditions in the textile industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution shall be sent to the Secretary of Labor, and that the American Federation of Labor shall make every endeavor to secure the adoption of the principles herein contained as a means of protecting our membership against the low standard anti-union employer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WALSH-HEALEY

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, At the last session of Congress an attempt was made to nullify the principles of the Public Contracts Act, and certain amendments did pass which are detrimental to the interests of the workers causing long delays in the effectiveness and operation of the Administrator's determination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legal Department of the American Federation of Labor examine these amendments in Section 10 of the Act, and such measures necessary for the protection of the workers shall be introduced at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RESTORATION OF TARIFF ON HANDBAGS TO 35% AND 50%

Resolution No. 59 — By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Handbag and personal leather goods novelty workers in all foreign countries engaged in the manufacture of said articles for export to the U.S.A. receive but one-half or one-third of the wages paid to our union members, while using, of late years, the same tools, implements and machinery, and

WHEREAS, Foreign manufacturers employ tens of thousands of home workers under sweat shop conditions to manufacture handbags and personal leather goods novelties which are exported to our country, and

WHEREAS, Germany, Spain, France, Italy and several South American countries are flooding the American market with articles of our manufacture at such competitive prices as endanger the working and living standards of the organized workers of our industry, and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers of several foreign countries are being helped and subsidized by their respective governments to export handbags and personal leather goods novelties regardless of actual cost, and

WHEREAS, The tariff on imported handbags and pocketbooks has been reduced from 35% to 17½% on bags made of reptile, and to 20% on bags made of other leather, and

WHEREAS, The importation of hundreds of thousands of bags made of straw and other materials, which are sold in our country for about one-half or one-third of the cost of actual manufacture in the United States, have actually deprived the workers of our industry of close to three months of employment on summer bags, and this competition was made possible by the reduction in the tariff of from 50% to 25%, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has given due consideration to other domestic industries which have suffered a similar fate, but the handbag and personal leather goods novelty workers have been the forgotten men, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in New York, N. Y., go on record to instruct its officers and Executive Council to use all their efforts in favor of restoration of the 35% tariff on handbags made of reptile and leathers regardless of from what country they may be brought to the United States, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all state federations, city central bodies, federal unions and local unions extend all moral support to the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, a constituent and integral part of the Federation, in its national campaign to eliminate said unfair and cut-throat competition which endangers the working and living standards of the handbag and personal leather goods novelty workers and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the candidates of both Parties for president and vice-president be urged by the American Federation of Labor to pledge their support to the restoration of the 35% tariff on handbags made of reptile and leathers and to 50% on handbags made of straw and other materials, as was the case prior to the 50% cut affected in the reciprocity agreements.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Unemployment in the textile and other industries has reached dangerous proportions and thousands of workers have exhausted their unemployment compensation checks, it is essential to adopt such measures as will bring about speedy relief for the alleviation of the hardships brought about by widespread and growing unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The following measures were introduced into the Congress of the United States to bring about such relief to the jobless: H.R. 6954, the Forand Bill, which would provide Federal grants for reinsurance of state funds whose reserves have been dangerously reduced; H.R. 6174, the Dingell Bill, which would increase the amounts of unemployment compensation; H.R. 6437, the Lane Bill, which would grant additional unemployment compensation to workers who have exhausted their benefits; and H.R. 7727, the Roosevelt Bill, which would provide unemployment benefits to veterans, and

WHEREAS, Congress failed to act on these Bills, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled give its unqualified support to the principles contained in the above-mentioned Bills, and that every possible effort be made to secure their passage at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates An-

thony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The prevailing legal hourly minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act is still 75¢, as amended and made effective in January, 1950, and

WHEREAS, This substandard hourly rate is imposing great hardship upon those affected, thereby reversing the principle of the legislation to "unfair labor standards" in this period of the highest living costs in our nation's history, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act increasing the minimum wage to \$1.25, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this proposed legislation be given priority by the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NARCOTIC DRUG ACT

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The State of Ohio does have a "Uniform Narcotic Drug Act," which became a law in 1935, and

WHEREAS, This Act, Ohio General Code 12672-1 to 22, designates a violation of this act as "offensive against public health," and

WHEREAS, To provide a person and especially a minor with a drug that will destroy his mind as well as his body, does more harm to the person and to society than if he were murdered, and yet such an act is merely classed as an offense against public health, and

WHEREAS, The law now states that it is unlawful to sell, administer, or dispense any narcotic drug except as authorized by the Uniform Narcotic Act, and

WHEREAS, The penalty under this act (a fine not to exceed \$500.00 or imprisonment not to exceed five years, or both; and for the second offense, a fine not to exceed \$1,000 or imprisonment not to exceed five years, or both) is woefully inadequate for the crime committed against the individual and society, and

WHEREAS, In 1949 the legislature broadened the definition of narcotics, but nothing was done about the penalty or the classification of an offense against public health, and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the un-

lawful sale of narcotic drugs is much more than an offense against public health; it is a sinister destruction of mind and body and any person engaged in such unlawful sale is a very definite menace to the community in which he lives, and

WHEREAS, The Ohio State Federation of Labor will sponsor the following proposed law in the next session of the Ohio Legislature:

Section 12400-1

"The sale of narcotic drugs, as defined in the O.G.C. Section 12672-1 to minors is hereby declared to be a capital offense within the meaning of the Constitution."

Section 12400-2

"Whoever purposely sells, or unlawfully administers, or disperses to a minor a narcotic drug shall be punished by death, unless the jury trying the accused shall recommend mercy, in which case the punishment shall be imprisonment in the penitentiary for life," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a violation of the Narcotic Drug Act should be classed as "an offense against the person," and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support on a national basis any movement to wipe out this dope evil.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXEMPTION OF PENSIONS FROM TAXATION

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In most cases pensions are recognized by the Federal Government as gratuities paid for services rendered and therefore are made exempt from taxation, and

WHEREAS, There are some groups, such as retired firemen and their widows, who do not enjoy tax exemption on the meager pensions received by them, and

WHEREAS, The ever-rising cost of living is making it increasingly difficult for said pensioners to enjoy the modest income which they have so justly earned by services in the past, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support legislation pending before Congress which would exempt from taxation pensions being received by retired workers and their dependents.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ECONOMIC AID TO ITALY

Resolution No. 64 — By Delegate

Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its 1951 Annual Convention endorsed the essential aim of our government's economic aid to the free countries in Western Europe, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was right on that occasion in stating "Where would Italy, France and Britain and the other free countries of the world be today, if there had been no Marshall Plan," and

WHEREAS, It is our firm conviction that the democratic and free trade unions of Europe should be accorded a greater voice in determining the policies of their respective governments and industries receiving American financial aid, and

WHEREAS, The crucial general political elections are scheduled in Italy early next Spring, and

WHEREAS, Attempts by the totalitarian forces have been intensified to destroy democracy in Italy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention fully endorse the American Federation of Labor's decisions on matters of economic aid to the free countries of Europe, and be it further

RESOLVED, That special attention be given to extend economic aid to Italy in order to assure that such aid will be sufficient, timely and solely directed to the strengthening of the democratic institutions and free trade unions in that country.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

HISTADRUT

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We laud the accomplishments of the more than 400,000 workers organized in the free democratic trade union movement in the State of Israel, known as the Histadrut or the General Federation of Labor in Israel, and

WHEREAS, We congratulate this youngest democracy and express pride over the achievements of the Histadrut, which is the only free trade union movement in the entire Middle East, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952 reaffirm its solidarity and expressions of friendship with the Histadrut, mindful of the fact that for over a quarter of a century the A. F. of L. has taken the lead in mobilizing support among American trades unionists on be-

half of the General Federation of Labor in Israel. Let us call upon all affiliated A. F. of L. bodies and their members to strengthen the Histadrut—the arm that builds labor Israel and to help keep that arm strong by participating wholeheartedly in the Israel Histadrut Campaign.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON MIGRATION OF WORKERS

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Several hundred thousands of workers from Mexico, the West Indies and Central American countries have been imported into the United States under legal contract since 1942, and it has also been the practice of certain employers to recruit workers from Canada and Puerto Rico for employment in the United States, and

WHEREAS, Over half of a million Mexican nationals were enticed into the United States illegally by large scale farm operators in the southwestern United States for exploitation at wages and under conditions which make such workers practically slaves, and

WHEREAS, The treatment accorded both legally contracted workers in agriculture and those who enter illegally has been a matter of grave concern to organized labor in the United States as well as in other countries whose workers are being exploited, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, during the coming year sponsor a conference of trade unions from all countries whose workers are affected by such migration, to work out plans, and programs whereby workers coming into the United States may be protected and the American workers in whose trade or industry such workers may be employed can be fully protected from unfair competition.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Malan government of South Africa is waging a campaign of terrorism and hate against Negroes and East Indians and all colored peoples because of their fight against racial segregation, discrimination and all forms of persecution, and

WHEREAS, This fascist regime in

its brutal violence upon the Negroes, Indians and colored peoples because of racial prejudice is feeding the flames of Russian communism which seeks worldwide domination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in New York City, New York, September 1952, go on record as condemning the Malan South African government as a menace to democracy, the free trade union movement and the free world.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, There is located in the City of Philadelphia, Pa., a printing and publishing concern known as the Curtis Publishing Company, and

WHEREAS, This concern publishes the following magazines: The Saturday Evening Post, Ladies Home Journal, Holiday, Country Gentleman and Jack and Jill, and

WHEREAS, Efforts have been made by the Allied Printing Trades Council of Philadelphia, with the support and backing of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, to bring about the unionization of this notorious non-union publishing company, and

WHEREAS, An undertaking of this magnitude needs the wholehearted support and cooperation of every unionist to be successfully carried through, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled extend its full cooperation to the labor movement of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania in its efforts to organize the Curtis Publishing Company.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates George L. Russ, Charles G. Heisel, Max Shine, Insurance Agents International Union.

WHEREAS, The Insurance Agents' International Union, the second youngest International of the A. F. of L. having successfully weathered the seventy-eight-day strike with the mighty Prudential Insurance Company of America, and

WHEREAS, All white-collar workers have taken new heart and courage in accepting unionism as a result of said strike, and

WHEREAS, The Insurance Agents' International Union, the most aggressive union organization in the insurance industry is organizing the agents who have been so badly abused and neglected by the insurance companies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting here in New York approve all-out support in the present organizing campaign among Hancock, Metropolitan and other life insurance companies now in progress throughout the United States and Canada, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention notify the 8,000,000 members of the A. F. of L. to purchase their insurance from insurance agents affiliated with the Insurance Agents' International Union, A. F. of L., and require proof of such membership.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, Since 1930 there has been growth and concentration of ownership of productive farm land in the United States, which has resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of independent family type farm owners, and

WHEREAS, This concentration of large scale ownership coupled with monopoly control of the processing and distribution of farm products not only threatens to eliminate the small farm owner but poses serious problems for industrial workers who are the consumers of products from farm and factory, and

WHEREAS, This process of growth of monopoly land ownership, processing and distribution of agricultural products is creating on one hand a large number of itinerant farm workers employed for wages on large farm enterprises and on the other hand, has forced one-fourth of the nation's farmers remaining on the land into the status of part-time farmers and part-time workers, and unless this trend is reversed we fear that such workers and small farmers will become a threat not only to our wages and standards of living acquired by many years of struggle through our trade unions, but such a dispossessed group may well become the breeding ground for totalitarian movements undermining the foundation of our American way of life and form of government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention call upon its officers and affiliated unions to cooperate with bona fide organizations of farmers and farm workers now in existence on both the economic and political field, to the end that this dangerous trend in American agriculture may be reversed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That wherever there are groups of part-time farmers and part-time workers who are unorganized and request the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, that assistance be given in establishing unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor's National Agricultural Workers Union for their protection and benefit.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

HOUSING

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Nearly one-third of all American families are living in city tenements, rural shacks and other types of substandard dwellings, and

WHEREAS, There is overwhelming evidence that the most critical housing needs are for workers and their families who have moved into mushrooming defense areas, low-income families now living in unhealthful, crime-breeding slums, and middle-income families who cannot afford the high rents and selling prices required for the units built by speculative builders, and

WHEREAS, Congress has failed to enact legislation to assure adequate housing in defense centers despite the fact that private builders have failed to do this vital job; has cut back the low-rent public housing program to 35,000 units a year, only about one-fourth of the annual amount authorized by the Housing Act of 1949; and has ignored the sound program of low-cost, long-term loans for cooperative housing for middle-income families strongly supported by Organized Labor, and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that rents have skyrocketed in almost every community where rent controls have been removed, thus demonstrating the continued need for effective, equitable Federal rent controls, Congress has voted to practically wipe out the rent control program, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at New York, New York, go on record as urging the Congress to enact at the earliest possible moment legislation which will meet the housing needs of the American people, including the following specific measures:

1. Appropriation of funds adequate to assure decent housing for every de-

fense worker and his family at costs he can afford to pay;

2. Authorization of annual construction of 135,000 units of low-rent public housing as intended in the Housing Act of 1949;
3. A program of Federal low-cost, long-term loans for cooperative housing for middle-income families;
4. Restoration of Federal rent controls wherever they are needed to hold down skyrocketing rents.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

LOCAL UNIONS URGED TO AFFILIATE WITH STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international unions are urged to help the state federations of labor carry out a political education program effectively by mandating the respective local unions who are still unaffiliated with their respective federations to do so at once, and thus solidify our ranks and enable us to make effective gains particularly in the field of national and state legislation, and

WHEREAS, We deem it of the utmost importance to the wage earners of America that the A. F. of L. be in a strong position, through its state federations of labor, to implement thoroughly its political education program, elect its friends to public office, and defeat labor's foes in Congress as well as in the various state legislatures, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952, take necessary steps to bring home to its affiliated international unions the need for their local affiliates to be members of the federations of labor in their respective states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we impress upon the various international unions the fact that all A. F. of L. affiliates should be part of their federation and bear their fair share of the financial and moral obligation of promoting the objectives of organized labor, the protection of its membership, and in particular, the successful implementation of its political education program.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

AMEND A. F. of L. CONSTITUTION ARTICLE XI, SECTION I

Resolution No. 73—By Central Labor Council of Honolulu, Hawaii.

WHEREAS, Article XI, Section 1, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, states in part "No Central Labor Union or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organizations," and

WHEREAS, There are no provisions elsewhere in the Constitution to safeguard legitimate American Federation of Labor local unions from the actions of irresponsible leaders and members of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, There are certain so-called labor leaders in the American Federation of Labor that are openly working with organizations hostile to the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, These men are bringing the American Federation of Labor into disrepute and causing the loss of representative elections for American Federation of Labor local unions by their actions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Article IX (Executive Council) of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by adding section 15 to read as follows "The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to direct any National, International or Federal Labor Union to remove from any office and from membership in the union concerned any one connected in any way with or aiding any organization or labor union hostile to the American Federation of Labor. After notification by the Executive Council, if such removal is not made within sixty days, the Executive Council shall be empowered to take over and create such local union where such members are still allowed to practice their duplicity into a Federal Labor Union and all property shall become the property of the American Federation of Labor. Charges under this section shall be made by any Central Labor Union, State Federation of Labor, and any National International or Federal Labor Union.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

STATE POLITICAL EDUCATION ACTIVITY

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is recommended to the American Federation of Labor that at the annual Convention in New York City, in September, it amend the A. F. of L. Constitution so as to prohibit any State Federation of Labor or Central Labor Body, existing by virtue of a charter issued by the A. F. of L., from undertaking or participating in any political education activity with relation to the

election or nomination of candidates for federal or state office, including the Presidency of the United States, United States Senate, or House of Representatives, or for Governor of any state, or for member of any state legislature, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is fostering political action and political education through its Labor's League for Political Education and it has suggested to all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Bodies that their political action be carried on through L.L.P.E. and not through their respective Federations or Central Labor Unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its annual Convention in New York City in September 1952 take steps to amend its Constitution prohibiting the Federations or Central Labor Unions, which are chartered by the A. F. of L., from direct participation in political activity except through their respective State L.L.P.E.'s and local or county subdivisions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

TEXTILE BILL, H.R. 8036

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, H.R. 8036 was introduced at the last session of Congress as ordered by the Twelfth Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, and after consultation with the legal department of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, This proposed legislation is designed to rehabilitate and stabilize labor conditions in the textile industry of the United States; to prevent unemployment, to remove obstructions to interstate commerce, to regulate wages and hours in said industry; to protect and foster the defense effort; to safeguard and promote the general welfare; and for other purposes, and

WHEREAS, This legislation is necessary to provide employment and to compensate for the phenomenal increase in man-hour productivity in the textile industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its Legislative Committee give all possible assistance to one million textile workers by securing the passage of this legislation at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ORDERS OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates of: Building Service Employees' International Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Railway Mail Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, On October 27, 1949, and again on April 17, 1950, the Postmaster General of the United States issued orders which (1) expanded the duties of unskilled employees to include duties previously performed only by skilled employees paid at a higher rate, and (2) eliminated and curtailed postal services to the detriment of the American public and to the grievous injury of all postal employees respectively, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemn both of these orders of the Postmaster General on the ground that they are not in the interest of the American public and are destructive of the working conditions and standards of all postal employees as well, and call upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take such steps as may be necessary to cause the early rescinding of these obnoxious orders by either administrative or legislative action.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM— GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates of: Building Service Employees' International Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire

Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; Railway Mail Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone.

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New York, N. Y., pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor, and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislative program for that purpose:

- (a) Enactment of legislation to provide equitable over-time pay for Federal Employees.
- (b) Enactment of legislation to modernize and liberalize the Postal Salary Classification Act of July 6th, 1945, as amended.
- (c) Actively support legislation to grant all employees of the United States Government 26 days annual leave—15 days sick leave annually, to be accumulated.
- (d) Support legislation to reclassify the salary of Postal Supervisors in keeping with good administrative practices. Rural Letter Carriers being placed on a forty-hour week, 10c per mile per day equipment maintenance with a minimum of \$4.00 per day for all heavy route carriers, the classifying of substitute rural letter carriers.
- (e) Support legislation to secure an equitable upward revision of Government employees' salaries and wages including employees covered by wage boards.
- (f) Endorse and vigorously support the proposal that at least one member of the United States Civil Service Commission be selected from the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.
- (g) Favor the removal from the Government service of any known member of the Communist Party or other subversive groups detrimental to the democratic form of Government.
- (h) Urge the enactment of legislation to remove multiple taxation.
- (i) Support legislation to exempt retirement annuities from Federal income tax.
- (j) Support legislation to establish a thirty-five-hour work week in Government service.
- (k) Extension of the principles of the Employees' Compensation Appeals Board with provision for the Board to hold hearings in geographical centers.
- (l) Support the provision of legislation to provide for recognition of organizations of postal and federal employees.
- (m) Amendments to Civil Service Employees Retirement Act to give greater benefits and protection to those now retired and to those that will retire in the future.
- (n) Establishment of seniority principles among all United States Government employees.
- (o) Support legislation providing time credits to postal transportation clerks assigned to runs in which the average speed of trains exceeds 42 miles per hour.
- (p) Enactment of bill providing automotive equipment for special delivery messengers in the post office.
- (q) Enactment of legislation to prevent the use of military personnel in Federal Government positions which by their nature could effectively be filled by civilian employees.
- (r) Enactment of legislation to provide unemployment compensation for Federal and postal employees.
- (s) Enactment of legislation to provide additional compensation to classified employees for temporary hazardous duties.
- (t) Abolishment of the "Gentlemen's agreement policy" currently being used by some agencies of the Government, whereby contractors for Government work agree not to hire anyone who has resigned from the agency within a certain specified period.
- (u) Oppose any contemplated merger of the Civil Service Retirement Act with the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Plan, or similar plan.
- (v) Whenever the Federal Government requires employees to wear a special uniform or to furnish Fidelity or Indemnity Bonds, such uniforms and bonds should be paid for by the Federal Government.
- (w) Enactment of legislation or regulations that will provide for in-service training programs within the Classified Civil Service and the General Policy of promotions from within that service with seniority being the determining factor, all other conditions being equal.
- (x) Enactment of legislation that will transfer from the C.F.C. Service under the Federal Employees Classification Act of 1949, to Wage Boards those employees in the Building Trades, and other Craft Mechanics who are employed in maintenance of Public Buildings.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

REQUESTING PUBLIC PRINTER COMPLY WITH PARITY OF MINIMUM PAY

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The 68th Congress of the United States introduced legislation known as the Kies Act, which was finally approved on June 7, 1924, and became law indicated as Section 40 of Title 44 of the U. S. Code, and

WHEREAS, The intent and purpose of this legislation was to regulate and fix wages for employees of the Government Printing Office, and

WHEREAS, The proponents of the Act were specific in their intention to maintain a parity of wages for journeymen printers, pressmen, and bookbinders, they have provided at the time of introduction similar wages for the three crafts in question, and

WHEREAS, This intention of parity hourly minimum pay was recognized as a fair policy of procedure by all Public Printers of the United States since the approval of the Act, excepting the present incumbent, Mr. John J. Deviny, and

WHEREAS, In an effort to disregard the proper procedure of collective bargaining negotiations, the Public Printer has imposed upon Government bookbinders a weighted average formula that does not provide a true weighted average for journeymen bookbinders, and

WHEREAS, The present Public Printer, by an arbitrary and capricious personal act on his part, has disregarded the purpose and intention of the proponents of Public Law No. 276—68th Congress, and substituted his personal formula and interpretations of the Act contrary to the meaning of the Law, and

WHEREAS, Because of the Public Printer's misinterpretation of the law, he has created a procedure of discrimination and gross inequity in considering and recommending the minimum hourly pay through his differentiation in setting up unequal hourly rates for journeymen printers, pressmen and bookbinders, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of New York during the week of September 15, 1952, go on record and protest the arbitrary and capricious act of the U. S. Public Printer, Mr. John J. Deviny, because of his discrimination in denying the Government bookbinders a raise in pay during this inflationary year of 1952, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Public Printer be requested to comply with the intent and

purpose of the Kies Act, wherein is provided parity of minimum pay for journeymen printers, pressmen, and bookbinders, and reconsider his recommendation made to the Joint Committee on Printing, and be it further

RESOLVED, That request for such reconsideration be on the basis of granting the Government bookbinders an equitable retroactive increase in pay to that given to the other trades, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Public Printer be requested to continue the policy and principle of minimum wage parity for journeymen printers, pressmen, and bookbinders, as was the intent and purpose of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROTEST CLASSIFICATION OF SHEEP SHEARERS AS AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, R. E. Kelly, Joseph Belsky, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

WHEREAS, Sheep shearing is still "agricultural labor" within the meaning and intent of many federal statutes and departmental regulations, and

WHEREAS, Sheep shearers are skilled craftsmen who spend about three years of apprenticeship training and who work with personal tools of considerable value, and

WHEREAS, The inclusion of sheep shearers within the definition of "agricultural labor" is detrimental to their craft and to their general economic welfare, and

WHEREAS, Sheep shearers are members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America and feel that they could build a better and stronger union if they were not considered "agricultural labor," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America to seek the exclusion of sheep shearers from the definition of "agricultural labor" in all federal laws and regulations wherever such definition is inimicable to its general welfare, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislative department of the Federation aid and assist the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen to correct the wrong referred to in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FEDERAL LICENSING OF LABOR CONTRACTORS

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, One of the worst rackets found in large scale agriculture is the system of labor contracting, whereby workers secure jobs through an agent or crew leader who collects fees from both employer and worker, withholds wages due workers, supplies transportation, housing and often operates commissaries, saloons, gambling establishments, designed to corrupt the morals of agricultural workers and to secure their hard earned money through one or more rackets, and

WHEREAS, This system has been given encouragement not only by employers but agencies of government charged with the recruitment and placement of agricultural labor and, in present wage stabilization regulations, these racketeers have actually been recognized by officials of the Wage Stabilization Boards in certain areas and regions as the representatives of workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon the Congress of the United States to enact legislation, strictly regulating private labor contractors, crew leaders or employment agents operating across state lines, by providing for a system of federal licensing of such operators, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention call upon the various State Federations of Labor and other affected bodies to assist in securing the enactment of state laws requiring licenses and posting of bond to insure payment of wages and outlawing the practices of such contractors in operating camps for housing workers, commissaries, liquor-gambling establishments, etc.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The President's Commission on Migratory Labor in American Agriculture in its report made public early in 1951 made certain recommendations both for legislative and administrative action to improve the conditions of agricultural workers, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee early in 1952 held exhaustive hearings before which workers, employers and other persons interested in the welfare of migratory agricultural workers appeared, and

WHEREAS, The Senate Committee unanimously reported a bill to establish a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor for the purpose of coordinating work of the various agencies of government which should be concerned in this grave social and economic problem but this legislation was not considered in the final session of the 82nd Congress, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, call upon the incoming Congress to enact legislation providing for the inclusion of agricultural workers under all types of appropriate legislation accorded other American workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon the new Administration to sponsor such needed legislation and to carry out other recommendations made by the Commission of Migratory Labor in American Agriculture.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Resolution No. 82—By The Central Labor Union, Panama Canal Zone.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has twice requested that the Canal tolls for passage of ships be increased, and

WHEREAS, Section 411 of the Canal Zone Code, amended by Section 11 of Public Law 841—81st Congress, authorizes the Panama Canal Company to prescribe and from time to time change (1) the rules for the measurements of vessels for the Panama Canal, and (2) subject to the provisions of section next following, the tolls that shall be levied for the use of the Panama Canal, and

WHEREAS, Section 412 of the Canal Zone Code, amended by Section 12 of Public Law 841—81st Congress, (b) prescribes that tolls shall be at a rate calculated to cover an appropriate share of the net costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government, and

WHEREAS, The failure to charge the entire cost of the Canal Zone Government to tolls has resulted in the burden being carried by the employees through increasing prices in commissary and other services, and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Government exists solely for the protection and maintenance of equipment, buildings, installations, etc., for the passage of ships through the Canal, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, be instructed to secure the enactment of legislation to amend Section 412 of the Canal Zone Code, to prescribe that the entire costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government be charged to tolls.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TO LATE SENATOR BRIEN McMAHON

Resolution No. 83—By delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In the untimely death of the late Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut the United States and the Free World has lost one of its foremost champions for world peace who by his devoted and inspired efforts as chairman of the Atomic Energy Control Committee and his aggressive championship of Civilian Control of this same committee in his desire to utilize this new and powerful energy for peaceful, constructive purposes, as well as the defense of the United States and the free nations, and

WHEREAS, The late Senator Brien McMahon by his proposals to the nations of the world, including Soviet Russia, to disarm and devote a third of their former expenditures for arms, to peaceful reconstruction and development, is further evidence of his genuine concern for peace and plenty puts all men of good will in his debt, and

WHEREAS, The Labor movement, from whose ranks the overwhelming bulk of the fighting forces of the world are drawn for combat when the occasions arise, is more than any other group keenly sensitive to the significance of Senator McMahon's contribution to the cause for which Labor has striven long and arduously, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor in recognition of the contribution of this truly great public servant, nominate the late Senator Brien McMahon as candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1952, and be it further

RESOLVED, That President William Green submit the name of the Honorable Brien McMahon to the Nobel Foundation and Norwegian Prize Board and take other proper steps to implement this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PARTITION OF IRELAND

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor Conventions of 1949, 1950 and 1951 have taken affirmative action in recording its continued opposition of the partition of Ireland, by England, and

WHEREAS, The continued division of Ireland is now a danger to the peace of the world since the Republic of Ireland, as now representing only twenty-six of the thirty-two counties, is prohibited by principle from joining the United States in the North Atlantic Pact organization, and be-

ing an ally in the opposition of the United States and other free countries to the menace of communism, and

WHEREAS, Under the Foreign Policy Plan of the 1952 A. F. of L. Proposals to the Resolutions Committee of both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, is stated:

"we must strengthen our defenses and those of the free world. We must inspire new confidence among those who believe in freedom and democracy in all lands by our own stalwart and courageous example," and

WHEREAS, Under the democratic principle of national self-determination, the people of Ireland are entitled to possession of all of their country under a government determined by their ballot, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor declare that ending partition in Ireland advances world peace, concerns the welfare of the people of the United States, its injustice should be corrected at once and that the Act setting aside six counties of Ireland should be repealed. Unless the people of Ireland, in a free plebiscite, determine and declare to the contrary, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor delegation to the International Confederation of Free Trade unions be instructed to bring the subject matter of this resolution before the delegates of the free labor movement of the world for further action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY COVERAGE OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many members of the American Federation of Labor are employed on permanent and temporary status by state, county, city and other political subdivisions including housing authorities, and

WHEREAS, The present Social Security Act contains provisions excluding their workers from coverage and protection against unemployment and old age and survivor's insurance, and

WHEREAS, This works a distinct hardship upon members of the American Federation of Labor, particularly in the Building and Construction Trades who had built up social security credits when they were employed in private industry, and

WHEREAS, It likewise wipes out credits under the Unemployment Compensation Laws that they had acquired during previous covered employment and which they

may need if and when they return to private employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Executive Council and legislative department to initiate necessary legislation correcting these inequities in the Social Security Act so that permanent and temporary employees of the above mentioned political sub-divisions, not participating in the established pension or retirement program of the political sub-division be eligible for unemployment compensation and old age and survivors insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A.F. of L.

WHEREAS, The problems of our 30,000,000 physically handicapped citizens—the blind, partially sighted; deaf, hard of hearing; amputees, arthritics, cardiacs, diabetics, epileptics, victims of poliomyelitis, multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, rheumatism, congenital defects and deformities and other injuries and diseases, are becoming more acute daily, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has consistently fought to advance the welfare of all workers by instituting and improving programs in their interest, and the American Federation of Labor was the chief factor, 32 years ago, in establishing the Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation program, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, an organization composed primarily of physically handicapped people, with headquarters at 1370—National Press Building, Washington 4, D. C., has been in the vanguard of all activities beneficial to handicapped the past ten years, and the Federation and its program have endorsement of organized labor and there are many prominent labor leaders amongst its national officers, and

WHEREAS, Said Federation now has bills pending in Congress to establish a Federal Agency for Handicapped, which were drafted and are supported by all labor groups, and

WHEREAS, The Federation needs financial assistance to carry on its work, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in New York, September 15, 1952, does hereby endorse the program of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, particularly its bills to establish a Federal Agency for the Handicapped, National Leprosy Act, and tax exemptions for handicapped and those who support handi-

capped who cannot support themselves, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention call upon its constituent labor bodies to lend legislative support, and if possible, to make a financial contribution to A.F.P.H., and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the press, all members of the Executive Council of the A.F. of L., and all organizations and individuals at interest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The 80th Congress failed to heed the needs of the American people when it voted down United States participation with Canada in the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway, and

WHEREAS, Canada is going ahead with plans to construct the seaway without the United States, and

WHEREAS, These plans fall far short of the vital needs of our country as it will still leave Lake Michigan and Lake Superior closed to the larger vessels, and

WHEREAS, The people of this nation recognize that joint participation in the development of the St. Lawrence Waterway is vital to the welfare and prosperity, not only to the people of Canada, but to the United States as well, and

WHEREAS, The added commerce and industry which will result from the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway will make for the greater welfare and prosperity, not only of those areas immediately adjacent to the St. Lawrence Waterway, but also to our entire nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in the City of New York, State of New York, beginning on the 15th day of September, 1952, go on record as favoring the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway and that its officers and representatives be instructed to take whatever steps are necessary to bring about the passage of necessary laws for the development of the St. Lawrence Waterway.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Wage and Hour Law presently provides for the payment of time and one-half the regular rate of pay for all work performed in excess of 40 hours per week on work in interstate commerce, and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that the law should be amended to provide for the payment of time and one-half the regular rate of pay on such work after 8 hours per day and 36 hours per week, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in the City of New York, State of New York, commencing the week of September 15, 1952, go on record favoring the enactment of federal legislation amending the present Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for the payment of time and one-half the regular rate of pay for work performed in interstate commerce in excess of 8 hours per day and 36 hours per week, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor do whatever is necessary to accomplish such an amendment in the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FLOOD CONTROL AND RECLAMATION

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Our natural resources have suffered wide spread damage from man-made floods and uncontrolled waters, and

WHEREAS, The effects of these growing dangers are becoming more wide spread and will affect the future lives of our people, and

WHEREAS, The time has arrived when the entire labor movement must be alerted to the growing dangers of these uncontrolled elements therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in the City of New York, State of New York, commencing on the 15th day of September, 1952, go on record in favor of the creation of a Flood Control and Reclamation Commission that will carry on a nationwide campaign to speed up the work on flood controls and reclamation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTEST PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE RULING ON MOTION PICTURES

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The making, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures has long provided and does now provide employment for many thousands of persons, and has been for many years and now is the principal means of entertainment for many millions throughout the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, The motion picture theater in every community of the United States brings direct benefit to every transportation agency, every tire and gasoline station, every restaurant, every grocery store, every drug store, every novelty shop, every newsstand, every shoe shop, department store, dry goods store and garment shop, and is particularly important to real estate values, and

WHEREAS, Motion pictures have been and now are a channel of communication, historically noted for promoting the democratic way of life throughout the world and acquainting the world with American progress, and

WHEREAS, It is in the public interest to retain the making, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures in the same manner which has been the practice for many years, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice is now contemplating court action which would require the producers of motion pictures to sell certain motion pictures to advertising companies and television stations against their better judgment, and

WHEREAS, Such action would be confiscatory and ruinous to the motion picture industry, would jeopardize the principal form of entertainment of millions of people, would eliminate many thousands of jobs, create economic distress in every community of the United States, destroy a medium of communication which brings our democratic way of life to all people, create irreparable damage and be contrary to public interest, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the recording by the Federation of a strong protest with the proper official of the Department of Justice with respect to the proposed action requiring the producers of motion pictures to re-release their pictures on 16 mm. film to television stations and advertising agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

STRENGTHEN ECONOMIC CONTROLS

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The weak and ineffective Defense Production Act of 1951 has been weakened even further and rendered even

more ineffective by the legislation providing for its extension, and

WHEREAS, The zooming cost of living is a direct result of this faulty legislation, and

WHEREAS, Because of the increasing cost of living, working people cannot afford to buy all the commodities they need, and

WHEREAS, This breakdown in consuming power has caused widespread depressions in many industries, particularly in soft goods production, and

WHEREAS, This trend of unemployment in specific industries, if not reversed, will cause a major economic collapse, and

WHEREAS, The only way this trend can be reversed is by the application and enforcement of extensive price roll-backs and stringent price controls, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand in support of strong economic controls and impartial and honest enforcement of these controls.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FOREIGN PRODUCTION OF MOTION PICTURES BY AMERICAN PRODUCERS

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has become apparent that many motion picture producers and advertising agencies are leaving the continental United States to produce motion pictures for United States consumption for tax saving purposes, or to take advantage of cheap production and labor costs, and

WHEREAS, This practice is growing at an alarming rate and depriving many United States citizens of employment who would otherwise be used in the production of these motion pictures as well as depriving the United States government of taxes which would accrue from their salaries and wages, and

WHEREAS, This practice is also creating unfair competition to the producers who make their motion pictures in the United States and hire United States citizens, and

WHEREAS, We deem it grossly unfair and improper for American industry to attempt to sell American products to American workers by means of advertising films that have been made in foreign countries by foreign workers for the specific purposes of avoiding the wage and living standards which make the purchase of their products in America possible, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as strongly protesting this practice and that we solicit the support of all labor organizations in America and all other Americans in protesting this practice of advertisers, advertising agencies and film producers in our efforts to convince such producers, manufacturers and distributors of commodities manufactured and sold in the United States, that such a practice is unfair and should be dispensed with, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be given the widest circulation possible throughout the United States to all labor organizations and other American groups.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor in the past conventions of each respective organization have opposed all proposals for legislation which would authorize or approve the construction of the Central Arizona Project, and

WHEREAS, The Central Arizona Project is not economically feasible, and if constructed would impose an inequitable tax burden on all citizens in this country for the special benefit of but a relatively few people, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its opposition to the Central Arizona Project as expressed by resolution adopted in the 70th convention of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to affirmatively oppose said project and any legislation authorizing said project.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SUPPORT CANDIDATES FAVORING REPEAL OF TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace C. Reilly, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties adopted at their recent conventions at Chicago, deal specifically with the Taft-Hartley Act, and

WHEREAS, The very existence of the trade-union movement depends to a con-

siderable degree on whether or not this slave-labor law is repealed by the Congress to be elected in November, and

WHEREAS, The labor plank of the Democratic party platform pledges in no uncertain language repeal of this anti-labor act, as follows:

"We strongly advocate the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

"The Taft-Hartley Act has been proved to be inadequate, unworkable and unfair. It interferes in an arbitrary manner with collective bargaining, tipping the scales in favor of management against labor.

"The Taft-Hartley Act has revived the injunction as a weapon against labor in industrial relations. The act has arbitrarily forbidden traditional hiring practices which are desired by both management and labor in many industries.

"The act has forced workers to act as strikebreakers against their fellow unionists.

"The act has served to interfere with one of the most fundamental rights of American workers—the right to organize in unions of their own choosing.

"We deplore the fact that the Taft-Hartley Act provides an inadequate and unfair means of meeting with national emergency situations. We advocate legislation that will enable the President to deal fairly and effectively with cases where a breakdown in collective bargaining seriously threatens the national safety or welfare.

"In keeping with the progress of the times, and based on past experience, a new legislative approach toward the entire labor-management problem should be explored." and

WHEREAS, The Republican party platform bluntly declares its approval of the Taft-Hartley Act, as follows:

"We favor retention of the Taft-Hartley Act . . . we urge the adoption of such amendments of the Taft-Hartley Act as time and experience show to be desirable and which further protect the rights of labor, management and the public." and

WHEREAS, Some Democratic candidates will, as they have in the past, ignore their party's platform and some Republican candidates could in good conscience favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act because "time and experience" have shown such course "to be desirable," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the support of organized labor should go only to those candidates of either party who pledge that they will vote for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley amendments to the Wagner Act and the restoration of those portions of that Act which were repealed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AFL DEPARTMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Resolution No. 05—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M.

Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The civil rights, which are guaranteed to all citizens of the United States under the constitution of our democratic nation, are being challenged throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, Public employees, leaders of organized labor and liberal citizens throughout the nation are being attacked by persons who claim to be "patriots" but who actually are among the worst enemies of our democratic society, and

WHEREAS, In the present world crisis it is essential that the United States demonstrate to the world a democratic society which is free from totalitarian practices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend to the Executive Council that a department of civil rights be established within the structure of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of protecting the civil rights of the citizens of the United States—especially the civil rights of members of organized labor and for the purpose of providing the freedom and security to which citizens under a democracy are entitled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONVENTION HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Resolution No. 06—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Discrimination against delegates to labor conventions on the basis of race, creed or color is a violation of the rights of citizens in a democracy and is contrary to the basic principles of organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New York City in September 1952 adopt a policy of making every effort to hold the annual conventions of the organization only in those cities where delegates may secure hotel accommodations without segregation or discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPEAL AMUSEMENT TAX

Resolution No. 07—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The theatrical and amusement industry is confronted with tele-

vision, and economic conditions which threaten its very existence, and

WHEREAS, Many theaters have closed throughout the nation, creating a mass unemployment condition in the industry, and

WHEREAS, It is considered that if the amusement tax were fully repealed, it would alleviate the hardships now being endured by the industry and would unquestionably aid in building up the box office receipts, thereby relieving the unfortunate conditions now existing, and would tend to alleviate the unemployment situation in this industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to memorialize Congress to repeal said amusement tax, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the representatives in the Congress be requested to introduce and vote favorably on a bill to bring about this relief so desperately needed to save this industry from possible destruction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The conventions of both the Democratic and Republican Parties held in Chicago in 1952 made it apparent to all of the people of the United States that conventions for nomination of candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States are not conducive to proper representation of the voters, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the principle of a direct Presidential primary election through which candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States can be selected by the direct vote of the people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its legislative representative to obtain the introduction, at the next session of Congress, of appropriate legislation for the changes required to provide for direct primary elections.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ABOLISH LUXURY TAX ON NECESSITIES

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Luxury taxes are now imposed upon such necessary items as hearing aids, and

WHEREAS, Such taxes are clearly unwarranted with respect to such necessary items, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby go on record requesting that the luxury taxes on such items be repealed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CIVIL DEFENSE

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Glenn Thom, Michael F. Smith, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Organized labor has a direct stake in the development of an effective and adequate Civil Defense program as union members and their families are concentrated in the industrial and communication centers which would have priority as target areas for an attacking enemy, and

WHEREAS, Our unions have a responsibility to our members and our Nation to do everything possible, as organizations, to help build an effective program, and

WHEREAS, Civil Defense problems require the recruitment of manpower and the provision of adequate facilities within target and production areas, together with the mobilization and other emergency problems that would be involved, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Civil Defense Administration has appointed representatives of organized labor to assist in bringing about a Civil Defense program, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in New York, recommend and advise all International, State Federations and Central Labor Unions to assist in every way possible to make effective in the United States, a Civil Defense program that will provide protection against such attacks as an enemy may make against the civilian population, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislative representatives be instructed to seek legislation providing funds for this purpose, both on a state and national level.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BENEFITS FOR VETERANS OF KOREAN CAMPAIGN

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson,

Michael F. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The veterans of World War II, by action of the United States Congress, were granted certain benefits and privileges under a Public Law passed by Congress, and

WHEREAS, The veterans of the Korean Campaign are as justly entitled to these same privileges and benefits, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approve and endeavor to secure the passage of such legislation as will give the same benefits and privileges to the veterans of the Korean Campaign.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COST OF LIVING

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The advances of salaries in industry have increased approximately 100 per cent since 1940, and

WHEREAS, The cost of living index has also increased approximately 100 per cent since 1940, and

WHEREAS, It is admitted by all involved that labor's purchasing power has not increased in a like manner, and

WHEREAS, The very activity of industry has apparently caused labor to continuously seek adjustments in income, and

WHEREAS, The fire fighters' salaries have lagged behind due to budgetary limitations, and

WHEREAS, The Federal Government has established a policy of subsidizing farmers and essential industries so they would be assured of a fair income, and

WHEREAS, The fire fighter, through his income tax payments, has contributed to this policy of price support, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled recommend that a conference between labor and industry, together with the Wage Stabilization Board and the Price Control Board, be held for the purpose of establishing a formula that will hold the line on salaries and the cost of living, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request that the Federal Government subsidize the fire fighters for losses in buying power suffered by the rise in the cost of living index since 1940, and be it still further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the officials of cities and municipalities to maintain salaries with the fluctuation in the cost of living index.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly endorsed the policies and programs of the Bureau of Employment Security of the U. S. Department of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Employment Security has recently established a Division of Labor Relations to aid the Bureau of Employment Security in securing the active aid and cooperation of all the members of the American Federation of Labor in the planning of its policies and programs, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Employment Security is desirous of expanding its programs and policies to include specialized service to the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, It is desirable that, in developing such policies and programs, the advice and cooperation of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be obtained, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor appoint a special committee from its Metal Trades Department to aid and assist the Bureau of Employment Security of the U. S. Department of Labor in forming such programs and policies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ARMED SERVICE PERSONNEL ENTERING PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There has been a great expansion in military forces in the United States during the past decade, and

WHEREAS, This expansion results in the retirement of an increasing number of higher ranking officers of the armed services, many of these officers, who upon their retirement, enter into private industry, and

WHEREAS, There is grave danger that the influx of high military officers into private industry may have a tendency to develop military expansion of our economy, far beyond discernible need, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take cognizance of this problem, and through its executive officers and Executive Council conduct such investigation, and report to the 1953 convention of the American Federation of Labor the effect upon the welfare of our nation of this growing military force within private industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HEALTH PROTECTION SERVICES

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The good health of the American worker is a most important factor in the volume of United States production and in the worker's own earning capacity, and

WHEREAS, Our country suffers an annual loss of nearly 500 million man days of production because of sickness absenteeism, resulting in great loss of wages and in medical expenses, and

WHEREAS, A great proportion of this loss can be prevented through reasonable provision for health protection, and prompt and proper care when illness occurs, and

WHEREAS, The Division of Occupational Health of the U. S. Public Health Service and the Industrial Hygiene Divisions of the States are established and qualified to serve workers in the protection of their health, being amply equipped for this purpose with professional personnel, laboratory facilities and a background of studies and practical experience in solving the health problems of workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That national, state and local units of the American Federation of Labor be urged to communicate with the Division of Occupational Health of the U. S. Public Health Service and the Industrial Hygiene Divisions in their respective States in order to avail themselves of the health protection services for control and prevention of illness—either occupational or non-occupational.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ILO SUPPORT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Re-

becca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The right of public employees to organize and bargain collectively is being challenged in many parts of the United States both through adverse state legislation and through opinions expressed by Attorney Generals, and

WHEREAS, The right of public employees to bargain collectively is essential to a democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization, which represents management and government, as well as organized labor, has never taken a firm stand in favor of collective bargaining for public employees, and

WHEREAS, The consultative committee on white collar workers of the ICFTU has placed before the ILO a request that a strong stand be taken by the ILO in favor of collective bargaining for public employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New York City, in September 1952, go on record in full support of the program of the ICFTU to secure from the ILO a strong stand in favor of the right of public employees to organize and bargain collectively, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor be urged to express to the ILO office in Geneva, Switzerland, an urgent request that action be taken immediately to assist in securing for public employees the right of collective bargaining.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

INCLUSION OF TEACHERS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Teachers and other public employees are excluded from the provisions of the Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the teachers of the United States do not have pension systems which provide adequate retirement in old age, and

WHEREAS, The inadequacy of teachers' salaries make imperative the provision of sound retirement systems, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New York City in September 1952, go on record in support of federal legislation which will make it possible for teachers to choose by their own vote whether they

desire to supplement their inadequate pension systems with social security, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislative forces of the A. F. of L. be urged to support legislation to make possible social security for those teachers who desire to supplement their pensions with federal Social Security.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Jesse Clark, D. C. Cone, John F. Hogan, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

WHEREAS, The members of the American Federation of Labor have learned through hard experience that the goals of American Labor are not limited to higher wages and better working conditions; that adequate protection requires a broader concern with the health and welfare of the trade unionist, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor knows that it has an important stake in the battle against the diseases which ravage the bodies and minds of its members and their families, and

WHEREAS, We can be thankful that pioneers in the ranks of labor, as long as 39 years ago, founded the City of Hope, where sufferers from tuberculosis are treated without one penny of cost, and

WHEREAS, The City of Hope has now become a national medical center, aiming to treat all long-term diseases, and has already established the only all-free all-cancer hospital under the philanthropic auspices in America, and

WHEREAS, In the fraternal spirit of the labor movement, facilities at the City of Hope are made available to patients, not in a sense of charity, but as a matter of social justice with full regard to human dignity and individual worth, and

WHEREAS, A substantial number of international unions are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope for their members, and

WHEREAS, Leading international unions have given support to the City of Hope, in the form of union-endowed buildings, departments, and equipment, as well as providing for day to day maintenance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor wholeheartedly endorse the work and services of the City of Hope, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge all affiliated international unions of the American Fed-

eration of Labor to embark in the coming year upon a campaign effort, which will culminate in the establishment of a memorial to our late, revered leader, Samuel Gompers, on the grounds of the City of Hope.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EQUAL ORGANIZATIONAL RIGHTS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees equality of treatment before the law, and

WHEREAS, There is, at the present time, one set of laws for workers in private industry and a different set for government workers, and

WHEREAS, This discrimination has worked untold hardship upon all government workers, causing the following injustices and more: (1) No labor contract can be negotiated; (2) Employees are working ten and more hours a day for six and seven days a week at straight time; (3) Autocratic treatment by management with no right of redress by employees, and

WHEREAS, The AFL organizations of government workers have no other recourse but to appeal to Congress for justice, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as supporting all AFL organizations of government employees in their efforts to obtain rights equal with those accorded other labor organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, With respect to the national scene, it becomes increasingly apparent that we must take a greater interest in national party politics. The American Federation of Labor has throughout the years resisted all efforts of those who would place us into partisan politics. We, as both Democrats and Republicans, have operated successfully under the philosophy of Samuel Gompers, which is to support our friends and oppose our enemies on the basis of their legislative record. We are not proposing any change in this basic philosophy. However, it is imperative that we recognize the fact that for the first time in our history, a major political party has made the

destruction of the American labor movement a primary objective of their party organization, and

WHEREAS, It is now crystal clear that those who control the destinies of the Republican Party have decreed that the party organization is to be used to crush and destroy the labor movement in America and to destroy the forward march of social and economic progress throughout the world. The Republican Party has made the survival of the labor movement a political issue in the coming campaign. There is a vast store of evidence to point up this most significant fact:

1. The Republican Party sponsorship of the Taft-Hartley Act and its continued support of this anti-labor legislation despite proof of its discriminating and unworkable features and despite the appeals of liberal members of the Republican Party calling for a new labor-management relations law based upon fairness to both management and labor is adequate evidence that the Republican Party does not desire a solution of employee-employer relations, but is intent on destroying the rights of the American worker.

2. The insulting manner in which the Republican Party Platform Committee received the duly elected representatives of the American Federation of Labor at their recent convention, refusing them an adequate hearing and rejecting our platform proposals. This was a repetition of the Republican Party's action in 1948.

3. The Republican campaign of vilification which has and is being carried on by their selected candidates against the leaders of American labor, by referring to them as labor bosses in an effort to discredit the democratic processes of our unions and to destroy the confidence of our membership in their unions and their selected leaders.

4. The punishment of candidates within their own party who have supported the program of social and economic reform, advocated by the American Federation of Labor, and by the further punishment of those who refuse to enter into their schemes to destroy labor.

5. The last but not least, overwhelming evidence of their support of special interests to the complete and contemptuous disregard of the interest of the people, by their efforts to destroy effective price and rent controls, exploit our natural resources for the benefit of selfish and monopoly interests, and generally to manipulate the institutions of government to defeat every effort to spread the benefits of our political and economic system fairly among those who create the nation's wealth; and

WHEREAS, By contrast, we find that the Democratic Party has included most of the program and policies that have been developed to improve the living standards of the average American. They have warded off attacks of the reactionary elements within their party to use the Democratic Party as a means to deny to a certain segment of our citizenry, the rights guaranteed

under the Constitution. The Democratic Party has adopted a platform that recognizes the rights of labor and the common people throughout the world. They have nominated candidates in whom we can place complete confidence to carry out the pledges made in the Platform of the Democratic Party—candidates who represent the most honest and competent elements in our political society, and

WHEREAS, The United States carries a great responsibility in this changing world. The American labor movement, furthermore, represents the only force in American life which can successfully challenge the efforts of those interests who would lead America down the paths of selfishness, bigotry, and isolationism. As members of the greatest body of free workers in the world, consisting of such people as waitresses, laborers, bus drivers, laundry workers, office workers, truck drivers, and workers from other trades and industries, who constitute the vast majority of the citizens of our country, speaking on behalf of co-workers who have delegated us to express their views in this assemblage, we would be betraying the trust and confidence which has been reposed in us by our co-workers if we fail to take recognition of these facts and responsibilities, and

WHEREAS, The American worker knows what he wants and through his trade union affiliations he gives expression to those wants. The Democratic Platform, in contrast to the Republican Platform, comes much closer to pledging what he wants, and the records of the Democratic candidates show that they will carry out the pledges made in the Platform of the Democratic Party. The challenge has been issued; the challenge has been accepted. Free workers will go forward to victory with the firm and undying conviction that right is on our side. The California Labor League for Political Education, therefore, fully endorses Adlai Stevenson for President and John J. Sparkman for Vice-President of the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Santa Barbara, California, August 25-30, did endorse Adlai Stevenson for President and John J. Sparkman for Vice-President of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at New York City, New York, commencing September 15, that this convention fully endorse Adlai Stevenson for President and John J. Sparkman for Vice-President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FIRE FIGHTERS REQUEST ASSISTANCE TO REMAIN UNDER PRESENT PENSION PLANS

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson,

Michael F. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The members of the International Association of Fire Fighters have pioneered in the matter of initiating and providing retirement and service pensions, and

WHEREAS, Because of this many members have taken positions in fire departments knowing that if at any time they became disabled, adequate provision is made for their protection, both for themselves and for their family, and

WHEREAS, The efficiency of operation of the fire departments depend on having employees who are young and physically fit, and

WHEREAS, During the past fourteen years many attempts have been made to extend the provisions of the Social Security Act to those fire fighters now covered by an existing pension system, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters with the support of the American Federation of Labor has been able to prevent such extension of this Social Security Act, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters at its convention in Seattle, Washington, August 11 to 15, 1952, went on record as emphasizing confidence in the present pension and retirement plans now covering fire fighters, and instructed the officers to vigorously oppose any attempt that is made to pass legislation that would permit integration or consolidation of any existing pension or retirement systems with the Social Security Act provisions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, instruct the members of the American Federation of Labor Social Security Committee and the Legislative Representatives to assist the officers and members of the International Association of Fire Fighters in their efforts to prevent the extension of the Social Security Act to cover those of their numbers covered by existing pension or retirement plans.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES FOR UNION MEMBERS IN INTERNATIONAL FIELD

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Representatives of the International Association of Fire Fighters have visited Europe during the past sev-

eral years for the purpose of promoting international labor relations, and

WHEREAS, The conditions mentioned in this resolution were reported to the recent convention of the International Association of Fire Fighters in Seattle, Washington, and

WHEREAS, As a result of this report, the Fire Fighters Convention directed that a resolution be introduced at the AFL Convention in New York, N. Y., calling attention to the fact that Labor no longer has effective participation in the administration of the Mutual Security Agency—the successor of the Economic Cooperation Administration—because the agency has so developed its organizational structure, chain of command and direction that Labor's top representative no longer reports to the Director or participates in policy making and Labor no longer has status to function effectively in the Paris office, being further weakened by the regulation that permits ambassadors to the European countries concerned to decide whether representatives of Labor shall even be designated to make sure the interests of Labor are included in national plans, and

WHEREAS, Involved in this situation is the future of sustained service from Labor in the field of international affairs and new opportunity to extend understanding of Labor's goals and welfare, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to appoint a committee to study the participation of Labor in international economic matters and suggest ways to strengthen this work and provide the educational facilities for trade unionists who want to prepare themselves for international work; furthermore, that ways and means be suggested that will make such service practical for individuals who must sacrifice opportunities for progress in the U. S. Labor movement in order to serve in international capacity.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOLD STANDARD

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the International Association of Fire Fighters, held in Seattle, Washington, August 11 to 15, 1952, a resolution pertaining to the return of the United States Government to the Gold Standard was approved of for presentation to the American Federation of Labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled,

approve of a committee being set up by the Executive Board for the purpose of studying the advisability of the return of the United States Government to the Gold Standard.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FIRE FIGHTERS LOCAL 2—OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 587

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Chicago Local Union No. 2 of the International Association of Fire Fighters has represented the members of the fire department in the City of Chicago, and

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 577 of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers attempted, prior to 1922, to usurp the function of Local No. 2 of the International Association of Fire Fighters in Chicago by representing the engineers employed in the Chicago fire department, and

WHEREAS, In 1922 the jurisdictional dispute between the International Association of Fire Fighters and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers was decided in favor of the International Association of Fire Fighters by the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, On January 16, 1923 the President of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers advised President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor that the charter of Local Union No. 577 had been revoked and that such local was no longer attached to the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and

WHEREAS, Such action was in recognition of the jurisdictional rights of the Chicago Local No. 2 of the International Association of Fire Fighters, and

WHEREAS, In recent years the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has issued a charter in Chicago, known as Local No. 587, whose membership is exclusively composed of members of the Chicago fire department, similar to those formerly composing Local No. 577, and

WHEREAS, Such action is in direct violation of the jurisdiction previously determined by the American Federation of Labor in 1922, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to revoke the charter of its Local Union No. 587.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION BY GENERAL TAXATION

Resolution No. 115—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has stood throughout its entire history for the principle that free public education supported by general taxation is the indispensable foundation of our democratic society, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has vigorously opposed all attempts to destroy the principle that national wealth should be taxed wherever it is to educate children and youth wherever they are, and

WHEREAS, Powerful industrial organizations have recently proposed that public education should be supported in part by private contributions from business, and

WHEREAS, This program of private support is proposed as a means of avoiding federal taxation which is essential to the adequate financing of the public schools, and

WHEREAS, This proposal to finance public education in part by private contributions constitutes a threat to the very foundations of democratic government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New York City, in September 1952, condemn emphatically this proposal to support the public schools by private contributions and pledge its full support to protecting the long established principle that public education should be supported by general taxation and not by private contributions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly endorsed the principle of federal aid to equalize educational opportunities and to raise sub-standard levels of education throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, Despite the unprecedented prosperity of the United States at the present time, the public schools of the nation are still suffering seriously because of inadequate financial support, and

WHEREAS, Education has become a national responsibility—as well as a state and local responsibility—in the complex industrial civilization of the present age, and

WHEREAS, The entire nation suffers from sub-standard levels of education in any section of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The national security and the national welfare are jeopardized by the crisis which has existed in the public schools during the post-war period, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in New York City, in September 1952, reaffirm its stand in favor of federal aid for the public schools of the United States and for essential services for all children of the nation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated bodies be urged to give full support to securing the enactment of legislation which will provide adequate federal funds for educational purposes but leave the control of the schools in the hands of the states and local communities.

Referred to Committee on Education.

PLEBISCITE FOR TRIESTE UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman, Julius Hochman, Joseph Breslaw, David Gingold, Harry Greenberg, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It has been the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor in its annual conventions and through the policies formulated and endorsed by its Executive Council, its International Labor Relations Committee and its Free Trade Union Committee, to advocate a just peace treaty for free Italy based on the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has favored the abrogation of the harsh and unjust clauses of the peace treaty which was imposed upon democratic Italy at the Paris Conference, and

WHEREAS, One of the main injustices of the treaty provided for the artificial separation from the Italian nation of such Italian territory as Trieste, and

WHEREAS, The neo-fascists and other chauvinists exploit the Trieste issue to undermine Italian freedom and discredit the Western World, and

WHEREAS, The free trade union movement of Trieste has repeatedly appealed to free world labor for its support and solidarity, and

WHEREAS, The Western Allies through their joint statement of March 20, 1948, recognized that the present divisions of the Trieste Territory were arbitrary and artificial and advocated that the territory be returned to Italy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor extend fraternal greetings to the free trade unions of Trieste assuring them of its friendship and support in their just demands, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled reassure the entire freedom-loving people of democratic Italy that American labor will strive to have our government's policies towards Italy be based on the principles of close friendship which has been further strengthened by the bonds of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the final decision on the destiny of the Trieste Territory be left to its inhabitants through an early plebiscite under U. N. supervision in the contested zones.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

LABOR ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, William Harding, Minnie Teitelbaum, Jacob Roberts, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union; Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The State of Israel, now in its fifth year of independence, has continued to develop along sound democratic lines and has succeeded in making a home for more than 700,000 uprooted and oppressed Jews from any lands, and

WHEREAS, The State of Israel, under the leadership of Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor in Israel, embracing over a half million workers in industry, agriculture, transport, the professions, aviation, maritime, and civil service, is reclaiming vast stretches of desert land untouched by civilization for millennia, and is developing a modern industrial society that will raise the living standards not only for the working people of the new republic but also for the working men and women of the surrounding Arab countries to whom Israel's economic and social progress constitutes an example of what can be achieved, and

WHEREAS, The State of Israel, dedicated to the ideals of peace and democracy, and determined to play its full part in strengthening the machinery by which differences between nations may be re-

solved by peaceful means rather than by recourse to war, is greatly concerned at the present time because of the rise of new dictatorships in several neighboring countries which not only threaten the very life of the republic but also create a grave menace to the peace of the Middle East and the world, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has expressed its solidarity with the Histadrut in Israel for more than thirty years and has supported the young State of Israel in its difficult hours before and after the declaration of its independence, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in the City of New York, extends its heartiest fraternal greetings to the people of the State of Israel and to Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor of Israel, and pledges its continued moral support to all efforts of the free unions of the State of Israel to build a nation that will enrich the lives of its own people, contribute to the improvement of the peoples in the Middle East generally, and serve as a citadel of democracy in that part of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention express its sympathy with the efforts of the State of Israel to promote peace and tranquility in the Middle East by settling all outstanding issues between the Jews and the Arabs through peaceful negotiations at the conference table, so that all countries in the Middle East may unite in inaugurating a new era of peaceful co-existence among the neighboring states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention endorse the activities of the American Trade Union Council of the National Committee for Labor Israel which, for years, has served as good-will ambassador between the organized workers of the United States and the trade unionists of Israel.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPEAL OF SO-CALLED WHITTEN AMENDMENT TO THE 1951 SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is believed that the intent of the Whitten Amendment to the Supplemental Appropriations Acts of recent years and which has passed for the third time in the closing sessions of the present Congress was NOT to undermine the morale of government employees with man years of loyal service, and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of the regulations necessitated by this legislation

has worked to the detriment of employees whose seniority and efficiency should be respected, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor be recorded as favoring repeal of this legislation as the only possible means of correcting inequities from the enforcement of the so-called Whitten Amendment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to President Harry S. Truman, Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, the respective Chairmen of the House and Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committees and the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, as well as to Congressman Whitten who sponsored this demoralizing legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TOP PAY FOR POSTAL WORKERS AFTER FOUR YEARS

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The accepted system of apprenticeship in private industry is four years' training before becoming a journeyman, and

WHEREAS, An employee of the federal postal service is now required to work for a period of eight years before holding a position comparable to that of a journeyman, and

WHEREAS, This situation is harmful to the standards of all organized labor, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 71st convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in support of the AFL postal labor organizations' effort to gain top pay after four years' employment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LEGISLATION FOR ESTABLISHING ARBITRATION PROCEDURE FOR FIRE FIGHTERS

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The principle of compulsory arbitration for fire fighters was approved at the 1950 convention of the American Federation of Labor in Houston, Texas, and

WHEREAS, Some elements of organized labor do not approve of compulsory arbitration for any branches of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in convention assembled in Seattle, Washington, August 11 to 15, 1952, did give unqualified approval to having legislation enacted requiring compulsory arbitration for disputes arising between municipalities and fire department employee unions as the only possible procedure for adjusting disputes because of the International Fire Fighters' Constitution prohibiting strikes of its members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position of supporting the officers and members of the International Association of Fire Fighters in securing compulsory arbitration legislation to cover its members.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

WAGES-HOURS GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace C. Reilly, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, On October 22, 1866, the Government Printing Office, through the then Superintendent of Printing, C. Wendell, recognized the just demand of Columbia Typographical Society that the 10 hours of labor at the Government Printing Office be reduced to eight and thereby instituted the eight hour day for government printers, and

WHEREAS, Since the turn of the 20th century the Government Printing Office has been installing the most modern printing equipment obtainable to save labor and increase efficiency and production to the benefit of the Congress, and the many government departments, and

WHEREAS, The printing employees of the Government Printing Office have not as yet shared any benefits brought about through the modern methods of production as have printing employees in private industry but are still laboring eight hours per day as were their predecessors in 1866, and

WHEREAS, The newspapers of Washington, D. C., have enjoyed the seven hour day since 1892 and the printing industry throughout America has recognized the right of printing employees to share in the benefits brought about through advanced methods of printing by reducing the hours of labor per day, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The American Federation of Labor approves the action of the International Typographical Union convention and joins in its petition to the Joint Committee on Printing of the United States Congress to grant to the printing employees of the Government Printing Of-

fice a work day of seven hours and a work week of 35 hours at the same daily rate of pay as is now in force.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM— AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates James A. Campbell, Berniece B. Heffner, Henrietta E. Olding, American Federation of Government Employees.

RESOLVED, That the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in New York, New York, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislation for that purpose:

1. Immediate increase in inadequate base pay of all Government employees to conform to rising costs and wage rates in private industry.
2. Restoration of 26 days' annual leave and 15 days' sick leave for all Federal employees.
3. Vigorous opposition to the mandatory use of annual leave accumulated in a particular calendar or fiscal year.
4. Payment of overtime at time and one-half for all hours worked by employees of the Federal Government and District of Columbia in excess of eight in any workday; establishment of Monday through Friday workweek; time and one-half for all Saturday work; double time for Sunday and holiday work; compensatory time if requested by employees at the rate of one and one-half hours for each overtime hour worked; a minimum of four hours when an employee is called for emergency work outside regular working hours; application of night differential for night duty regardless of the regular schedule of duty or overtime; establishment of a thirty-two hour week in any calendar weeks containing a holiday; retention of present overtime benefits where they exceed the minimum outlined above.
5. Repeal of the Whitten Amendment.
6. Opposition to legislation by Rider.
7. Separation pay for employees separated from the service not for cause.
8. Establishment of independent boards of appeal for all employees with employee membership; decisions of such boards to be binding on all parties.
9. I. Optional retirement at full annuity regardless of attained age.
 1. After 30 years of service
 2. After 25 years of service
 3. After 20 years of service for all employees in all hazardous occupations

4. After 20 years of service at a reduced annuity if separated or demoted as a result of reductions in force.
- II. Elimination of taxation on all retirement annuities and to include persons now on retirement rolls.
- III. Medical, surgical and hospital care for retired employees and their dependents through Government facilities.
10. Increase travel allowance to \$15 per day for employees in travel status and 12 cents per mile for official use of privately-owned automobiles.
11. Amendment of the Hatch Act to permit Federal-employee participation in local-non-partisan elections.
12. Prevent employment or continuance in the service of persons disloyal or otherwise unfit with appeal procedures in all such cases.
13. Promotion from within the agency wherever practicable with recognition of seniority as the determining factor in this and other personnel actions; employee representation on boards evaluating competitive promotions.
14. Continued revision and liberalization of classification laws to provide additional benefits for Federal employees.
15. Enactment of legislation guaranteeing bona fide unions the right to represent members and to require administrative officials to confer with representatives of employee unions at their request on all matters affecting the welfare of employees.
16. Provision of uniforms, accessories, and equipment, and maintenance at Government expense for all Government employees required to wear them by law or regulation.
17. Union representation on area wage boards.
18. Insurance, hospital, and medical program for Federal employees at Government expense.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SALARY INCREASES FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Joseph M. Rourke, Connecticut Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The legislative process in the Congress of the United States makes it impossible for the Congress to act with dispatch upon legislation increasing the salaries of postal employees, and

WHEREAS, This has resulted in the salaries of postal employees continually lagging behind the cost of living, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor en-

dorse and approve salary legislation for postal employees which will provide a basic increase in salary of not less than \$650 in addition to an escalator provision which will increase this adjusted salary by \$50 per point change in the Consumers' Price Index, and provided further that under no circumstances will salaries decrease below this new basic salary, and provided further that the escalator provision be used quarterly to adjust wages, and be it further

RESOLVED, That regardless of date of passage this legislation be retroactive to January 1, 1953.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

UNION RECOGNITION FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Joseph M. Rourke, Connecticut Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Post Office and Civil Service Committee of the House of Representatives has recognized the need for union recognition for postal employees, and

WHEREAS, The antiquated labor-management relations employed by the Post Office Department continues to result in poor morale, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assembled in convention favors legislation which will provide for union recognition for postal employees, and a Board of Arbitration which will be authorized to investigate, consider and make final decision on complaints by employees relative to working conditions and administrative acts of their official superiors, and to interpret laws governing employee welfare or working conditions, and direct administrative procedure to be followed when a dispute exists between the management and the employees relative to the administration of said laws, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this National Board of Arbitration shall consist of three members, an employee representative, a management representative and a neutral representative.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ADEQUATE MERCHANT MARINE

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, and its affiliated unions, has stressed, time and time again, the necessity of maintaining our shipbuilding industry in a condition which will make rapid expansion possible in time of emergency or war, and

WHEREAS, Representations to this effect have been made repeatedly to the Congress, the old Maritime Commission, the new Maritime Administration, and to the President, and

WHEREAS, The present Korean crisis as well as our decision to send troops to Europe and other areas has focused attention upon the grave deficiencies of our American merchant fleet, and vividly portrays our national indifference to the lessons we should have learned as a result of both World Wars I and II, and

WHEREAS, There has not been planned, even at this crucial date, any substantial privately owned and operated merchant fleet expansion in order to guarantee our nation merchant ships of sufficient speed for modern war, and a fleet sufficiently well balanced to assume a vital role as a military auxiliary in event of global conflict, and

WHEREAS, This nation is now seriously, even desperately deficient in fast passenger carrying vessels quickly convertible to carry military personnel, and needs additional fast, large ore carrying ships and tankers to serve our remobilization and military preparedness, as well as an expanded economy, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor again protests vigorously, and with all the force at their command, the repeated delay and national neglect in this matter, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we condemn as shortsighted any policy that would have the United States place its reliance upon the shipping, shipbuilding or ship repair of other nations in time of danger and peril, and be it further recognized that there can be no dependency placed upon other nations to protect the United States in time of crisis, and further that we must be self-sufficient in the carrying of our commerce, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its consistent policy, and urge the Congress of the United States, and such other agencies of government responsible, to implement our merchant marine; and further that the declared policy of building, operating and maintaining a strong American Merchant Marine by private enterprise be encouraged and aided by the Government, to the extent necessary to guarantee a merchant fleet sufficient in numbers, tonnage and speed to adequately serve the needs of our domestic and foreign commerce and national security

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TEMPORARY HAZARDOUS DUTY

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, No provisions in added compensation are provided for IVB employees engaged in temporary hazardous assignments, and

WHEREAS, A study in compensation benefits reveals per diem employees are receiving extra compensation for the same temporary hazardous work, and

WHEREAS, The temporary hazardous work involves submarine trials including submerging, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That IVB employees engaged in temporary hazardous duties shall receive 50% additional to their scheduled rate of pay while engaged in such duties, said temporary hazardous duty pay to conform in length of time and percent as is paid a per diem employee engaged in temporary hazardous duty, and be it further

RESOLVED, That legislation to accomplish this be introduced by the American Federation of Labor into the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The President of the United States has twice requested that the Canal tolls for passage of ships be increased, and

WHEREAS, Section 411 of the Canal Zone Code, amended by Section 11 of Public Law 841—81st Congress, authorized the Panama Canal Company to prescribe and, from time to time, change (1) the rules for the measurements of vessels for the Panama Canal, and (2) subject to the provisions of section next following, the tolls that shall be levied for the use of the Panama Canal, and

WHEREAS, Section 412 of the Canal Zone Code, amended by Section 12 of Public Law 841—81st Congress, (b) prescribes that tolls shall be at a rate calculated to cover an appropriate share of the net costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government, and

WHEREAS, Failure to charge the entire cost of the Canal Zone Government to tolls has resulted in the burden being carried by the employees through increasing prices in the Commissary and other services, and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Government exists solely for the protection and maintenance of equipment, buildings, installations, etc., for the passage of ships through the Canal, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, be instructed to secure the enactment of legislation to amend Section 412 of the Canal Zone Code, to prescribe that the ENTIRE costs of operation of the agency known as the Canal Zone Government be charged to tolls.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 16, 1952



Report of

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York
September 16, 1952

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 9:45 o'clock, a.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to
present to you this morning the Reverend
Canon Edward N. West, D.D., of the
Cathedral of St. John the Divine who will
deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION

**(Reverend Canon N. West, D.D.,
Cathedral of St. John the Divine)**

O God, at whose word man goeth forth
to his work; prosper, we pray Thee, the
industries of our land; defend those who
are engaged therein from all perils and,
that they may have cause to rejoice in the
fruits of their labors, grant us all such

truth and equity in our dealings one with
another that we may show forth our
brotherhood in Thee; through Him who
for the finishing of Thy work laid down
His life. Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair rec-
ognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany for
announcement of the members of the Con-
vention Committees.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Secretary Meany announced the appoint-
ment of the following Convention Com-
mittees:

Executive Council's Report

David Dubinsky, Harry C. Bates, Robert
Byron, Charles B. Gramling, Wilfrid T.
Connell, Leo J. Buckley, George Q. Lynch,

William J. McLaughlin, Shirley Staley, Irvin Barney, Paul L. Phillips, A. C. D'Andrea, Daniel W. Tracy, Selma M. Borchardt, J. L. Hazard, Enoch E. Snyder, Harry R. Lyons, Milton S. Maxwell, Leslie L. Myers, Leo Abernathy, Chester A. Sample, John O'Hare, William Schoenberg.

Resolutions

Matthew Woll, James A. Brownlow, John F. English, William E. Maloney, William F. Schnitzler, John B. Haggerty, L. P. Lindelof, R. G. Soderstrom, Thomas H. O'Donnell, John J. Mara, John L. Reilly, M. A. Hutcheson, Arnold S. Zander, John E. Rooney, Joseph P. Ryan, Richard F. Walsh, Alex Rose, Thomas E. Dunwoody, Woodruff Randolph, Charles S. Zimmerman, Robert J. Tormey, Wm. H. Cooper, Wm. J. Buckley, Sam P. Ming.

Laws

Daniel J. Tobin, Harry J. Steeper, Patrick E. Gorman, Francis D. Ford, T. C. Carroll, Leonard Greco, James Killen, William Tracy, Peter J. Cahill, Edward J. Volz, E. C. Hallbeck, Robert B. Sheets, W. G. Pendergast, Emily Jordan, William McCarthy, Anthony Matz, Sol Cilento, Anthony Valente, John P. Redmond, Sam J. Byers, Ted Kenney, Sebastian Ollinger, Luigi Antonini, David Sullivan, H. O'Neill Shanks.

Organization

William C. Doherty, Albert E. Fischer, G. E. Leighty, John P. Burke, Jack Irving, George Husk, Albert A. Greenbaum, John W. Garvey, Hyman Powell, Earl W. Jimeron, James Landrisina, W. J. Bassett, J. Belton Warren, A. Shoemaker, Irvin R. Kuenzli, E. C. James, Lester Washburn, Glenn E. Thom, J. A. Moriarty, C. T. Atkins, Harry Greenberg, Jesse Clark, George D. Weiny, A. Philip Randolph, Thomas Durian.

Labels

Raymond F. Leheney, Charles W. Hanson, Alvin D. Holt, Joseph Belsky, Marx Lewis, Madge King, Joseph Addy, E. M. Weston, Peter A. Tufo, E. L. Wheatley, John J. Zitello, Joseph Denny, George Baumbach, Mario Azpeitia, Robert Lester, James A. Suffridge, George Baldanzi, Frank W. Anderson, Horace L. Imeson, Charles Naddeo, A. Vincent Busby, J. Howard Hicks, Julius Hochman, Alex McKeown.

Adjustment

William L. McPetridge, Raymond H. Dalton, George Wright, Peter Fosco, Charles L. Bagley, J. P. Wilson, J. P. Poteet, E. J. Manion, William J. Finn, George W. Lawson, L. M. Raftery, Harry

Nacey, Joseph J. Delaney, Joseph O'Neill, Toney Gallo, Wm. F. Raoul, Gordon Chapman, George Grisham, J. H. Sylvester, A. J. Bernhardt, Morris Weisberger, Phillip Koerner, Joseph Fahey, George Bucher, James G. Cross.

Local and Federated Bodies

W. C. Birthright, Vernon A. Housewright, Albert Smith, A. Berkson, James C. Quinn, Sam Bonansinga, John J. Nolan, R. Alvin Albarino, Wm. McGuern, Lloyd Kienert, Reuben Roe, Jacob Roberts, Michael J. Mungovan, Paul Hall, John E. Briedenbach, John Tracey, Michael F. Smith, Hank Hasiwar, Ray Muehlhoffer, Thomas F. Murphy, Earl B. Ashbrook, George L. Russ, Jack Stone, Donald Peters.

Education

George M. Harrison, Herman Winter, M. G. Plunk, Carl M. Mullen, Edward J. Hillock, C. N. Coyle, Joseph Mahoney, Kenneth J. Kelley, James Petrillo, A. L. Spradling, J. R. Downes, Harry H. Cook, David Gingold, Carl J. Megel, Lloyd A. Gardner, James J. Doyle, Frank B. Powers, Anthony Doria, Servando Lopez, H. A. Bradley, H. L. Mitchell, G. A. Sackett, John R. Jones, Pat Somerset, Joseph Morris.

Committee on State Organizations

Charles J. MacGowan, Henry Segal, George L. Googe, Joseph A. Mullaney, Berniece B. Heffner, Phil Hannah, Fred Scaffidi, C. J. Haggerty, W. S. Gross, Thomas A. Murray, Phil E. Zeigler, Gust Anderson, J. S. Smith, John J. Brennan, Joseph Fogarty, John Kelly, J. Scott Milne, Thomas Burke, Paul C. Sparks, Bernard A. Downey, R. A. Olson, Paul R. Hutchings, E. A. Carter.

Industrial Relations

Joseph P. McCurdy, James C. Stocker, Walter M. Matthews, Richard W. Williams, John J. O'Rourke, Merlin Gerkin, David B. Roche, H. R. Flegal, Ossip Walinsky, George L. Warfel, James McNabb, Mell Farrell, James M. Kennedy, Charles Sullivan, R. Freccia, A. J. Eberhardy, John W. Bailey, Matthew Dushane, Robert A. McCann, Edward W. Kaiser, Joseph F. Boyen, Robert Lynch, Frank P. Converse, Edward C. Doll.

Building Trades

Richard J. Gray, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, Edward A. Smith, Victor A. Swanson, John H. Lyons, Martin P. Durkin, John J. Murphy, Pete Yablonski, Frank C. Riley, Homer J. Meyers, Walter A. Redmond, John J.

Conway, Joseph J. Diviny, James L. McDevitt, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Costanzo Pagnano, James J. Ryan, Paul A. Givens, C. W. Sickles, Joseph Rourke.

J. McEntee, Joseph D. Keenan, Harry Finks.

Shorter Workday

Lee W. Minton, J. L. Duffin, Frank Owens, John Pelkofer, Sal B. Hoffmann, Stanley Rounds, Elmer P. Meinz, T. J. Lloyd, George W. Hall, Dennis J. Oates, C. E. Long, John W. Austin, Frank C. Shea, Jesse V. Horton, Walter A. Curran, George A. Dreger, James Tracy, Louis P. Marciante, Ross Martin, Lincoln B. Snedden, Milton P. Webster, Harry J. Hagen, Clarence N. Sayen, William B. Dunne.

Legislation

Leo E. George, Michael Fox, Russell M. Stephens, James M. Duffy, Edward Carlough, James A. Campbell, John M. Eklund, Samuel J. Meyers, Thomas V. Green, Christian Madsen, William Lorenz, James Mowatt, Edward P. Ringius, Beril H. Hannah, Frank X. Martel, Paul A. Nagle, Joseph Tonelli, Joseph Breslaw, Marshall Shafer, George Heller, Edward F. Benning, Benedict Tantillo, George Hardy, William

International Labor Relations

Wm. J. McSorley, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, Christian M. Madsen, W. C. Birthright, John B. Haggerty, Isidore Nagler, George Meany, W. C. Doherty, Arnold S. Zander, George J. Richardson, Patrick E. Gorman, Edward J. Volz, Harry C. Bates, Joseph P. McCurdy, Alex Rose, Charles J. MacGowan, Richard J. Gray, John R. Stevenson, Richard F. Walsh.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

SECRETARY MEANY: At this time I would like to announce that the Executive Council's report, which is now being distributed, will be inserted in the proceedings at this point, along with an assignment of subjects from the Executive Council's report to the various committees.

There is also the usual summary of that report which will appear in the proceedings of today.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

NEW YORK, N. Y.
SEPTEMBER 15, 1952

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventy-first Convention of the
American Federation of Labor.*

GREETINGS:

INTRODUCTION

Each year as the time for our Annual Convention comes around, we give some thought to the history of the American Federation of Labor—its ideals, its principles and objectives. We take a fleeting glance backward on what has been accomplished in the past and resolutely set our eyes forward to the tasks that face us in the future.

While we can look back with some degree of satisfaction on the great progress and achievements of the organized workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor since the days of its founding, we must avoid any feeling of complacency. Our glances backward should only be for the purpose of drawing upon our experiences of the past and the knowledge we have gained from those experiences in order to do a better job in the future.

The basic objective of the American Federation of Labor since the days of its founding has been to secure a fair and equitable share for the workers of this great land of the things which they produce. To whatever extent we carry out this objective, we make America a better place in which to live and to whatever extent we improve the lot of American workers, to that extent at least we can justify our faith in the American system. Our objective remains today the same as it was in 1881. The methods which we use to obtain that objective have

perhaps changed with the years—but the objective as well as the ideals and principles upon which our movement was founded remain unchanged.

During the past, we have had to meet and overcome many, many obstacles thrown in the way of our movement in its forward advance by those who believe in the privileges of the few as opposed to the rights of the many. In the past, our efforts to organize have been met with every type of reactionary resistance. We have had to meet attempts that have been made to starve out the workers and kill off any desire they may have for the maintenance of a free trade union. We have had to meet the anti-labor injunction, the American Plan, the company thug, the company-controlled sheriff, the company-controlled judge. American Labor, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, has met and overcome these obstacles.

Today, the major obstacle in our way is the repressive anti-labor legislation which our enemies have placed on the statute books of the States and of the Nation itself. To meet this present-day obstacle to the maintenance of our achievements of the past and to further progress in the future, there is only one answer. Labor must be politically alive. We must meet the reactionary forces opposed to us on this battleground with the same determination and force with which we have met them on other battlegrounds of the past. Labor must see to it that the men and women who sit in the halls of Congress and in our various state legislatures must be those who realize the importance of Labor's contribution to the welfare of our Nation. We must see to it that Labor exercises its supreme right of franchise by taking part in every election at every level. We must see to it that those who would push Labor back to the days when the employer alone decided the conditions upon which men and women would work in this nation should be eliminated from public office. Our objective of a better and ever better day for the great mass of workers in America cannot and must not be allowed to fail because of political inaction on our part.

Therefore, when the Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor turns its face to the future, it must do so with the full realization that the ballot box is the most important weapon which the workers have in their fight for the continued forward march of our American Nation.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Seventy-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 10 months, beginning September 1, 1951, and ending June 30, 1952.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$1,111,907.44. Of this total, \$467,851.14 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$644,056.30 is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$3,621,118.60; the total expenses, \$3,459,155.40. Amount of receipts over expenses, \$161,963.20.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 10 months ending June 30, 1952:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1951	\$ 949,944.24
Per capita tax	\$ 2,999,991.04
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	1,903.59
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist	298,772.81
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	171,121.80
Initiation fees	56,871.75
Reinstatement fees	1,657.50
Supplies	15,203.56
Interest	7,200.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	34,228.78
Contributions L.L.P.E.	979.55
Subscriptions, News Reporter	20,220.48
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	12,967.74
Total receipts	3,621,118.60
Grand total	\$ 4,571,062.84

EXPENSES

Organizing expenses	\$ 727,364.12
Salaries	
Organizers	646,542.59
Office Employees	
A.F.L.	307,205.26
W.E.B.	18,857.20
L.L.P.E.	59,743.82

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Administrative	
A.F.L. -----	120,516.29
L.L.P.E. -----	12,461.36
Miscellaneous General Bills	
A.F.L. -----	1,056,686.90
W.E.B. -----	13,008.64
L.L.P.E. -----	72,584.25
Printing and publishing American Federationist -----	145,380.00
A.F.L. News Reporter -----	87,649.90
Defense Fund -----	162,755.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L. -----	28,400.07
Total expenses -----	3,459,155.40
Balance on hand, June 30, 1952 -----	<u>\$ 1,111,907.44</u>

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund -----	\$ 644,056.30
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions -----	467,851.14
Balance on hand, June 30, 1952 -----	<u>\$ 1,111,907.44</u>

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is a statement showing the grouping under their respective headings of the detailed monthly expenses for the 10 months, September, 1951 through June, 1952:

Rent -----	\$ 31,409.60
Refunds -----	108.00
Premiums:	
Bonds, Local Unions -----	28,400.07
Secretary-Treasurer's Bond -----	430.63
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation -----	5,276.85
Payroll, Liability -----	879.70
Employees' Life Insurance Policies -----	13,049.96
D. C. Personal Property Tax -----	664.72
Social Security O.A.B. Tax, (F.I.C.A.) -----	12,815.49
Canadian & States' Unemployment Tax -----	2,183.58
Federal Payroll Tax -----	2,790.19
Expressage, Freight & Drayage -----	2,174.03
Newspapers, Magazines & Books (Library) -----	3,155.38
Office Equipment & Supplies -----	11,447.32

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Research Statistical Service (Sup. & Misc.) -----	2,786.38
Postage Stamps -----	15,848.96
Supplies for Resale -----	6,273.57

Printing:

General -----	42,063.82
Convention Bound Proceedings -----	10,024.08
Convention Roll Call -----	776.25
Convention Daily Proceedings -----	11,265.33
Convention, Miscellaneous -----	5,405.66
AFL Weekly News Service, AFL News-Reporter -----	101,319.48
Miscellaneous Expenses -----	18,967.47
Paper Supply & Envelopes (Mailing Dept.) -----	3,281.38
Mailing Equipment -----	1,022.25
Office Furniture & Fixtures -----	988.00
Telegrams & Telephone -----	15,376.31
Fraternal Delegates to British T.U. Congress -----	1,828.50

San Francisco Convention:

Entertaining Fraternal Delegates -----	2,974.49
Messengers, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary	650.00
Supplies -----	143.74
Rooms (Office, Comm., Pres., E. C. Meetings) -----	5,637.50
Entertaining Guests, Receptions & Dinners -----	2,189.72
Stenographers & Clerks -----	10,248.28
Official Stenographers -----	3,634.40
Rental of Office Furniture -----	250.52
Telegrams, Telephone, Stamps, Handling Convention	
Mail, Porters, Misc., etc. -----	4,150.88
Auditing & Credential Committee -----	1,099.00
Delegate, Guest, Committee & Officer Badges -----	2,247.74
Executive Council Meetings, Telegrams, Typewriter	
Rental, Baggage, Stenogs, etc. -----	43,305.87

Traveling:

President -----	5,926.72
Secretary-Treasurer -----	4,071.57

Defense Fund:

Strike Benefits -----	162,755.00
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Salaries:

President -----	20,833.36
Secretary-Treasurer -----	19,166.72
Office Employees -----	307,205.26
ICFTU (Tony Sender) -----	1,091.60
Organizers -----	646,542.59
Organizers' Expenses -----	727,364.12

Salaries and Expenses:

Legislative	28,667.32
Publicity	540,656.00
Special Representatives	13,527.82
Labor's League	144,789.43
Workers' Education	31,865.84
European Representatives	31,724.20

Per Capita Tax:

Intl. Conf. of Free Trade Unions	52,500.00
Inter-American Regional Org., ICFTU	22,500.00
Metal Trades Department	1,059.92
Union Label Trades Department	316.46
Trades & Labor Congress of Canada	2,275.89

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST:

Cost of Printing	136,135.50
Postage	8,649.95
Story for Junior Federationist	180.00
Photographs	354.27
Miscellaneous	61.03
Legal Services	47,170.53
Special Committees & Conferences	16,209.86
Gompers' Centennial Committee	1,998.48

Contributions:

D. C. Tuberculosis Association	100.00
Community Chest Federation	300.00
National Housing Conf.	500.00
Natl. Foundation for Infantile Paralysis	1,070.00
Mrs. Samuel Gompers	1,350.00
Mrs. Frank Morrison	1,000.00
Employees' Retirement Fund	12,047.86
Free Trade Union Committee	15,000.00
American Red Cross	500.00
Rev. Joseph A. Gedra (Good Friday Observance)	25.00
Committee for the Nation's Health	5,000.00
American Cancer Society	500.00
Henri Langier	100.00
ICFTU (Brussels)	7,500.00
Commercial Telegraphers Union	10,000.00
Firemens Benefit Ball Game	18.00

Totals	<u>\$ 3,459,155.40</u>
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ORGANIZING EXPENSES

During the ten (10) months ending June 30, 1952, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,373,906.71. Of this amount \$608,395.07 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated trade and federal labor unions; the balance, \$765,511.64, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of national and international unions and in activities in behalf of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past 10 months, beginning September 1, 1951, and ending June 30, 1952.

RECEIPTS

Receipts ----- \$169,281.80

Refunds:

19635	Federal Labor, Muskegon, Michigan	\$ 20.00
20186	Federal Labor, Barberton, Ohio	380.00
22724	Aluminum Workers, Lister, Alabama	210.00
22917	Aluminum Workers, Lister, Alabama	40.00
22095	Optical Workers, Cleveland, Ohio	100.00
18548	Sawsmiths Federal Labor Union, Indianapolis, Ind.	10.00
20265	Stamping & Enameling Workers, Sebring, Ohio	1,080.00

Total Receipts ----- \$171,121.80

EXPENSES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>No. of Weeks</i>	<i>Aver. Mem.</i>	
18650	Federal Labor, Duluth, Minn.		9	413+	\$37,250.00
19343	Federal Labor, Elyria, Ohio		2	379	7,580.00
19635	Federal Labor, Muskegon, Mich		6	290+	17,420.00
23544	Federal Labor, Moline, Ill.		1	84	840.00
23736	Federal Labor, Goderich, Ont., Can.		1	26	260.00
19489	Aluminum Workers, Manitowac, Wis.		11	187+	20,660.00
19649	Aluminum Workers, Two Rivers, Wis.		11	272+	30,010.00
20572	Blast Furnace & Coke Oven Workers, Toledo, Ohio		6	385+	23,155.00
22095	Optical Workers, Cleveland, Ohio		1	44	440.00
18548	Sawsmiths FLU, Indianapolis, Ind.		10	44	4,400.00
20265	Stamping & Enameling Workers, Sebring, Ohio		5	414+	20,740.00
Total Expenses -----					<u>\$162,755.00</u>

RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund August 31, 1951-----	\$459,484.34
Receipts for 10 months ending June 30, 1952 -----	171,121.80
Total -----	630,606.14
Strike benefits -----	162,755.00
Balance in Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions, June 30, 1952 -----	<u><u>\$467,851.14</u></u>

**STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES
OF THE
SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
ALSO A STATEMENT OF THE FUNDS ON HAND
JUNE 30, 1952**

<i>Months</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenses</i>
September, 1951 -----	\$ 232,737.71	\$ 303,274.89
October, 1951 -----	287,928.93	362,326.35
November, 1951 -----	291,042.42	351,995.20
December, 1951 -----	378,245.34	288,412.53
January, 1952 -----	376,950.01	370,264.77
February, 1952 -----	392,126.36	317,590.65
March, 1952 -----	435,053.46	344,704.17
April, 1952 -----	385,723.79	349,011.38
May, 1952 -----	395,619.27	401,252.46
June, 1952 -----	445,691.31	370,323.00
Total -----	\$ 3,621,118.60	\$ 3,459,155.40
Balance in hands of Secretary-Treasurer August 31, 1951 -----	949,944.24	
Grand Total -----	\$ 4,571,062.84	

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts -----	\$ 4,571,062.84
Total Expenses -----	3,459,155.40
Balance on hand, June 30, 1952 -----	<u>\$ 1,111,907.44</u>
Monies deposited and invested as follows:	
U. S. Savings Bonds 2½% Maturity, May 1, 1960 -----	\$ 100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds 2½% Maturity, May 1, 1961 -----	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds 2½% Maturity, July 1, 1962 -----	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury 2¾% Bonds 1975-80 -----	198,452.53
Maturity Value \$200,000.00	
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock 700 shares) -----	15,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Subject to check) -----	2,000.00
City Bank (Subject to check) -----	5,000.00
Brotherhood State Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Savings Account) -----	20,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Subject to check)	10,000.00
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check) -----	561,454.91
Total, June 30, 1952 -----	<u>\$ 1,111,907.44</u>

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the ten months ending June 30, 1952, there have been issued 44 Charters to Centrals, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions; of this number 10 were issued to the following central bodies:

IDAHO AND VICINITY	MISSISSIPPI
Ontario, Oregon and Payette	Columbus
MASSACHUSETTS	NEW YORK
Pittsfield	Dunkirk
MICHIGAN	PENNSYLVANIA
Iron Mountain, Kingsford and	Buck County
Vicinity	Fayette County
Munising	
MINNESOTA	VERMONT
Alexandria	Brattleboro

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the ten months of this fiscal year:

	1951-1952
Central Labor Unions -----	10
Local Trade Unions -----	20
Federal Labor Unions -----	14
International Unions -----	0
	—
	44

Directly Chartered Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

On June 30, 1952 we had 1,094 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 199,182 and a defense fund of \$467,851.14.

The Federation has 1,559 volunteer organizers, as well as 163 paid organizers and the officers of the 821 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$171,121.80, initiation fees, \$56,871.75, and reinstatement fees, \$1,657.50.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 7; reinstated, 6; Revoked, 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 5; suspended, 21; joined national and international organizations, 4; amalgamated, 2; reinstated, 15; Charter Revoked 1.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 6; suspended, 13; joined national and international organizations, 7; reinstated, 9; amalgamated, 2.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP of AFFILIATED UNIONS

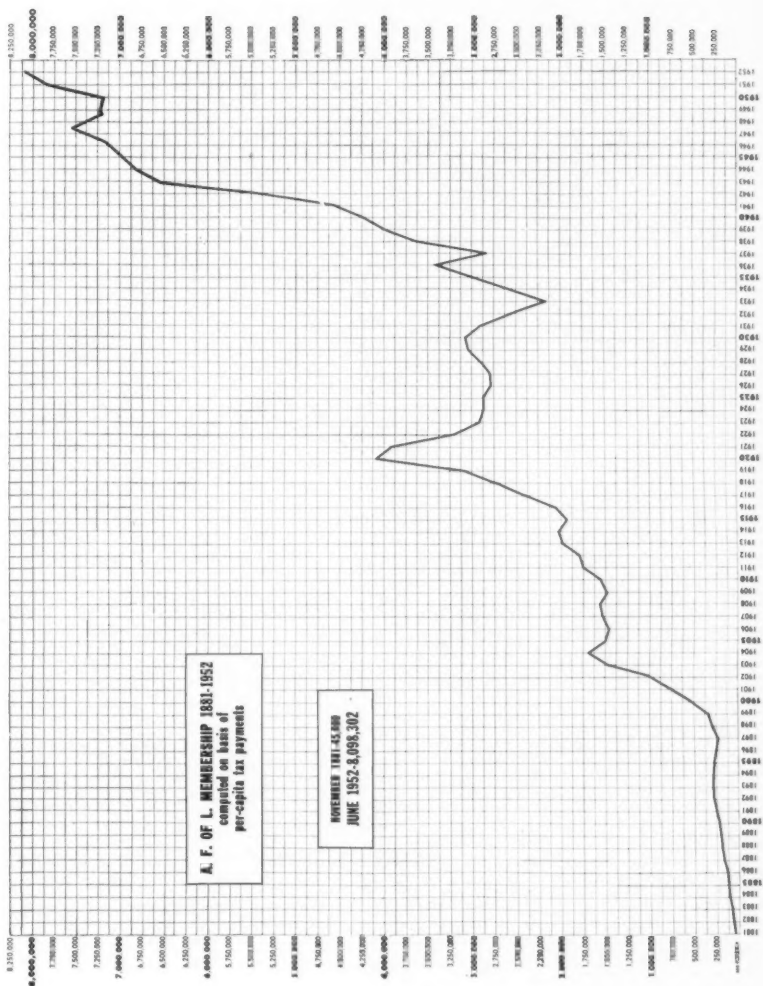
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of June 30, 1952, is 8,098,302.

This is based on actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 56 years:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Membership</i>
1897-----	264,825	1925-----	2,877,297
1898-----	278,016	1926-----	2,803,966
1899-----	349,422	1927-----	2,812,526
1900-----	548,321	1928-----	2,896,063
1901-----	787,537	1929-----	2,933,545
1902-----	1,024,399	1930-----	2,961,096
1903-----	1,465,800	1931-----	2,889,550
1904-----	1,576,200	1932-----	2,532,261
1905-----	1,494,300	1933-----	2,126,796
1906-----	1,454,200	1934-----	2,608,011
1907-----	1,538,970	1935-----	3,045,347
1908-----	1,586,885	1936-----	3,422,398
1909-----	1,482,872	1937-----	2,860,933
1910-----	1,562,112	1938-----	3,623,087
1911-----	1,761,835	1939-----	4,006,354
1912-----	1,770,145	1940-----	4,247,443
1913-----	1,996,004	1941-----	4,569,056
1914-----	2,020,671	1942-----	5,482,581
1915-----	1,946,347	1943-----	6,564,141
1916-----	2,072,702	1944-----	6,806,913
1917-----	2,371,434	1945-----	6,931,221
1918-----	2,726,478	1946-----	7,151,808
1919-----	3,260,068	1947-----	7,577,716
1920-----	4,078,740	1948-----	7,220,531
1921-----	3,906,528	1949-----	7,241,290
1922-----	3,195,635	1950-----	7,142,603
1923-----	2,926,468	1951-----	7,846,245
1924-----	2,865,799	1952-----	8,098,202

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received for each year since 1881 up to and including 1952—a total of 72 years.



VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1942, up to and including 1952. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1942	1943	1944	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Actors Associated & Artists of A.	190	177	160	237	360	297	392	352	362	300
Agricultural Wkrs.				7	104	104	71	87	108	53
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of										
Heat and Frost Insulators	40	40	40	40	40	47	57	60	60	60
*Automobile Workers of A. Intl.										
Union United	368	431	507	431	549	586	542	523	681	695
Bakery & Confect'y Wkrs. I. U.										
of A.	919	869	897	1,107	1,228	1,288	1,326	1,398	1,350	1,337
Barber's International Union Jour.	490	492	500	503	558	586	600	619	628	630
Bill Posters	30	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths Intl. Brotherhood of	92	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	903	2,867	3,369	2,417	1,667	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Book and Shoe Workers' Union	390	400	400	400	467	500	500	500	500	440
Bookbinders Intl. Brotherhood of	271	271	289	362	434	473	475	455	443	440
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	130	100	100	122	206	230	230	230	230	230
Bricklayers Masons & Plasterers										
I.U.A.	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	650	883	1,000
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl.										
Asso.	861	1,124	1,056	923	972	1,042	1,054	1,015	1,079	1,227
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union										
Intl.	4	4	3	4	5	5	5	4	4	4
Building Serv. Employees' Intl.										
Union	700	700	700	1,202	1,447	1,580	1,616	1,767	1,815	1,915
Carpenters and Joiners United										
Bro. of	3,667	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway	700	800	958	1,008	1,087	1,070	1,116	1,048	1,067	1,146
Carvers' Union International Wood.	3	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
Chemical Workers				413	509	587	611	613	695	759
Cigarmakers' International Union	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cleaning and Dye House Wkrs.	169	171	171	176	183	184	184	195	200	200
Clerks Intl. Protective Assn. Retail	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,196	1,637	1,854	2,025	2,050	2,050	2,095
Clerks Post Office Nat'l Federation										
of	450	429	400	458	540	685	790	880	880	880
Clerks Bro. of Rwy.	1,558	1,917	2,042	2,292	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500
Cement Lime & Gypsum Wkrs.	211	190	180	204	286	328	319	331	350	340
Coopers' International Union	51	51	50	50	68	68	60	48	49	50
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of										
A.	6	6	6	6	6	8	7	5	5	4
Dispatchers Assn. Airline					2	5	5	6	5	5
Distillery Rectifying and Wine										
Workers International Union	70	94	100	100	100	100	250	250	250	250
Draftsmen's Union Intl.	34	47	71	62	57	53	59	54	68	87
Electrical Wkrs. Intl. Bro.	2,079	2,529	3,129	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300	3,300
Elevator Constructors	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers Intl. Union of Operating	800	933	1,000	1,083	1,250	1,292	1,500	1,500	1,604	2,000
Engineers Int'l Assn. Flight							4	6	6	7
*Engravers Intl. Union Metal	3	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	4	5	5
Engravers Union of N.A. Intl.										
Photo	108	108	100	116	121	125	128	131	134	141
Fire Fighters Intl. Assn. of	382	360	405	455	475	541	548	628	569	610
Firemen and Oilers Intl. Bro. of	411	475	527	581	586	580	580	580	580	580
Garment Wkrs. of America United.	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Garment Workers Intl. Ladies	2,250	2,250	2,375	2,500	3,125	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500
Glass Cutters League of A. Window	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of										
U.S. & C.	203	240	240	286	350	360	360	360	380	423
Glass Workers American Flint	237	217	256	291	327	313	284	282	310	298
Glove Workers	28	31	31	33	36	36	31	30	30	30
Gov't. Employees Am. Fed. of	236	242	268	325	305	288	432	524	459	521
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A.										
The	50	43	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Hatters Cap and Millinery Wkrs.										
Intl. Union United	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
Hodecarriers and Common Laborers.	2,837	4,202	3,331	2,417	2,587	2,675	2,675	2,822	2,975	3,141
Horsehoers of U. S. and Can.	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2
Hotel and Rest. Employees etc.	2,420	2,328	2,245	2,873	3,656	3,806	3,813	3,181	1,754	1,476
Hosiery Workers American Fed. of.									25	292
Insurance Agents Intl. Union									81	99
Jewelry Workers' International	83	83	69	93	125	128	125	150	169	159

ORGANIZATIONS	1942	1943	1944	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Lathers Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal	81	81	81	81	81	84	99	120	120	132
Laundry Wkrs. Intl. Union	450	500	500	500	517	600	600	600	683	700
Leather Wkrs. Intl. Union United	33	32	28	40	35	30	33	33	A	A
Letter Carriers National Assn. of	600	600	600	608	650	650	725	800	892	900
Letter Carriers Nat. Fed. of Rural	4	4	4	5	f	f	f	f	f	f
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	139	136	137	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Longshoremen's Association Intl.	631	539	610	690	735	706	571	595	656	614
*Machinists Intl. Association of	3,285	4,584	6,659	f	f	f	f	f	3,384	5,275
Maintenance of Way Emp's I. B. of	969	1,185	1,169	1,441	1,563	1,554	1,612	1,522	1,383	1,586
Marble Polishers etc. Intl. Assn. of	55	48	45	45	45	45	45	52	55	55
Masters Mates and Pilots	30	30	30	43	48	50	77	90	90	90
Master Mech's. and Foremen of Navy Yds. & Naval Sta's Nat'l Assn. of	3	3	3	5	5	5	f	5	5	5
Messengers Spec. Del. Nat'l Assn.	9	9	9	12	12	20	24	24	26	20
Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen	948	971	1,005	1,269	1,552	1,646	1,655	1,768	1,867	2,052
Metal Workers' Intl. Assn. Sheet	204	250	250	250	250	297	326	320	320	320
Millers American Fed. of Grain	e	e	e	4,000	6,000	f	f	f	f	f
*Mine Workers of America United	e	e	e	4,000	6,000	f	f	f	f	f
Mine Wkrs. of A. Intl. Progressive	350	350	350	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Molders Union of N. A. Intl.	621	619	657	678	683	650	650	650	650	650
Musicians American Fed. of	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,754	2,281	2,355	2,384	2,395	2,402
Office Employees	1,226	1,328	1,397	1,536	1,702	1,733	1,757	1,710	1,765	1,843
Painters of America Bro. of	1,226	1,328	1,397	1,536	1,702	1,733	1,757	1,710	1,765	1,843
Patrolmen's Intl. Union Railway	271	262	344	400	400	400	400	400	400	530
Papermakers United Bro. of	97	107	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	14	17	27	45	56	60	61	61	64	66
Pilot Assn. Air Line (Intl.)	250	250	250	250	250	250	297	320	372	400
Plast'rs' Intl. Assn. of U.S. & C.	525	650	1,300	2,000	1,667	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Oper.	100	100	100	117	167	180	160	150	150	160
Plumbers Steamfitters etc.	77	87	90	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Polishers Intl. Union of Metal	122	144	150	150	150	154	217	250	250	250
Porters Bro. Sleeping Car	Handbag & Novelty Workers.									
Post Office & Railway Mail	15	15	15	15	17	15	15	15	15	13
Handlers National Association	78	215	215	215	215	215	215	291	284	276
Potters National Bro. of Operative	2	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
Power and High Explosive Wkrs.	476	485	493	634	703	743	753	794	795	794
Printing Pressmen International	8	9	11	15	13	12	11	11	11	11
Printers' Die Stampers' & Eng.	567	600	613	772	1,000	1,067	1,142	1,187	1,255	1,349
Union of N. A. Intl. Plate					5	5	5	5	5	5
Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Wkrs.	878	988	1,048	1,145	1,150	1,183	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200
Radio Directors Guild	229	218	218	227	247	253	267	271	264	160
Railway Employees Amal. S. & E.	Roofers Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.									
Railway Mail Association	57	70	80	86	107	115	120	120	120	124
Roofers Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.	292	300	300	450	450	450	450	450	450	450
Assn. United Slate Tile & Comp.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
B-Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A.					107	127	128	125	130	142
Siderographers Intl. Assn. of	356	360	460	670	883	783	750	792	809	781
*Signalmen of A. Bro. Railroad	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	f	f	f
State County & Municipal Emp.	420	420	420	420	420	420	420	420	420	420
Spinnners Union Intl.	88	89	88	93	100	104	106	109	108	113
Stage Employees Intl. Alliance	20	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
Theatrical	80	80	80	100	100	100	87	79	122	120
Stereotypers & Electro. of U. of A.	Supervisors etc.									
Stonecutters Assn. Journeymen	85	88	93	92	89	93	88	81	101	131
Stove Mounters' Intl. Union	229	299	292	306	348	400	358	350	333	390
Supervisors etc.	5,058	6,029	6,292	6,250	6,250	6,250	6,250	6,250	6,250	6,500
Switchmen's Union of N. A.	71	107	187	248	328	350	367	354	350	350
Teachers Am. Fed. of	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
Teamsters Chauff. etc. Intl. Bro. of	353	408	372	500	600	600	600	600	600	600
Telegraphers Commercial	182	210	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220
Telegraphers Order of Railroad	f	f	53	640	640	640	640	640	650	700
*Textile Workers of Amer. United	160	160	250	250	277	420	480	480	480	500
Tobacco Wkrs. Intl. Union of Amer.	31	31	28	27	40	36	29	25	26	20
*Typographical Union Intl.	4	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	4
Upholsterers Intl. Union of	780	758	749	767	786	808	811	804	819	821
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	49	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Wire Weavers' Protective Amer.	2,939	3,301	3,633	2,617	2,923	2,601	2,326	2,360	2,123	2,390
Yardmasters of America Railroad										
Centrals										
State Branches										
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions	52,929	63,362	68,184	68,552	76,331	72,311	73,589	73,949	77,055	81,679
Total vote of Unions										

† Suspended. A-Merged with Meat Cutters.

* Reinstated. B-Title changed from Intl. Seamen's Union of America.

e Charter revoked. d Disbanded. f Amalgamated with Natl. Assn. of Letter Carriers.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including June 30,

1952 -----	\$136,375.30
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including June 30, 1952	122,728.87

Balance on hand June 30, 1952 -----	<u>\$ 13,646.43</u>
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Funds deposited as follows:

Riggs National Bank checking account -----	\$ 13,646.43
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Balance on hand June 30, 1952 -----	<u>\$ 13,646.43</u>
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CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

George Meany

Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES of A. F. OF L. BUILDINGS

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 10 months ending June 30, 1952:

RECEIPTS

Cash balance on hand August 31, 1951	\$22,344.00
Rents—901 Massachusetts Ave.	
N. W.	\$45,061.07
Sale of waste paper	220.58
Gas—Refund	69.95
Rents—1525 H Street N. W.	6,200.00
	<hr/>
Total receipts	\$51,551.60
	<hr/>
Receipts and balance	\$73,895.60

EXPENSES

Maintenance—901 Massachusetts Ave.:

Payroll (Building Employees)	\$28,152.67
Taxes	3,683.60
Electricity	1,958.92
Fuel (Coal)	1,509.65
Supplies	1,932.20
Plastering and painting	90.09
Cleaning windows	450.00
Upkeep and Repairs	596.14
Upkeep and repair of elevators	1,230.38
Hauling ashes and trash	250.00
Miscellaneous expenses	950.00
Water rent	132.98
A. F. of L. Employees' Retirement	
Annuity Trust Fund	848.24
Social Security F.I.C.A.	548.72

Total	\$42,333.59
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Maintenance—1525 H St. N. W.:

Payroll (Building Employees)	\$ 1,891.00
Gas	711.86
Trash removal	157.50
Telephone service	72.48

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Electricity -----	802.41
Supplies -----	237.79
Cleaning windows -----	250.00
Taxes -----	16,108.04
Water rent -----	67.37
Upkeep and repairs -----	818.14
Plastering and Painting -----	158.24
Total -----	<u>\$21,274.83</u>
Total expenses -----	<u>\$63,608.42</u>
Balance on hand June 30, 1952 -----	<u><u>\$10,287.18</u></u>

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance -----	\$73,895.60
Expenses -----	<u>63,608.42</u>
Balance on hand June 30, 1952 -----	<u><u>\$10,287.18</u></u>
Monies deposited as follows:	
Riggs National Bank -----	<u><u>\$10,287.18</u></u>

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Buildings is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Faternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
GEORGE MEANY,
JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Buildings.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES**American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity
Trust Fund****For the Period September 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952****RECEIPTS**

Balance on hand, September 1, 1951		\$418,680.62
A. F. of L. weekly contributions	\$13,992.26	
Employees' weekly contributions	13,992.26	
Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds	9,662.50	
Total Receipts		37,647.02
Total Receipts and Balance		\$456,327.64

DISBURSEMENTS

Benefits Paid	\$ 1,446.70	
Withdrawals Paid	2,969.79	
Death Benefits Paid	1,096.40	
Total Disbursements		5,512.89
Balance on hand, June 30, 1952		<u>\$450,814.75</u>

ALLOCATION OF INTEREST**Investment Earnings Clearing Account**

Balance on hand, September 1, 1951		\$ 5,742.98
Receipts—September 1 to December 31, 1951		4,337.50
Excess Interest on Withdrawals		21.20
Total		\$10,101.68
Less: Allocations made December 31, 1951:		
To Prior Service Liabilities	\$ 7,019.66	
To Federation Accumulations	1,280.89	
To Members Accumulations	1,109.16	
To Annuity Reserve	691.97	10,101.68
Receipts—January 1 to June 30, 1952		\$ 5,325.00
Excess Interest on Withdrawals		52.46
Balance, June 30, 1952		<u>\$ 5,377.46</u>

BALANCE SHEET

For the Period September 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952

ASSETS

Investments -----	\$450,000.00
Cash -----	814.75
Total -----	<u>\$450,814.75</u>

LIABILITIES AND INCOME

Prior Service Liability -----	\$289,048.18
Federation Accumulations -----	68,832.54
Members Accumulations -----	57,344.21
Annuity Reserve -----	30,212.36
Investment Earnings Clearing -----	5,377.46
Total -----	<u>\$450,814.75</u>

WILLIAM GREEN,
GEORGE MEANY,
E. LOGAN KIMMEL,

*Trustees, American Federation of Labor
Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund.*

CHANGES OF TITLE

National Farm Labor Union

The Executive Council was notified by the President of the National Farm Labor Union that the December, 1951, convention of the organization had taken action officially changing its title to "National Agricultural Workers Union". The Executive Council was requested to approve the change in title.

With the distinct understanding that the change in title would involve no change in jurisdiction granted by the American Federation of Labor to the National Farm Labor Union, the Executive Council, at its meeting held in Boston, Massachusetts, beginning May 19, 1952, approved the change in title as requested.

Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America

At the meeting of the Executive Council held at Miami Beach, Florida, beginning January 28, 1952, consideration was given to the request of the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America for approval of a change of title of the organization to, "Commercial Telegraphers' Union". The request to shorten the title of the organization was approved by the Executive Council.

National Brotherhood of Operative Potters

At the meeting of the Executive Council held at Atlantic City, New Jersey, beginning August 11, 1952, consideration was given to the request of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters for approval of a change of title of the organization to "International Brotherhood of Operative Potters." The request of the organization was approved by the Executive Council.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

The Executive Council was authorized by the San Francisco, 1951, Convention to select representatives to serve as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the conventions of the British Trades Union Congress and of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

The Executive Council responded to the official invitation received from the British Trades Union Congress to designate two representatives to attend the 1952 Congress at Margate, England, September 1st to 5th, by assigning the following representatives to serve as fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress:

Richard F. Walsh, President, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada,

John R. Stevenson, First Vice President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

In response to an invitation received from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to send a representative to the Sixty-seventh Annual Convention which was held at Winnipeg, Manitoba, beginning August 18th, 1952, John J. Hauck, First Vice President of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, was selected to represent the American Federation of Labor as Fraternal Delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

SAMUEL GOMPERS' MEMORIAL—CITY OF HOPE

The City of Hope, a sanitarium located in Duarte, California, for the treatment of tubercular and cancer patients, has been supported by various trade union organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor since its establishment in 1914. The City of Hope has asked that the American Federation of Labor form a committee and sponsor a campaign to raise money for the erection of a building for cancer research in memory of Samuel Gompers.

The proposal is that a committee be formed under the chairmanship of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. This committee would appeal to the national and international unions requesting their participation, and the participation of their affiliated local unions, in securing contributions to a fund to be known as the Samuel Gompers Memorial Fund. The form which the Gompers' Memorial would take at the City of Hope would depend entirely on the amount of money raised by this appeal. It is contemplated that this memorial might take the form of a wing of the sanitarium, or a laboratory, or a completely separate building.

The Executive Council, while sympathetic to this project, feels that the decision should be made by the convention and, therefore, recommends that the convention consider this matter and make a final decision.

PENSION PAMPHLET

A technical pamphlet, entitled "Pension Plans under Collective Bargaining," has been prepared under the direction of a special committee of the Executive Council composed of Secretary Meany, Vice President Hutcheson, and Vice President Woll. This pamphlet, which is now available for distribution, is intended to serve as a handy source-book for union officials interested in the establishment and operation of negotiated pension plans. It should serve as a useful addition to the trade union reference shelf.

ISSUANCE OF LOCAL UNION CHARTERS TO PERSONS OUTSIDE OF TRADE JURISDICTION

At its meeting in Boston during the month of May the Executive Council gave consideration to reports that had come to it from various sources, including the public press, of the issuance by several Interna-

tional Unions of local charters to persons who had no previous connections with the trade or calling covered by the International Union concerned. Several instances were brought to the attention of the Executive Council indicating that these charters were being used to organize workers who had no connection whatsoever with the work covered by the jurisdiction of the International Union.

The Council designated a committee to look into this situation and to see what could be done to correct it. This committee consisted of Vice President Dubinsky, Vice President McFetridge and Secretary-Treasurer Meany. After a number of meetings and after corresponding with the officials of the International Unions concerned, the committee reported to the Council on three charters that seemed to fall into the category which the committee was investigating.

One of these charters was issued in New Jersey by the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union. Upon inquiring the committee was informed that this charter was recalled and nullified at about the time of the Boston meeting of the Executive Council.

The second charter was issued by the International Jewelry Workers' Union to an individual from St. Louis who was using the charter to organize Carnival and Amusement Park Employees. Upon the recommendation of the committee the officers of the International Jewelry Workers' Union revoked this charter during the August meeting of the Executive Council.

The third charter which came to the attention of the committee was also issued by the International Jewelry Workers' Union and is located in Brooklyn, New York. Action on this charter by the International Union was prevented by a court injunction and as this matter is still the subject of litigation, no action has been taken as yet by the committee.

The committee in addition has investigated the issuance of a charter by the United Automobile Workers in New York City. At the time of writing this report, the committee was awaiting a conference which was to be held with the officers of this International Union on this particular charter. The committee will report on this to the Executive Council at a later date.

WORLD AFFAIRS

I. The Critical International Situation

Since our last convention, the world crisis has been gravely aggravated. Soviet imperialism and its auxiliaries and satellites have continued their mad drive for world domination. The Kremlin has been unrelenting in its conspiracy to subvert and enslave all free peoples.

During this period, five factors have proved decisive in staying the hands of the Russian warlords from launching directly or by proxy new

aggression even more destructive of world peace than the criminal military adventure they instigated in June 1950 against the Republic of Korea and the United Nations. These factors are:

1. The enormous economic power and rising military might of the United States.
2. The progress of western Europe, with the aid of the Marshall Plan, in reconstructing its economy.
3. The slowly emerging strength of the North Atlantic Alliance as an instrument of collective security.
4. The readiness and capacity of the United Nations, under United States leadership, to resist and halt Soviet-directed military aggrandizement against weaker peoples (Korea).
5. The tensions and economic difficulties within the Soviet orbit caused by the heavy armament burdens and by mass discontent resulting from the intense exploitation and oppression of the captive nations in Europe and Asia under the yoke of Moscow.

In its planned and persistent aggravation of the world crisis, in its deliberate drive against economic reconstruction and political stabilization in the non-Soviet orbit, and in its persistent efforts to undermine international peace, the Russian dictatorship has concentrated its heaviest fire on our country.

The increasing readiness and capacity of the American people to fulfill their responsibilities of leadership of world democracy have been a source of disappointment to the Soviet rulers.

From the very moment that military hostilities had ended in 1945, the Communist "theoreticians" and "experts" had prophesied that a shattering economic crisis would cripple our economy and paralyze our capacity to aid free nations in need. This wishful thinking, this false prophecy, has brought the Moscow master-minds only keen chagrin and intense disappointment.

Another heavy blow which has helped turn the Kremlin's dream of easy and quick world conquest into painful frustration is the mounting opposition—particularly in the ranks of the international free trade union movement—to Communism as an extremely reactionary enemy and as a Soviet military conspiracy dedicated to the destruction of democracy and social progress.

Last but not least, slowly but surely, there has been developing a real determination among the peoples outside the Iron Curtain, to resist, to deter, and, if need be to defeat by force of arms, Soviet expansion and totalitarian Communist tyranny.

It is these developments which explain the virulence of Moscow's hate campaign against the American people, and the Communists' ceaseless vilification of the ranks of democratic labor throughout the world. These developments so disappointing and frustrating to the Russian despots, have driven them and their lackeys in other lands to resort to desperate and despicable tactics—like the slanderous charge of germ warfare, levelled against the American people. Here is the real cause

for the stepped-up kidnapping campaign recently launched by the Soviets and their agents in Germany and Austria. This explains the redoubled fiendish efforts by Moscow to strangle and starve the heroic people of Berlin. Here are further reasons for Moscow's frantic attempts to torpedo even limited and inadequate efforts to return to the German people their national unity and independence and their rightful role in the defense and prosperity of the community of free countries.

"A Creeping World War"

It is against this background that the critical international situation should be viewed and considered. Mankind is face to face with a creeping world war. The line of demarcation between the cold war and a total world conflagration grows fainter and fainter. Tragic confirmation of this is to be found in the Moscow-ordered costly military conflict in Indo-China, in the unceasing and devastating guerrilla warfare in Malaya and the Huk insurrection in the Philippines. The feverish Soviet satellite mobilization on the frontiers of Yugo-Slavia, the repeated wanton violation of Swedish and Danish soil by Russian planes and warships, the vast espionage undertakings in Sweden and Britain, the developing Peron-Stalin Axis in Latin-America, and the continuous flow of arms of aggression to Communist China all attest to the Kremlin's actively pursuing a course of calculated political provocation and reckless warlike adventurism.

It is the sheerest hypocrisy and the barest of lies to speak of any important "voluntary" efforts in lands like Communist China, notorious for brutal, totalitarian regimentation. There is nothing more ridiculous and fraudulent than the notion of "volunteer" forces pouring into Korea from Communist China—voluntarily mobilized, voluntarily equipped with the most modern weapons of war—without any responsibility on the part of the Peiping government. As action by "volunteers," the Chinese Communist military incursion into Korea is a clumsy hoax. It is a cruel insult to those "experts" on international law and appeasers in the free countries who fall for this unfounded distinction between "volunteer" and official forces and, thereby, excuse and absolve the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship of guilt for their criminal war.

Voluntary effort is the very antithesis of totalitarianism. Voluntary effort, especially when it is military in character, is impossible under a totalitarian regime. Such a regime could not exist without disarming the people and taking all political, military, and economic power into its own hands.

But it is at the door of the Kremlin that the burden of the blame must be placed for the continuation of the terrible conflict in Korea. Russia, far more than Communist China and the North Korean puppets, is responsible for the months of sterile and frustrating truce talks.

Without Russia's continued supply of arms, planes and pilots, the enemies of the U. N. would long ago have retreated from their reckless aggression.

Under the whiplash of the Kremlin commissars, the Communist negotiators at Panmunjom have been insisting on forced repatriation of the Chinese and North Korean war prisoners. This is in significant contrast to the policy pursued by Moscow in January 1943 when it offered to Nazi generals and their troops and to surrendering Hungarian forces the right to return to their respective countries or "to any country where the war prisoners should decide to go." Then Moscow hailed this policy as "the highest act of humanitarianism."

Only a year ago, the Kremlin's best legal brains indorsed such voluntary repatriation as fully in accord with the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949. Today, however, America is denounced by the Soviets and their spokesmen for insisting on precisely this policy—for the U. N.'s insistence that the Chinese and North Korean war prisoners be treated at least as well as Stalin treated the Nazis and their allies. This clearly exposes the complete lack of sincerity and seriousness on the part of the Communist truce negotiators. Moscow and Peiping have other aims and more urgent interests than peace in Korea. Totalitarian Russia and China have not the slightest interest in the welfare of any individual who seeks to escape their savage dictatorship. To Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung, the return of all their subjects who have shown even the slightest disaffection is a cardinal principle. These power-mad dictators dare not agree to permit anyone to seek freedom from their tyranny. Such a possibility of escape is potentially a dire threat to their totalitarian regimes.

Apparently, they dread that the application of the principle of voluntary repatriation of war prisoners in Korea would set a dangerous precedent to their plans for further aggression. Such a precedent might well encourage mass desertions from their armed ranks when they are next plunged into acts of aggression. That would endanger the entire Soviet program for new military aggrandizement. And that is the last thing in the world the Russian dictators want and the first thing in the world they fear.

II. After The Marshall Plan

Because of the Marshall Plan, the standards and levels of production in Western Europe are today well above the pre-war rates. Furthermore, despite all hesitation and obstacles, headway has been made, thanks to the Marshall Plan, in economic cooperation between, and domestic monetary stability within, the participating nations. Though the dollar gap is still big, it was a real achievement for the nations aided by the Marshall Plan to succeed in more than doubling their exports to North America between 1948 and 1951. But it was wrong to assume that the restoration of pre-war economic levels in western

Europe would itself restore the pattern and balance of world trade prevailing in 1939.

The defense and security of the free world against Communist aggression has entered a new stage with the official end of the Marshall Plan on June 30, 1952. Had it not been for the attainment of the objectives of this great experiment in international solidarity, democratic Europe would not be in a position even today to make any contribution towards its own security.

To meet and defeat Soviet imperialist aggression and Communist subversion, the free nations will have to apply increasingly the principle of mutual aid in all their political and economic as well as their military relations. The promotion of freedom and the protection of peace cannot today be the concern and task of any one democratic nation, no matter how powerful it may be. Collective security is the need of the hour. And collective security against Soviet aggrandizement can be attained only on the basis of mutual aid among the peace-seeking countries.

In this light, despite all shortcomings and reduction of appropriations, the adoption by Congress of the Mutual Security Act and the setting up of the European Defense Community are steps on the road towards effective collective security and economic collaboration among the nations outside the Soviet orbit. In this sense, the underlying idea of a Schuman Plan is to be welcomed, though there is room for much improvement in the present project. In the same spirit, all steps towards removing the various obstacles to a united free Europe should be encouraged and supported.

Crux Of The Crisis

In facing the critical international situation, we must avoid a piecemeal approach which can only lead to overemphasizing the importance of temporary shifts in the scene or to wrong evaluations of tactical maneuvers by the totalitarian enemy. Herein is rooted the recurring false notion that the current emergency does not require a sustained large-scale defense effort by the democratic nations. What is even more dangerous, is the fact that any approach based on a short-range perspective is bound to overlook the basic features of the crisis which will continue as long as the world is divided into two parts—the free and the totalitarian.

At one moment, foreign policy based on such a short-term approach results in the assumption that the Kremlin dictatorship can, through sundry measures, be contained and, therefore, there is no danger of further Soviet aggression. At another moment, this type of approach can lead to the very opposite conclusion—that a whole series of new Soviet aggressions and World War III are inevitable in the near future.

The present grave crisis should not be viewed and cannot be understood merely on the basis of past experience. It is of an entirely different character than other crises of the past. It is not transitional in its char-

acter. None other than Stalin has stressed the basic objective of Soviet foreign policy to be: "to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, using it as a base for the overthrow of imperialism in all countries. The revolution is spreading beyond the confines of one country; the period of world revolution has commenced." (Problems of Leninism, p. 60, Moscow 1941, English Edition.) According to Stalin, any country which refuses to submit to the Kremlin and is determined and prepared to resist Soviet aggression and absorption is imperialist or a tool of imperialism. According to this Bolshevik dogma, only Communist Russia and its partners and puppets are not and cannot be imperialist.

Since this line was first laid down by the "infallible" leader of Russia and world Communism, his dictatorship has consolidated itself by sending millions to slave labor camps, by executing top leaders of his government and party, resorting to genocide on a scale unparalleled in history, and making a deal with Hitler to unleash World War II. Spreading this deformed and betrayed revolution beyond the confines of one country (Russia), the Soviet regime has undermined and helped to overthrow the legitimate government of China and helped impose on the Chinese people a regime at least as barbarous as the Kremlin, extinguished the national independence of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and other lands. Thus has "one country" (Communist Russia) been used "as a base" for spreading the most savage counter-revolution that ever tormented and tortured mankind.

The U.S.S.R. has emerged from World War II as a first-class military power. From the very moment that the last shot was fired in World War II, the Russian dictators have been speedily and systematically streamlining and strengthening their already very powerful military machine, as if they were planning to start another global total war. The Kremlin has been rearming at a pace and on a scale far exceeding Hitler's program when he was preparing to plunge mankind into World War II.

While Russia was *re-mobilizing*, the democratic powers were *demobilizing* at a feverish clip. By 1948, the United States reduced the number of men under arms from 11,647,000 to a mere 1,345,758. From 1945-1948, Britain cut down her armed forces from 5,090,000 to a mere 787,000. Russia, however, during this period, reduced its 7,000,000 men under arms to somewhat over 4,000,000, according to its own official admission. And to date the belated rearmament effort of the democracies has been entirely inadequate. The attempt to counterbalance the huge Soviet war machine has so far been insufficient.

Rearming The Free World

The free world must, therefore, be prepared to face frankly the following situations:

(1) The top Soviet leaders who determine all policy for Russia may or may not risk today or tomorrow a global conflict. They realize that their defeat in such a war would spell the obliteration of the Communist regime. Hence, it is clear that in order to maintain peace and in order to avoid a new world war, the democratic nations must make a defense effort adequate enough to convince the Kremlin that the risk of defeat would be too great.

(2) Even if and when the increased strength of the democratic nations should force the Soviet government to make certain concessions, the inherent danger of Russian aggression and war would remain—as long as the Kremlin rulers cling to their totalitarian Communist objectives and as long as the life-and-death decision of plunging the world into a total war can be made by a handful of ruthless men wielding uncontrolled and unlimited power over their subjects.

Even in an emergency of short-term duration, we must make every effort to avoid developments and policies which disturb our economic life. But in an emergency of such gravity and long-term duration, as the present, the very purpose of our extraordinary armament effort might be defeated unless everything is done to make sure that the economy of the free world operates as smoothly as possible and avoids dislocations which inflict avoidable hardships on the populations concerned.

From this viewpoint, it was unfortunate that, in the transition from the E.C.A. to the M.S.A., the economic aid aspect of American assistance to free Europe was pushed too much into the background. It is still vitally necessary to continue the economic aid features of our country's program of assistance to the non-captive nations of Europe. Without such American aid, these countries are not yet able to maintain stable and growing economies. Their rearmament efforts depend in a decisive measure upon their economic stability. A troubled and unbalanced economy of the west European nations would only prolong and increase the already heavy burdens on the American taxpayer.

Significant confirmation of the basically progressive character of our country and its forward-looking role in world affairs is Section 516 (Benton Amendment) of the Mutual Security Act of 1951. It provides that our foreign aid programs are to be so administered as "To encourage where suitable the development and strengthening of free labor unions as the collective bargaining agencies of labor within such countries." The general permissive character of this Section was strengthened by the Moody amendment, adopted before Congress closed in July, to appropriate \$100,000,000 for putting life into Section 516 "with equitable sharing of the benefits of increased production and productivity between consumers, workers, and owners."

It is likewise regrettable that the very laudable Point Four Program has not yet been developed sufficiently to become—in the eyes of the people of the industrially underdeveloped countries—a major factor for

technical advancement and economic improvement. These countries are a crucial area in the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism. Their raw materials are essential not only to our rearmament efforts but to the very health of our economy. If we win them to our banner, the Kremlin and its partners in Asia are doomed to defeat. It is, therefore, imperative that our government substantially expand the Point Four Program and take steps to work out an international plan for assuring these peoples adequate and stable prices for the vital raw materials they produce.

The very fact that the present crisis is not of a temporary character makes it all the more imperative that the rearmament effort of the democratic nations be pursued in such a way that the economy of the free world is not unduly disturbed and deranged. This danger must be especially avoided insofar as it affects the tasks of satisfying the essential needs of the population. Hungry, discontented or disaffected people cannot produce with fullest efficiency. Especially because this is a prolonged emergency, must the vital functions of a free society in the field of social progress and in the protection of human liberties be preserved and promoted.

It would be suicidal folly to assume that social progress as such could render superfluous or make unnecessary adequate rearmament by the democratic world. Social progress can certainly be of great aid in exposing and cutting the ground from under the demagogic Communist fifth column and strengthening the national morale in the free countries. But decent living standards, good working conditions and social progress are themselves no answer to the menace or protection against the power of the gigantic Soviet war machine.

There is no simple formula for, or easy solution of, the burdens of rearmament. These burdens are real. Nor is there any magic shortcut to the blessings of social progress. The issue we face is not one of guns versus butter or butter versus guns. Today, we do not have the freedom of choice. We must never forget that while it takes two to wage peace, it takes only one to wage war. That is the actual situation we face. We must face it without fear or illusions. Without any butter, it would be very hard for the democracies to assure adequate and efficient production of guns. On the other hand, without any guns to protect them, it would be impossible for the men, women, and children of the democracies to have and enjoy their symbolic butter in a world weighed down and harassed by the increasing threat of Russian aggression and Communist enslavement. Because of the very nature of this menace, the free world must find the necessary ways and means to assure itself both guns and butter.

The international free labor movement must face the complicated and difficult task of combining the unavoidable and absolutely urgent rearmament effort with the indispensable preservation of social progress. Towards this end, free labor must insist on an adequate voice

and representation in the defense effort. Furthermore, there must be an equitable sharing of the burdens of the costly rearmament program. We must vigorously reject all reactionary moves to use the rearmament effort as a pretext for opposing further social progress or as an excuse for weakening or even wiping out the benefits of labor legislation and social security already attained.

Problems of Collective Security

In this connection, we must not overlook the unfair and unfortunate behavior of certain captains of industry in our own country. These men and those who serve them have sought to reduce to a minimum labor's voice in the national defense program. These same short-sighted and selfish interests have desperately sought, as in the steel and other industries, to jack up prices and their already high profits while blocking, by all means, organized labor's legitimate efforts to make up for at least some of their reduced purchasing power by a long overdue and adequate wage increase.

In Britain, we have witnessed a most disturbing set of developments growing out of the tasks of rearmament. The Conservative Prime Minister Churchill has reduced defense appropriations. This action was in line with a proposal first made by Aneurin Bevan, his political opponent. The latter had resigned from the Labor Cabinet because it had rejected his proposal. He argued that Britain had to choose between a particular defense budget and the preservation of the social services—especially the full benefits of the National Health Service. Bevan had proposed to reduce defense appropriations and maintain the health service benefits. But Churchill reduced both the defense and health appropriations.

How dangerous is this Bevan-Churchill approach to the problem can be seen from what has followed these first steps. Bevan has since insisted on further drastic cuts in his country's defense budget; he has denied the danger of Soviet aggression; he has hypocritically and shamefully denounced America as an even greater threat to world peace than Communist Russia. Prime Minister Churchill, though not stooping to such degrading demagoguery, has already issued alarm signals to inform Washington that Britain cannot bear the burdens of even its reduced defense budget.

In France, the Pinay government, under the flag of strengthening the nation's finances, has proclaimed an amnesty for those guilty of large scale tax evasion. At the same time, this government has sought a virtual freezing of wage scales. This is certainly not an equitable distribution of the burdens of the urgently needed national defense. This failure by the government to sense the urgency of the crisis and to rally the wholehearted support of the French people has, quite naturally, been followed by an official declaration that France will not

be able to provide, on the promised date, the troops she pledged for the defense of Europe.

We have pointed out these dangerous manifestations not in a sense of negative or carping criticism but solely with a view of removing shortcomings and solidifying and strengthening the ranks of the democracies. The rearmament effort of the democracies will not achieve the desired moral and material results if it does not rally the full support of the working people. Such support can be assured and mobilized only by an equitable distribution of arms burdens and by respecting the rights, the needs, and the dignity of labor. Today, the wages and living standards of many of the European workers are still inadequate. To put the main burden on the shoulders of these wage-earners is to impede seriously their full mobilization for defense. To spare those who are able to pay or even to permit them to increase their profits at the expense of the wage-earning population is to encourage "neutralist" notions among the plain people of Europe, to jeopardize the entire defense program, and to play into the hands of the Soviets.

Likewise, we cannot exaggerate the harmful effect of policies which obscure or discredit the democratic character of the Western defense effort against Soviet totalitarian subversion and aggression. In this light, we express our firmest disapproval of our own government's policy of making concessions to and trafficking with the totalitarian Franco regime. In the same spirit, we deeply deplore and disapprove the attempts made by some of our allied governments to preserve colonialism in Africa and elsewhere and to pursue a reactionary policy of fighting genuine national liberation movements. Such a course is gravely injurious to effective democratic collective security.

We cannot plead too strongly for greater rearmament efforts by the European democracies to the highest level that their economies will bear. In making this plea, we do not seek the slightest diminution of military effort or reduction of any other contribution by our own country towards the security of the free peoples, the prevention of war, and the preservation of world peace. We fully realize that the western European nations themselves do not yet have sufficient strength or military forces and resources to beat back the Soviet armed forces, should they be hurled at democratic Europe. To deter and help assure the defeat of such Soviet madness, we propose that the strengthening of western European military forces be accompanied by an increase in the number of United States fighting men stationed in free Europe.

III. The European Defense Community

The United States Senate has ratified the Contractual Agreement with the German Federal Republic. Though we are in accord with the basic desire of our government to integrate free Germany into the

economic, political and military organization of western Europe, we must warn against certain errors that continue to block a realization of this worthy goal. Mere, formal ratification of this contractual agreement (which has a number of inherent serious shortcomings) by the United States will not enable German democracy to participate appropriately and effectively in the free European defense community. Not even official ratification of this contract by Germany and France (yet to come) will assure such German participation.

In the last instance, it is the German people themselves in Germany who will have to be the ones to provide an adequate and appropriate German contribution to the collective security of democratic Europe. This means, *in the first place*, that America, Britain and France in particular must provide those conditions which will facilitate and insure the proper spirit of co-operation and wholehearted loyal participation by democratic Germany. The enmities and prejudices of yesterday hold no promise of peace or prosperity for the world tomorrow. The victorious democratic powers of the last war must stop acting towards the new Federal Republic of Germany as if they were planning and preparing to refight World War II. They must instead consistently and vigorously pursue towards the German Republic a policy calculated to prevent World War III and to assure the victory of the free peoples in the event the madmen of the Soviet dictatorship start such an infernal conflict.

The Soviets realize the vital role of Germany. They will resort to any trick or stratagem to prevent German collaboration or partnership with the West. Our country and its allies must not only expose Moscow's machinations. We must take the initiative to forestall Communist trickery and to convict the Soviet regime as the exploiter and oppressor of the German people—as the mortal enemy of a democratic Germany which enjoys complete national independence, full national unity and full equality with other nations in all international affairs and relations.

Moreover, we must make every effort to prevent the rebirth of German militarism or any form of neo-Nazi influence in the ranks of the armed forces to be reconstituted in Germany. Here is the best assurance to the French people whose historical fears and misgivings about German rearmament are understandable. Here is likewise the best guarantee against the rebirth of a militaristic reactionary German ruling clique which might again seek to maneuver between the Western democracies and the totalitarian Soviet "paradise". Only a German military force controlled by a parliament (Bundestag) democratically elected by the German people and cooperating intimately with the western democracies on the basis of complete—not merely substantial—equality can guarantee against another Russo-German partnership (along the lines of the Stalin-Hitler Pact) which would only serve as the signal and spark for a new global war.

The Role Of Free Germany

It is most regrettable that the planned contractual agreement and the role proposed for Germany in the European army are neither equitable nor sound. The role of free Germany in the resistance by democratic Europe to Soviet aggression is pivotal. It would be the costliest of illusions to assume that the most highly industrialized nation, with the largest population in free Europe, would, for any length of time, accept and willingly tolerate conditions, contracts and treaties denying its people full equality and complete sovereignty in the community of western peoples. German military forces drawn into such a European army cannot be reliable from the democratic point of view, since this plan excludes all possibility of their being under effective parliamentary control by the people of Germany. The German people cannot render the best that is in them—and the best is essential for our common security and freedom—under conditions subjecting them to second class status.

Any German representative prepared to sign such a contract is only hoping for the first chance to renounce and repudiate it. This is no solid basis of cooperation. Such political leaders are covertly laying the foundation for the earliest revision and repudiation of this contract. They can never inspire and win the confidence of democratic labor in Germany for all-out resistance to Russian aggression and Communist subversion. They can never rally the German people, overcome the "neutralist" moods and root out the vestiges of Nazism and militarism among them.

It is not hard to understand why there is today so much of confusion, hesitation, and suspicion in the ranks of German labor in respect to rearmament. The German democratic labor movement cannot see either logic or justice in their country being invited to be an ally while it is to be treated as a conquered people. The German workers do not have faith in the proposed plan for a European defense force in which their country will be the only member denied the right to have a national army. Our country did not enter into such an unfair and unsound arrangement for Japan. We applaud this course. Our country must find ways of convincing its ally governments that the course pursued towards Japan in the interest of economic reconstruction and peace in the Far East should be pursued towards Germany for the same reasons in Europe.

The struggle against Soviet expansion and annexation has been seriously weakened by the utterly unjustifiable separation of the Saar from Germany. The transformation of this organic part of Germany vint the German people that their genuine cooperation with the democratic right of freedom of association and the rights of free trade union organization, and collective bargaining in mining, the most important industry of the region, is a terrible obstacle to any effective cam-

paign by the western powers against the odious Oder-Neisse boundary line. Nor does such an arbitrary tearing of the Saar out of Germany prove to the German people our sincere interest in the restoration of democracy in the Eastern Zone, its liberation from the Russian yoke, and its organic reunification with the rest of Germany. Similarly, it would be sheer self-deception to think that any scheme for the so-called "Europeanization" of the Saar would be any less synthetic and arbitrary than the present status of so-called independence of this German region.

We must under no circumstances give Moscow the opportunity of hypocritically posing as the advocate or champion of a German national unity. Nor must we continue to act as if there were a contradiction between a united democratic Germany and an integrated democratic Europe. As long as Germany is divided, the German people, in their vast majority, will tend to give priority to the reintegration of their own country over the integration of western Europe. Least of all among the American people should this attitude cause any surprise or resentment. Every self-respecting nation prizes most highly its own national unity. To the United States, national unity meant so much that the American people, under the leadership of Lincoln, even went so far as to wage a devastating Civil War to preserve the Union. We must convince the German people that their genuine cooperation with the democratic nations on the basis of equality in the defense of their own country and all other free nations is not offered as a substitute but as a most effective force for securing sufficient collective strength to hasten the days of the complete reunification of Germany. In failing to realize this understandable attitude of the German people towards their national unity, the Western democracies have missed a real opportunity to convince them that the Allies are seeking every possibility to free from Communist enslavement the people in the Soviet Zone and to bring about, through free elections, the reunification of Germany on a democratic basis.

Formal ratification of unsound and unjust contractual compacts does not contribute to the unity and collective security of democratic Europe. Such formal actions do not provide a sound and just solution of the German problem—either with regard to the interest and concern of Germany's neighbors or the German people themselves. Our country should exercise vigorous initiative and unwavering leadership to review and revise the entire Allied policy towards Germany with a view of rallying the support particularly of German democratic labor for wholehearted participation and maximum contribution by the German people in the defense of Europe, the promotion of democracy, and the protection of world peace.

IV. Vital Role Of Underdeveloped Areas

Within the last year, the gravity of the crisis in the underdeveloped areas of the world has become deeper. It is now especially acute and

explosive in the Near and Middle East where events bearing extremely dangerous possibilities for the future of peace and freedom are in the making. The unending political storm in Iran, the decision rendered against Britain by the International Court of Justice to the effect that the Iranian oil issue is beyond its jurisdiction since it is a domestic question, the successful military uprising and continued painful uncertainty in Egypt, the ever-louder mutterings of national revolt and intense French suppression in North Africa (Tunis), the appalling poverty and economic backwardness of the Arab lands are alarm signals we must heed.

In South Africa, the Malan regime believes in democracy—at most only for whites. It stubbornly pursues a Hitlerite racialist policy without regard for basic human values or the devastating consequences of such a reprehensible course.

In the Far East, there are to be noted certain welcome developments. A peace treaty has been signed with Japan by our own and other countries. Economic reconstruction is proceeding in Japan. In Formosa, the Nationalist Chinese government is making encouraging headway in improving its military forces and facing up to the urgent social and economic problems of the day. Amongst the vitally important millions of overseas Chinese, there is growing disillusionment with Communist China. This is accompanied by a friendlier attitude towards the Nationalists. On the Chinese mainland itself, guerrilla operations persist and discontent with the brutal Mao Tse-tung dictatorship is mounting. In Pakistan, there are emerging strong and stable democratic forces and the free trade unions are beginning to come into their own. In Indo-China and Malaya, the French and British have begun to discard some policies of the old colonialism.

Despite these positive and welcome developments, the crisis in the Far East continues to be very serious. In Korea, months of frustrating truce talks have served as a cover and chance for Russia's puppets and junior partners to build up the Communist war machine. In Indo-China and Malaya armed conflicts continue to sap the military resources of our allies. In Indonesia, "neutralism," which in effect is a silent partner and supporter of Soviet imperialism and Communist subversion, has made disconcerting headway. The Nehru government continues an unpardonable course of appeasement and kowtowing towards Moscow and Peiping. This is the primary reason for the many Communist gains in the last elections in India. Prime Minister Nehru and his closest collaborators are still prisoners of the fatal illusion that present-day India and Communist China can become partners in bringing democracy, peace, and social progress to Asia.

The Soviet dictatorship has not failed to exploit the difficulties besetting the Orient. It has, in a manner and with a technique reminiscent of Japanese imperialism in the days of Tojo, sought to detour the legitimate aspirations of these aroused peoples into channels for

furthering the sordid ends of Russian imperialist expansion. It has sought to distort and pervert the understandable suspicions and resentment of these impoverished millions against western colonialism (past and present) into expressions of furious race hatred against some of our allies and our own country. The Communists have been feeding on the poverty, illness, and illiteracy of these unfortunate peoples.

It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that, because Moscow has been quick to take sinister advantage of and to aggravate the deep-going crisis gripping these densely populated and economically underdeveloped areas, the crisis itself has been created and brought on only by the Kremlin and its lackeys. The crisis is deeply rooted in the long history of these peoples, in their intense yearning for national freedom, in the soul-tormenting and back-breaking poverty and social injustice which plague them, in past grave errors of western colonial policies, in continued imperialistic attitudes by some western democracies, and in historically antiquated and currently harmful backward social and economic relationships and institutions still prevailing there.

The crisis in the Far East offers not only a grave threat but an inspiring challenge and great opportunity to the forces of freedom. It is in this light that the Executive Council, in its Resolution on "The Crisis in Asia and Africa," which aroused world-wide interest, declared on February 2, 1952:

"In the historic struggle between the democratic and the totalitarian powers, the peoples of colonial and industrially underdeveloped countries are destined to play a decisive role. If the democracies could rally to their banner the hundreds of millions of people in these areas of Asia and Africa, they would decisively defeat the attempts of Communist imperialism to subvert and conquer the free nations. But if totalitarian Russia—hypocritically posing as the champion of the colonial peoples and exploiting the mistakes which the democracies may make—should win these vast masses as its friends or allies, the Kremlin would likely succeed in attaining its ghastly goal of world enslavement. It is, therefore, imperative for the democratic countries to have these people of Asia and Africa become equal partners in the struggle for freedom, peace, and social and economic improvement.

"Our own nation was born out of a revolutionary struggle against colonial tyranny. We are, by tradition and policy, in wholehearted sympathy with all people seeking full national freedom. We have shown the way in harnessing modern industrial techniques for conquering hunger, misery, illness and illiteracy. Through our Point Four Program we have demonstrated sympathetic understanding and readiness to help meet the urgent social and economic needs of the underdeveloped regions. In a spiritual as well as material sense, America is best qualified to provide active and consistent leadership for stopping the spread of chaos and ruin in the colonial and underdeveloped regions, promoting and protecting their aspirations for national independence and a better life."

Disturbing Developments in Latin America

The forces of democracy have been set back in a number of countries in Latin-America. In a measure, these setbacks have been suffered because our country has been pre-occupied with affairs of the Old World. Our government has erred in showing too tolerant an attitude towards Peronism which has robbed the great Argentinian nation of its democratic rights and liberties. Insufficient United States attention to the problem of assuring fair and stable prices for vital raw materials has also provided fertile soil for expanding intrigue by the Argentine dictatorship in collusion with its Communist totalitarian comrades. This has facilitated the overthrow of constitutional democratic governments and their replacement by military dictatorships of a Peronist type, infiltrated by Communists.

For confirmation of this tragic turn, we need but look at the developments in Venezuela, Bolivia and Guatemala. In Cuba, the situation continues distressingly uncertain. In Argentina, the incompetency, irresponsibility and unsound policies of the arrogant Peron have led to a situation in which this once great food-producing country must now import wheat and ration meat.

Economic and political deterioration in Latin America has already reached a stage in which it is a major menace to the well-being and freedom of our American neighbors and a source of real weakness to the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world. Our country has no time to spare in preparing and launching a program which will help enhance democracy and human well-being throughout Latin America and tie together more closely and firmly than ever the liberty-loving peoples of these lands with our country and the freedom-serving nations of Europe, Asia, and elsewhere.

This vital area of the New World demands prompt and major attention. It deserves all possible help required to turn the tide away from poverty and dictatorship towards economic improvement and solid democracy.

V. World Communism—Enemy Of Free World

In the present world crisis, the international Communist movement is not a political force in the democratic sense of the word. Nor is it an organization dedicated to a social ideal and basic social reform. The American Federation of Labor has never considered Communism—even in its so-called idealistic stage of the first days of the Russian Revolution—as a movement of extreme radicalism. We have always considered it as a dangerously reactionary movement hypocritically hiding behind a facade of revolutionary and high-sounding phrases and organized only for the purpose of serving the aims and interests of the masters in the Kremlin. Today, this movement is completely totalitarian and serves only as an instrument and auxiliary of the Russian dictator-

ship in its policy of military aggression and continuous imperialist expansion.

Though it employs violence as a means to attain and maintain its end, the Communist movement is not strictly or solely military in its form and activities. In our fight against this insidious threat to freedom and peace, we must concentrate on positive non-military activities and measures. In this field of activities, the A.F. of L. has been guided by the premise that Communism is the antithesis and the very negation of every ethical and moral value, of every social advance, of every democratic right and humanitarian viewpoint developed and won by mankind in more than six centuries of hard struggle for the emancipation of man from the rule of caste or class, ignorance and prejudice of every type. That is why, there can be no more positive activity or struggle waged by any progressive movement or labor organization than the fight to wipe out all Communist influence, infiltration, and organization in the ranks of the workers in particular and among the people in general.

In the days when Nazism was the most serious threat to human freedom and world peace, no democratic labor movement could be too much anti-Nazi in its propaganda, activities and struggle against this type of totalitarianism. Today, when Soviet Communism is the gravest danger to human liberty and world peace, it would be just as wrong to think that any democratic labor movement could be too much anti-Communist in its propaganda, activities, and struggle against totalitarian Communism.

Just as we could not be too much anti-Nazi or too much anti-Fascist in 1939, so we cannot be too much anti-Communist totalitarian in 1952. To say that one could never be too much anti-Nazi and yet could be too much anti-Communist is to draw a false distinction between the two brands of totalitarian despotism and to give preference to the Communist form against the Nazi specie of anti-human tyrannical dictatorship. By drawing such false distinctions, one wittingly or unwillingly plays into the hands of Communism which has replaced the defeated Nazism-Fascism as the main danger to democracy, world peace, and social progress. The American Federation of Labor warns against making such a fatal mistake. We stress that totalitarian Communism is no abstraction or idealistic social philosophy. We stress that totalitarian Communism is synonymous with slave labor, ruthless dictatorship, human degradation, total intellectual enslavement, destructive social conflict, military imperialist aggression, genocide, and world war. To conduct a militant struggle against these reprehensible evils is not to engage in "mere negative" activities but to engage in the most positive constructive activities deserving of utmost support by free labor.

Hence, the A.F. of L. has avoided the plague of dogmas, the paralysis of self-deceiving radical-sounding phrases, and the prison of the

clichés of so-called social significance in its fight against Communism. Instead of dabbling in promises about profound social reorganization in the future, we of the A.F. of L. engage in positive militant struggle for the continuous improvement of our working and living conditions, for the promotion of our democratic rights, the preservation and strengthening of our free trade unions as a completely independent labor organization, and for the maintenance of world peace.

It is in this positive sense that we have stepped up our activities in the fight against the negative and destructive role of Communism at home and abroad. It is in this light that we have placed the greatest emphasis on building and buttressing free trade unions in all lands as the most effective instruments of democracy and bulwarks against the extension of and domination by totalitarian tyranny.

At no other time in its history has Communism served so openly and brazenly as a servile and venal agency of the Kremlin's war machine. The Cominform, the Communist parties and their fellow-travellers and front organizations, are nothing else but Moscow's worldwide fifth column, the Soviet's international machine of subversion and treason against the democratic countries. We need but cite the Communist role as peddlers of Moscow's hate campaign against America and the free world. We have fought to expose the fraudulent peace propaganda of the Communists as designed solely to confuse and divide the non-Soviet peoples with a view of disarming them and, thereby, softening and weakening them for an eventual military assault by the Russian overlords of Stalinist despotism.

"Neutralism"—Its Fallacies And Folly

A most dangerous expression of frustration, despair and self-deception in the democratic world is so-called neutralism. The A.F. of L. has been unsparing in its condemnation of and opposition to "neutralism" as a conscious or unwitting ally of Soviet imperialism. Whether "neutralism" is embraced by those honestly mistaken or advocated and pushed by the dishonest and concealed enemies of world democratic unity against Soviet aggression, it plays right into the hands of the Russian warlords.

The A.F. of L. has determinedly fought "neutralism" in the ranks of labor everywhere because it is based on a number of utterly false assumptions.

It is not true, as the "neutralists" say, that the world crisis is caused by a conflict of interests between America and Russia. If our country would want to desert the rest of the free world and allow it to fall prey to the Kremlin dictatorship, we could easily obtain for a number of years so-called peace and prosperity for ourselves. But the American people will have none of this selfish and self-degrading isolationism. In our resistance to Russian aggression, we are first and above all protecting the weaker nations and helping them to become

strong enough to stand on their own feet and preserve their own sovereignty, democratic liberties, and economic welfare.

It is not true, as the "neutralists" say that America and Russia are equally responsible for the tense international situation. The United States has not sought an inch of territory from or imposed a cent of tribute on any nation—whether it was an ally or an enemy or a neutral in the last war. In painful contrast, Communist Russia has plundered the soil and sapped the sovereignty of nations that were its friends no less than those that were its enemies in World War II.

Moreover, throughout and for years after the last War, our country has made costly concessions and paid dearly to the Moscow regime in order to maintain friendship with it and hold it in line as a non-disturber of peace. These American efforts have proved unavailing. The Kremlin has not responded. Every concession and effort for peace have been interpreted by Stalin as a sign of our weakness and as occasions and opportunities for furthering Communist subversion, Russian expansionism and plans for world conquest.

Lest we forget, it was the Marshall Plan to aid broken-down Europe, to reconstruct its war-shattered economy and to stabilize its democratic order which was seized upon by Russia as the signal for intensifying the cold war and extending it on the vastest scale with incredible ferocity. Even the most politically purblind can see that it is Russian "principles", policies, and practices that are at the bottom of the current international tension.

It is likewise false, as the "neutralists" propagandize, that the United States will become the aggressor and attack Russia as soon as American military defense preparations are completed. First of all, we want nothing from Russia. All America asks is that Moscow call off her Communist dogs of war, stop bullying and assaulting the weaker peoples, and drop its imperialist intrigue and aggression in Asia as well as Europe. Had we wanted to impose by force our will on Russia, we would not have waited till now. We could have attacked the U.S.S.R. years before we disarmed, when we had decisive military superiority, or when we had overwhelming atomic supremacy, before Russia stole the atomic knowledge and know-how from us. But, then as today, our country made peace its first desire, duty, and goal. This has been America's consistent policy in the U.N. It is Russia and not the United States that has used more than fifty vetoes in the United Nations against efforts in behalf of peace.

Only those who look upon Communism as a progressive doctrine and movement, can fail to see the significance for world peace in the extreme patience shown by America throughout the protracted fruitless truce negotiations in Korea. Only those who look upon Russia as the historical wave of the future can fail to see in America's heavy sacrifices in Korea (to halt and defeat Communist aggression against the ideals and aspirations of the U.N.) inspiring and overwhelming proof of

America's devotion to a policy of reducing to a minimum the dangers of a world war and making unparalleled efforts to preserve world peace.

The "neutralist" aides-de-camp of world Communism have conjured up a war-mongering America threatening world peace merely because it calls for and helps resistance to the *one* and only power that is today aggressive and subverts and resists all efforts at international harmony. These same "neutralists", in their propaganda to undermine international democratic trust in America and to weaken the reliance of the democracies on our country as the leading protector against Soviet aggression, have simultaneously resorted to anti-American slanders from the very opposite angle. While charging America with seeking to swallow the rest of the world, they have been simultaneously seeking to spread panic among the free peoples by saying that the United States is returning to isolationism. This nonsensical propaganda amalgam by these "neutralists" has been completely exploded by the repudiation at the recent Republican Party Convention of those who would have America make even the slightest gesture in the direction of neo-isolationism.

The fight of the A. F. of L. against world Communism is an organic and vital phase of its energetic efforts to help the free countries of the world become strong enough to deter and defeat Communist aggression from without and to withstand and eliminate totalitarian subversion from within. Here we have but one aim, a single and overriding purpose:—to discourage aggression and to preserve peace. The workers and the freedom-loving peoples of all lands can count on the more than eight million members of the A. F. of L. to do everything in their power to counteract and reject any advocates of policies calling for military adventures. While stressing this course, the A. F. of L. will also continue its present policy of giving wholehearted support to all those who, in the countries of totalitarian oppression, strive for the re-establishment of free trade unions, democracy, and the rights of free citizenship.

VI. A. F. of L. And World Free Labor

One of the most important successes scored by Russian imperialism and its international Communist conspiracy was the organization of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.). Through the setting up of this Kremlin fifth column in the ranks of the free trade union movement in the non-Soviet orbit, Stalin was able to mislead additional millions of democratic-minded workers as to the actual (State Company-Union) character of the organizations misnamed trade unions in the totalitarian countries. Thereby, he was able to intensify and expand the false notions of millions of workers outside the Soviet sphere about Russia being a workers' country instead of what it actually has been and is—an aggressive, brutal, totalitarian dictator-

ship with an essentially slave labor economy. No doubt, one of the primary reasons for the present Communist domination of the trade union movements of France and Italy is the influence and key positions won by the Communists in these bodies during the first period of the W.F.T.U. when there were millions of non-Communist workers in its ranks.

Conversely, the breakup of the W.F.T.U. through more than fifty million free trade unionists leaving its fold, constitutes one of the severest defeats suffered by the Kremlin and its international Communist conspiratorial bands.

By the same token, the establishment and growth of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions constitutes an historic forward step for the forces of world freedom.

The A. F. of L. has been tireless in its efforts to deal this mortal blow to the W.F.T.U. We have been equally indefatigable in our activities to create and build the I.C.F.T.U. into a dynamic and powerful movement for world free trade unionism, for decent standards of life and labor, for the promotion of democracy in every part of the world, and for rallying and organizing the working masses of all colors, creeds, and nationalities into a mighty force for peace.

But the building of a genuine trade union international organization, free from past errors, cannot be achieved overnight. The A. F. of L. realizes that the attainment of firm and effective international labor solidarity is no simple task. On the road towards the attainment of this goal, there were bound to arise difficulties and differences. It has been and is the policy of the A. F. of L. to face frankly all difficulties and differences and to try to overcome and settle them in a forthright, democratic and decisive manner. Delay and evasion are no solutions and can only be harmful in such situations.

Differences Within I.C.F.T.U.

It is in this spirit that the A. F. of L. has, particularly since the Second World Congress of the I.C.F.T.U. (Milan, July 1951), expressed vigorously its dissatisfaction with certain aspects of its administration, direction and activities. Our differences came to a head at the November 1951 (Brussels) meeting of the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. At this session, our representative, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, raised a number of vital questions and called for the I.C.F.T.U. to take an unequivocal and sound position towards them.

On this occasion and through subsequent steps taken by the Executive Council and its International Labor Relations Committee, the A. F. of L. has sought to secure the speediest correction of the most serious deficiencies and shortcomings of the I.C.F.T.U. We warned strongly against the tendency toward narrowing the I.C.F.T.U. leadership and against the manifestations of big "power politics" and domination—an evil, (which we had repeatedly pointed out even before the

formal founding of the I.C.F.T.U.), that carried within it the germs of the dissolution and destruction of this great body as a genuine free trade union international. We also warned against a certain laxity which has been evidenced in the I.C.F.T.U. Executive Committee in regard to the organization adopting a clear-cut and vigorous position against every vestige of colonialism.

In this connection, the Executive Council adopted the following declaration at its meeting held on February 2, 1952:

"1. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has given careful consideration to the thoroughgoing report on the November, 1951 meeting of the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. as presented by Secretary-Treasurer George Meany.

"2. The Executive Council fully approves the course pursued by Secretary-Treasurer Meany at this meeting.

"3. We commend his vigorous defense of free trade union unity in Italy through the strengthening of the C.I.S.L. and the merging with it of every bona fide trade union organization still outside its ranks. In line with this policy, we are in complete agreement with Secretary-Treasurer Meany's vote against the admittance of the Unione Italiana del Lavoro (U.I.L.) into the I.C.F.T.U.

"4. We endorse our representative's energetic initiative to have the I.C.F.T.U. admit into membership the Australian Workers Union (A.W.U.) which had informed the I.C.F.T.U. of its decision to seek affiliation and which had been a firm and steadfast fighter against Communist infiltration and subversion of the great Australian labor movement. We are keenly disappointed at the failure of the I.C.F.T.U. to approve the application of the Australian Workers Union. We call upon the I.C.F.T.U. Executive Committee to act favorably upon the application of the A.W.U. to seek such affiliation.

"5. The Executive Council likewise approves the efforts made by Secretary-Treasurer Meany to have the I.C.F.T.U. adopt a correct policy towards Yugoslavia—that is, to have the democracies, in the interest of preserving world peace, provide it with military and economic aid in its resistance to Soviet imperialist aggression while seeking the restoration of all democratic rights to the people, the unconditional release of all imprisoned free trade unionists, and the establishment of a genuine free trade union movement in that country. We look forward to the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. acting favorably on this proposal at an early date.

"6. The Executive Council instructs its International Relations Committee to prepare for submission to all I.C.F.T.U. affiliates a memorandum elaborating these decisions and outlining practical proposals to insure the continued growth, improvement and strengthening of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

"7. In regard to the question of contributing to the Regional Fund of the I.C.F.T.U., the Executive Council decides to defer action until its next meeting."

Through I.C.F.T.U. channels, we acquainted all affiliates with our basic position and with our practical proposals for eliminating the differences, overcoming the difficulties, building an effective collective truly international leadership and for strengthening the organization and improving the functioning of the I.C.F.T.U. as a whole.

Towards removing these differences and considering our practical proposals, I.C.F.T.U. President Sir Vincent Tewson, and General Secretary J. H. Oldenbroek came to the United States at the close of June 1952. The International Labor Relations Committee conferred at length in Washington, D. C. with these leading officers of the I.C.F.T.U. The principal issues and differences were examined in a frank and vigorous manner. As a result of these discussions and in view of some of the policies adopted by the General Council meeting of the I.C.F.T.U., held in Berlin during the first week of July 1952, we are hopeful that the issues which have arisen will be resolved satisfactorily.

For Stronger I.C.F.T.U.

We were most instrumental in preparing the ground for and creating the I.C.F.T.U. We are in the I.C.F.T.U. as a devoted affiliate. We shall continue to be a most active affiliate and shall seek to meet and clear up any differences, which may arise, within the ranks and through the I.C.F.T.U. organization channels. The progress and the experience of the I.C.F.T.U. towards fulfilling its historic mission—even within the brief period of its existence—we consider as invaluable assets towards further growth and greater headway. Those enemies of free labor and democracy who had hoped that the A. F. of L. would separate itself from the I.C.F.T.U. are doomed to severest disappointment. The A. F. of L. is determined to continue its policy of doing everything within its power to help build the I.C.F.T.U. into an ever stronger, better and more effective world organization of free labor—into a powerful mortal enemy of every brand of totalitarian subversion and aggression.

VII. A. F. of L. In International Affairs

Of all the social groups in our nation, labor has the greatest stake in the preservation and promotion, on a world scale, of democracy, human well-being and enduring peace. In word and deed, the A. F. of L. has demonstrated its full recognition of this truth. It is in this spirit that the A. F. of L. has become increasingly interested in ways and means, in policies and activities, for meeting the problems of the grave world crisis.

Towards the attainment and advancement of a world free from poverty, tyranny, and war, the A. F. of L. has joined hands with the free trade union organizations of all lands (I.C.F.T.U.).

Seeking to contribute to the achievement of this great goal, the A. F. of L. has taken an increasing interest in our country's foreign policy.

Through its International Labor Relations Committee and the Free Trade Union Committee, through its active participation in preparing and advancing the program of the I.C.F.T.U. and its Regional Organization, (ORIT), through representatives in a number of countries, through the International Labor Organization, and through publica-

tions in various languages, the A. F. of L. has sought to do its part in support of world freedom, better conditions of work and life, and lasting world peace.

Our interest in foreign affairs is of the greatest importance. The A. F. of L. holds that no government can develop and pursue an effective, consistent, democratic course towards other nations (foreign policy) unless the people themselves take an active interest in their country's foreign relations. This means that especially the great voluntary organizations—like the free trade union movement—must manifest a vital interest and display initiative in helping the government to mould and carry out a sound, peaceful, and democratic foreign policy. By being active in world affairs, the A. F. of L. is doing its patriotic duty and rendering an indispensable contribution to our nation's effective fulfillment of its responsibilities as the leading democratic world power and the strongest bulwark against totalitarian tyranny and aggression.

In all these international activities, labor cannot make its full contribution, either at home or abroad—unless it plays a completely independent and distinct role, apart from the government. Though we consider this independent role as a *must*, we do not exclude cooperation with and help to our government and its various agencies in furtherance of some specific policy or objective with which we are in agreement. But the international policies of American labor, or of any other free trade union movement, need not and must not necessarily reflect or coincide with those of the government at any particular moment. Failure to recognize this truth has been the source of a great many mistakes, difficulties, and divisions in the international free trade union movement.

We further emphasize that nothing demonstrates more effectively to the working people of foreign lands that America is a real democracy than the fact that our labor movement is a free labor movement and that, unlike the so-called trade unions of the Iron Curtain "paradise," we have the right to differ publicly with our government's foreign policy, to disagree with it openly, and to propose its revision or rejection through the democratic processes.

In this spirit and towards the realization of the above objectives, the A. F. of L. has, within the last year, been active in numerous ways in the realm of international affairs.

War In Korea

On June 24, 1949—one year to the day *before* the Moscow-instigated war against the U. N. broke out,—the following telegram was dispatched by Vice-President Matthew Woll, Chairman of the International Labor Relations and Free Trade Union Committee, to Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the then Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson:

"Pending clarification and determination of definite United States policy towards China, the A. F. of L. strongly urges that our gov-

ernment should not withdraw all troops from South Korea on July 1. The Korean and Chinese problems are inter-related and inseparable. We, therefore, propose that a minimum of 5,000 American troops be kept in South Korea or be sent there from Japan. This token protecting force will be symbolic of America's determination to safeguard Korean national independence and deter Russia and its huge army of armed Korean stooges in the North from swallowing South Korea and enslaving the entire Korean people."

Though our proposal was unfortunately not accepted at the time, we never slackened in our concern for the Korean people. From the very inception of the present destructive conflict, the Executive Council and its appropriate sub-committees watched developments with the keenest of interest. We spared no effort to help our country mobilize adequate military forces and economic resources for defeating the Communist aggressors. We came forward with practical proposals calculated to assure and speed the total victory of the U. N. over the Moscow-Peking Axis and the North Korean Soviet puppets.

Within the year, we have been in the forefront of the forces rallying public sentiment against the policy advocated in some quarters that U. N. truce negotiations should make concessions to Communist insistence on the issue of forced repatriation of the prisoners of war. This rallying of American and world public opinion was urgent because of the heavy pressure of "neutralists," appeasers, and short-sighted allied government representatives for a deal with the Communist aggressors over the question of repatriating by force the prisoners of war held by the U. N. in Korea.

We have also repeatedly called for the U. N. truce team putting to the fore in the negotiations at Panmunjom a representative of the Republic of Korea. To date, the only Korean who has been in the foreground of the truce negotiations is the North Korean Communist quisling General Nam Il. Only this Kremlin lackey has been appearing prominently in the public eye—particularly before the masses of Asia—as a representative of Koreans. The only Korean voice heard at Panmunjom so far has been the voice of a traitor to his own people. It is a most unfortunate and unwarranted mistake on the part of the U. N. truce team not to have an active articulate representative of the Republic of Korea come forward as the spokesman of the United Nations.

The A. F. of L. has repeatedly warned against making such a serious political and psychological blunder. We have time and again vainly insisted upon correction of this mistake which has entailed a serious loss of prestige by the U. N. and the United States—particularly among the peoples of Asia among whom the Communist demagogues are working overtime.

The A. F. of L. has won worldwide recognition for the services it has rendered to the cause of the U. N. by placing at the disposal of its truce negotiators material showing that in World War II, the Soviet Government, through Stalin himself, pledged to the Nazi Generals and

soldiers at Stalingrad and later to Hitler's Hungarian allies at Budapest, the right, after hostilities had ended, to return home or "*to any country where the war prisoners should desire to go.*" Then Moscow boasted that its pledge was fully in accord with the Geneva Convention and an "act of highest humanitarianism." But today Moscow and its puppets insist that only forced repatriation is in line with the Geneva Convention on war prisoners.

The Tragedy Of China

The A. F. of L. never had illusions in regard to the real nature and role of the Communist movement in China. To us, Mao Tse-tung and his Moscow-trained and controlled political bosses never were anything else but "inspired" or hired betrayers of the Chinese people. We have been unrelenting in our opposition to our government granting to this totalitarian regime of Communist quislings any form of de jure or de facto recognition. We are likewise opposed to even the slightest economic aid to the Peiping puppets. We unreservedly reject all proposals to support maneuvers for bringing Mao Tse-tung into the U. N. or any of its agencies—through a back door or front entrance. As has been shown by the I.C.F.T.U. in the hearings on slave labor before the Ad Hoc Commission of the ECOSOC in June 1952, Communist China is a vast prison house, with millions of slave laborers. Mao Tse-tung and his associates are the catspaws of Russian imperialist expansion in Asia. They are at the head of a regime guilty of savagery and bestiality unequalled even by their master in the Kremlin or by Stalin's partner of 1939-41 (Hitler).

The A. F. of L. has done and will continue to do everything in its power to arouse and mobilize the American people and world labor against the brutal oppressors of the Chinese people, against these germ-war slanderers as unworthy of the slightest association with or recognition by civilized communities or nations.

For A Democratic Japan

In regard to Japan, we have made every effort to help assure the adoption of an equitable treaty of peace. But we have had to warn against the reactionary drive in present-day Japan to sap and scrap the valuable social reforms and democratic rights introduced by the former Occupation authorities to help the impoverished workers and peasantry. Our government should have denounced and resisted the current retrogressive trend instead of refusing even to take note of it. Our government's failure to condemn these enemies of the laudable American-inspired reforms has played right into the hands of the Communists and their dupes and agents. The latter are now dishonestly and demagogically blaming our country for all the woeful consequences of defeat in war and resurgence of reaction in Japan.

For An Independent And United Democratic Germany

In respect to American and allied policy towards Germany, the Executive Council has time and again sought to have our government stop yielding to French and British resistance to a policy of granting the West German Federal Republic a just peace treaty based on complete (rather than substantial) national sovereignty and on full equality in the community of free nations. In our extensive and thorough-going correspondence with the Department of State we have indicated the serious shortcomings of present allied policy and have made concrete and positive proposals for insuring adequate and effective German participation in the collective defense and security of all democratic Europe. Such participation is indispensable to the defense of Europe and world peace.

In this connection, it is necessary to recall that once before the A. F. of L. had pleaded in vain to avoid certain costly errors of policy in Germany—reluctantly pursued by our government under Russian instigation and French and British pressure. We refer to the consistent A. F. of L. opposition to the economically senseless policy of dismantling German industrial plants vital to the welfare and security of the people and essential to the defense of free Europe. Later, a sound policy was adopted and dismantlement was discontinued. As a result of the delay in correcting this error, heavy American economic aid was required to rebuild the very economy we once destroyed. This was an uncalled for and avoidable burden on the already heavily-burdened American taxpayer. We hope that it will not take our government and allies as much time as it did in the past to correct the present serious deficiencies in their policy towards Germany.

The A. F. of L. has been unsparing in its efforts to help German labor become the dynamic spearhead of an independent, unified, democratic Germany worthy of being encouraged and enabled to play her rightful part in the defense of human freedom and world peace.

Tension In The Moslem World

The Executive Council believes that democracy is not only for those whose skin is white but for the entire human race. To us democracy knows no color lines or creed barriers. We do not say that democracy is good for the people of France but not for the people of Tunis, Morocco and Algeria. In line with our national tradition of militant anti-colonialism, we have opposed the continuation of the unequal treaty imposed by Britain in 1936 on Egypt. In accordance with our time-honored policy of recognizing the right of every nation to utilize its own natural resources *first of all for the benefit of its own people*, we have come forward with practical proposals for ending the terrible impasse in Iran. In connection with the above problems, the Executive Council, approved, at its February 1952 sessions, the following specific measures:

"Immediate home rule for Tunisia as part of the French Commonwealth and negotiations with the democratic forces represented by Habib Bourguiba to prepare the ground for full national independence and equal partnership with France in the common struggle against the Communist threat to world peace and freedom.

"Abolition of the 1936 Treaty between Egypt and Britain coupled with a concurrent agreement between the two countries to participate in building a Middle Eastern Defense Organization which shall be charged with the task of protecting the Suez Canal. This is urgent because nations, like Egypt, which enjoy sovereign equality with others in the U.N., cannot be expected to submit to treaty arrangements which they consider unequal. In the Sudan there should be held a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the population as to their national status.

"The negotiations between Britain and Iran should be reopened. The right of Iran to determine the use of its own oil and other natural resources must be recognized as inviolate. Britain is to be compensated justly for all services rendered in marketing Persian oil. A portion of all profits made shall be set aside for the technical training of Iranian nationals in the extraction and marketing of their country's oil.

"Immediate steps be taken to expand considerably the Point Four Program—not as a substitute for but as a vital supplement and stimulus to national freedom."

It is extremely regrettable, therefore, that our government delegation in the U.N. has refused to vote affirmatively for the proposal to have the Security Council or the General Assembly consider the aggravated crisis in Tunisia where courageous leaders of the democratic Tunisian trade unions and the Neo-Destour Party are imprisoned and their organizations denied all democratic rights. American labor has been solidly united in its opposition to this false policy reluctantly pursued by our government towards Tunisia on the excuse that we must not embarrass our French ally.

Because of our government's refusal to exercise initiative and because of its continued concessions to French and British colonialist insistence on treating the national revolts in Egypt, Iran, and North Africa in the spirit and manner of nineteenth century swagger-stick diplomacy, our country has all too often been the whipping boy and the scapegoat of French and British imperialism in this highly pivotal sector of the globe. We have opposed the pursuit of such an unfair and unsound course by our government as being in direct conflict with the highest democratic ideals and best interests of the American people and our allies in the acute crisis at hand.

No Aid To Franco Dictatorship

Because we are convinced that Communist totalitarianism and Russian aggression cannot be defeated by relying on any force which is itself only another form of totalitarian tyranny, have we continued with redoubled vigor our opposition to our government rendering military or economic aid to or even the slightest indirect moral support of the Franco

dictatorship over Spain. An arrangement with this admirer and creature of the Nazi-Fascist Axis can only weaken the world democratic cause, distort its purpose, and discredit its flag. No democratic government should traffic with the Falangist dictatorship. It has nothing to offer us—except loss of worthy friends and moral prestige and compromising of principles.

It is in this spirit that we have also been working to help the democratic Spanish fighters for freedom and free trade unionists exiled from their homeland. We have likewise been aiding the imprisoned heroic Barcelona strikers and the underground fighters for free trade unionism and freedom in impoverished and oppressed Spain.

A. F. of L. Activities In Latin America

In line with our traditional policy and decision of our 1951 Convention in San Francisco which pledged an "unrelenting fight against the anti-labor policies of the dictatorships in Argentina, Venezuela and other lands to the south of our country", the American Federation of Labor has vigorously continued its fight in support of democracy and the rights of bona fide free trade unionism in Latin America. In furtherance of this activity, there were distributed many thousands of copies in Spanish of two highly effective pamphlets—"The Free Labor Movement and Its Fight Against The Totalitarian Menace", by Secretary- Treasurer George Meany, and "Terror In Venezuela" by our Latin-American Representative Serafino Romualdi. In addition, the American Federation of Labor has cooperated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in denouncing before the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the International Labor Organization the violation of trade union rights in a number of Latin American countries.

Special attention was given by the American Federation of Labor to current economic problems affecting the workers in Latin America. Acting on a memorandum submitted to us by the Bolivian Confederation of Workers and endorsed by the Inter-American Regional Organization, the Executive Council, meeting in Montreal, Canada on August 10, 1951, approved the following statement:

"The Executive Council is greatly concerned with the problems arising from continued low standards of living in Latin America, which provide fertile ground for the growth of neo-Fascist totalitarian movements and give the Communists opportunity to renew their efforts to regain lost positions.

"We believe that the strengthening of the free labor movement offers the best guarantees that totalitarian forces will not prevail and, therefore, renew our pledge of active cooperation with the free trade unionists of Latin America in their endeavor to raise the standard of living of their respective peoples.

"In this connection, the Executive Council strongly urges that the special prices above the world market levels which the United States Government is paying Latin America for materials which are needed for our defense stockpiling should be used primarily for better work and wage standards.

"At the same time, we reaffirm our opposition to the granting of economic aid of any form to those Latin American governments which have suppressed civil liberties and are denying the free exercise of trade union organization and action."

The problems arising from overproduction of sugar in Cuba and other Caribbean countries and the underconsumption of this vital commodity particularly in Europe and Asia, led the American Federation of Labor to take part in a preliminary meeting held in New York, December 14-15, 1951, for the purpose of organizing a World Sugar Workers Congress. This matter is pending for final decision before the I.C.F.T.U.

The American Federation of Labor has actively cooperated with the National Sugar Workers' Federation of Cuba in the adoption of measures designed to help dispose of the sugar surplus of that country without causing a disruptive drop in world prices. Such a decline would have adversely affected the wage standards of our own sugar workers. In August of last year we, therefore, advocated the retention of the old quota of Cuban sugar to be imported in the United States. In June of this year we urged our own government to cooperate with the government of Cuba in disposing constructively of the huge sugar surplus of more than one million and a half tons left over from the last harvest.

We have continued our assistance to trade unions in Latin America by supplying them with literature, technical information, research findings and specific data to help them in negotiating collective agreements and in establishing desirable trade union welfare projects. Among the unions which have been so helped are the Dock Workers of Haiti; the Printers of Uruguay; the Banana Workers of Costa Rica; the Copper Workers of Chile; the Bank Workers of Guatemala; the General Workers Union of British Honduras; the Moving Picture Operators of Cuba; etc.

Effective moral solidarity was extended during the strike of the "ANCA" workers of Uruguay, the "Avianca" employees of Columbia, the Mexican airline pilots and the copper workers of Chile. In each instance, this aid was instrumental in actions on the part of the government which eventually led to the satisfactory solution of the strike. We have also continued to assist the newly organized workers and employees of the U. S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in their labor relationship with the U. S. Navy Department.

At the invitation of the Confederation of Copper Mine Workers of Chile, the American Federation of Labor joined with other United States labor organizations affiliated to the (O.R.I.T.), in sending last July to Chile and other South American countries a good-will trade union mission in which we were represented by Serafino Romualdi. During the past year, Brother Romualdi made several trips on behalf of the A. F. of L. and the O.R.I.T. He visited Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Trinidad, Surinam, British Guiana, Barbados, Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Active cooperation was given by the American Federation of Labor to visiting Latin American trade unionists from Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay,

Colombia, Chile and other countries, who came to the United States on Point IV grants or similar scholarships, for the purpose of studying the structure and practices of our labor movement.

Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.)

The American Federation of Labor has collaborated closely with the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, the Western Hemisphere section of the I.C.F.T.U., through the activities of Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, who is a member of O.R.I.T.'s Executive Board, and Brother Serafino Romualdi, who is O.R.I.T.'s Assistant Secretary.

In spite of mounting difficulties caused by the critical economic conditions and the unsettled political situation in Latin America, O.R.I.T. has, during the last year, made substantial progress. This is evidenced by the affiliation of the National Trade Union Confederation of Uruguay, the National Workers' Union of Haiti and labor groups in Surinam, Trinidad, Barbados, Panama, Santa Lucia and Chile. The greatest gain, however, was scored in Brazil where practically all the national trade union federations and confederations, with an aggregate membership of over two million, formally joined, last July, the I.C.F.T.U. and the O.R.I.T. This affiliation came after the Brazilian Congress gave them the necessary authorization in accordance with the national Constitution.

Totalitarians from both the Right and the so-called Left have vainly battled to undermine the strength and influence of the O.R.I.T. in Latin America. The most ambitious attempt was launched by the Peron Government-controlled Argentine Confederation of Labor last February, when it brought together in Asuncion, Paraguay, a number of "labor representatives" for the purpose of launching a self-styled Latin American Confederation of Labor. This body was to be dominated by Peron, with a program of violent opposition to the United States, the United Nations and the collective efforts of the democratic world to resist totalitarian aggression. The move has so far failed to score any significant victories, although the Argentine group is continuing its efforts with the open and generous support of the Argentine Government.

During the last year, the O.R.I.T. has intensified its fight against the anti-labor policies of the dictatorships governing Argentina, Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. The O.R.I.T. has denounced to the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations, as well as to the I.L.O. the brutal suppression of trade union rights in these countries. Two special pamphlets were published in Spanish and English by the O.R.I.T. to document the martyrdom of the free trade union movement in Argentina and Venezuela.

In the field of workers' education, the O.R.I.T. has successfully completed the first term of its Labor School which was inaugurated last January in cooperation with the Labor Relations Institute of the University of Puerto Rico. The eight students of the first graduating class, representing six countries, after having studied for four and a half

months in Puerto Rico, came to the United States for two months field work, most of them on Point IV grants. Prospects are very good for continuing the school next year with an enrollment of at least 24 students, from practically every country in Latin America. The school will be divided into two classes of six months each—four months in Puerto Rico and two in the United States. Other O.R.I.T. educational and propaganda work is carried on through the distribution of literature both in Spanish and English and through the bi-weekly short-wave program from Montevideo, Uruguay.

A. F. of L. Activities In Germany And Austria

On July 24th, six European Foreign Ministers attached their signatures to the Schuman Plan. With this official merging of the Ruhr coal and steel industries into one Western European producing and distributing system, an historic phase of the battle to bring Germany into the camp of the democracies was concluded.

The next step of the Allied program to strengthen Western Europe is the proposed integration of German units—twelve divisions—into a European Army. This proposal will have hard sledding. For a number of reasons, many Germans are still reluctant to contribute to the defense of Western Europe which includes their own country.

Allied post-war policy thoroughly convinced many Germans that they would never again be permitted to wear army uniforms. While our representative, Henry Rutz, was protesting the further dismantling of the Salzgitter Steel Works, the Allies belatedly and suddenly discovered that there was an acute danger of Russian expansion. This revelation was precipitated by the events in Korea. As if overnight, it was decided that the Germans must again be armed. At first, the German workers were bewildered by this about-face of the Allies. Then, they became suspicious. The resultant reaction was one of opposition for the following reasons.

1. The workers have no confidence in the Adenauer Government. So why give it armed forces? Economics Minister Erhard, for example, during the metal workers' strike in the State of Hesse, advised an employers' association meeting not to raise wages because of the danger of inflation. Minister of Interior Lehr threatened to use his national police forces, if unions used their economic power for other than "legitimate reasons". Justice Minister Dehler, in a radio talk over the Munich station, called the German Trade Union Federation a cancerous growth on the body of the new Republic. Transportation Minister Seehofer stated that he bows before all symbols which represent *Former* German governments. Chancellor Adenauer, who is also his own Foreign Minister, has staffed the foreign service with a large majority of hold-overs from the ministry of the notorious Ribbentrop. So the workers ask: Why does America expect us to say yes blindly to a rearmament of Germany while it is

ruled by such anti-labor ministers? Why has U. S. High Commissioner McCloy continually favored and supported Chancellor Adenauer?

2. The Adenauer Government, encouraged by United States officials, pushed through the negotiations on Germany's defense contribution in a most high-handed manner. Had the German Trade Union Federation and the leading opposition party, the Social Democratic Party, not been ignored but taken into the confidence of the government, an entirely different attitude towards European defense participation would today prevail among the German masses.

3. The German workers, 75% of whom live in bombed and shelled houses, want an assurance on the part of the Western Allies that German military units are not intended merely to cover an Allied retreat to the Rhine but will instead serve to bolster Allied intentions to help protect Germany's eastern borders.

4. There is a strong feeling that Western unity is being sought at the price of foregoing German national unity. This has resulted in a rise of "neutrality" within labor's ranks.

5. Hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war are still being held by the Russians, seven years after the end of the war. This fact is continually being emphasized through German protest meetings and resolutions introduced in the United Nations, the Council of Europe, etc. But Russia to date has not deemed it necessary to pay any attention whatsoever to all these protests. The youth of Western Germany believes that, if he becomes a soldier and he is captured by the Russians, it will be the uranium mines for the rest of his life. That the Communists do not intend to recognize international rules for the conduct between civilized nations was again brought home to Germans as well as other Europeans when mighty America had to pay ransom to Hungary for four lost fliers.

We must realize that there won't be a European army which the Russians will respect until German divisions are included. Consequently, much of the time of our representative, Henry Rutz, has been taken up in meetings with German trade unions and political leaders and in speeches at German labor conventions in which America's desire to help save Europe from Communism was stressed. We have stressed to the German workers that the American taxpayers cannot and will not carry the burden of this struggle in Europe alone and forever.

Most of the German labor leaders, our representative has worked with, realize that Germany must again be armed. But they need time for meeting the task of urgent re-education. They also need positive assurances from their own government and from the Allies. A new and democratic army cannot be organized on a democratic basis with the old Junker General staff or Hitler's elite corps. Chancellor Adenauer's preference for using the diplomats formerly in Hitler's foreign office—without objections on the part of the High Commissioners—have led the

German trade union leaders to demand new elections with the hope of changing the government. The Allies must give unqualified assurance that Germany will be defended at her eastern borders. German youth must be convinced that they have a better chance of staying out of the uranium mines, if they are armed than if Russia should take over Europe by default.

America should stop playing around with Franco. German labor leaders who were thrown into concentration camps for opposing Hitler's fascism cannot be expected to become enthused over the prospect of being an ally of Hitler's bosom friend. Spain should be considered as an ally only if and when civil liberties are restored in the country.

Last but not least, the Allies should stop talking about equality for the German people and actually give them equality as partners in a European defense and world peace plan.

The American Federation of Labor Bureau in Germany has during the past year, received many appeals protesting against United States Army violations of German and Austrian labor codes in the hiring of workers for army ordnance shops, in the building of barracks, etc. The complaints ranged from: not hiring through German governmental employment offices (this resulted in hundreds of nonregistered Soviet zone Germans being hired in strategic U. S. defense spots); being tardy in recording social security payments (resulting in workers not receiving their due benefits in time of need); favoritism in engaging German contractors regardless of lower bids; classification of skilled workers as semi-skilled, and vice-versa; the firing of a works council chairman who protested, et cetera.

One particularly aggravating case has to do with the Labor and Cooperative Bank of Munich which would like to occupy its own building. It has been prohibited from doing so by the U. S. Army which has requisitioned the premises for the American Express Co. Presumably, the latter is servicing Army personnel. The Labor and Cooperative Bank has been crowded into rooms on the second floor while the American Express Co. occupies the spacious ground floors where it is enjoying a lively private tourist and banking business in competition with the labor bank which owns the building!

Some of these complaints were submitted to the United States High Commissioner Offices for Germany and Austria, since they are supposed to be the liaison agencies between civilians and the Army. Other complaints were taken up directly with the Commanding General of the United States Forces, Europe, and the Commanding General of the United States Forces, Austria. Secretary of Defense Lovett was also appealed to by Vice President Woll regarding the anti-labor practices of the U. S. Army in Austria.

The American Federation of Labor has met only with partial success in getting some of these arbitrary and anti-labor practices corrected.

Nevertheless, U. S. Army policies, especially in Austria, where staff members have openly shown their anti-union bias, served to increase the anti-American feeling in Central Europe. As might be expected, Communist agitators are using these incidents to their good advantage in their present "Hate America" campaign. The good will built up through the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars of Marshall Plan aid is being jeopardized by the actions of one or two autocratic Army officers. The American Federation of Labor will continue to use its good offices in order to bring about a better understanding between the German and Austrian peoples and the United States military forces and authorities.

The German Metal Workers Union (1,500,000 members) is appreciative of the American Federation of Labor's successful efforts to get that union off of a United States list of subversive organizations whose members are denied visas to emigrate to America. Scores of Metal Workers Union members, who thought they were eligible to settle in the States were told last fall that their union membership bars their chances of immigration to the United States. We are still seeking to find out which U. S. agency was responsible for the unwarranted ruling which placed on the blacklist one of Germany's most influential democratic organizations.

During the year, hundreds of CARE packages were distributed by the A. F. of L. Bureau, primarily to refugees from the Eastern zone of Germany and to needy veteran trade unionists.

The refugee problem is becoming more acute hourly since the Soviets have introduced new repressive measures in their zone. Berlin is now receiving an average of 1000 escapees daily from Soviet zone terror. Three-hundred-thousand people, or one third of Berlin's employables, are already without work. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly appealed to U. S. High Commission officials to use their influence with the West German government in order to induce it to give Berlin a larger share of ERP and MSA aid. Industries, now idle for lack of funds, for example the film industry, could easily produce in Berlin, because the distribution of the finished product would not be threatened by a future Soviet blockade.

The American Federation of Labor was again honored by the militant, freedom-loving Berliners having invited for the fourth time, its representative to address the annual May Day demonstration for democracy. This celebration has been attracting over a half-million people.

The A. F. of L. representative has attended several International Trade Secretariat meetings in Europe, this was at the request of A. F. of L. affiliates not in a position to send their own representatives to these meetings. Reports of these conferences were submitted to the respective A. F. of L. organizations.

During the past three years, 86 leading German trade union functionaries have visited the United States in line with the State Depart-

ment's cultural exchange program. Many of these leaders contacted the A. F. of L. Bureau, before departing, for a "briefing" of what to expect in the States and for names of American unionists active in particular fields. The experiences they have reported upon their return are a revelation. In nearly all cases, their preconceived ideas of America and American trade unionism have undergone radical changes. A summary of these impressions is being prepared. This will also be distributed in the United States for the enlightenment of the hundreds of American hosts of these German visitors. Funds for this worthwhile program should be continued.

Probably the most effective results in our campaign against Soviet aggression have been obtained through our literature series. Russian occupation authorities have unwittingly helped popularize our Slave Labor Maps by confiscating 500,000 copies in Vienna and jailing the bookbinder and his wife who were processing the same. Since then it has been difficult to supply the demand for these maps, although hundreds of thousands have been printed. Several hundred thousand reprints of the pamphlet, "The Rights of Labor in America and Russia," are currently being distributed in both Western and Eastern zones of Germany. The A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee's "Who Is the Imperialist?" is in its third printing. The A. F. of L. representative sent out 800 letters to youth groups, student organizations, women's clubs, religious denominations, political parties, trade union centers, refugee camps and governmental agencies. We requested them to list the number of copies they desired of the "Imperialist." The response was such that 500,000 copies were exhausted within the first three weeks and a second-run of 200,000 was oversubscribed. German trade union leaders have stated that the pamphlet is the best argument to date against German "neutralism." The pamphlet has also been used successfully in works council elections where communists were defeated.

A ruling by the United States High Commissioner for Germany has made it more difficult for the American Federation of Labor representative to continue these activities in Germany and Austria. The usual support given to other American agencies including banking institutions, travel bureaus, soft drink manufacturers, attorneys representing U. S. private interests, etc. was withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor. We were thus forced to vacate our Frankfurt premises and shift for ourselves in the bombed-out Reich.

Although many inconveniences are now being encountered because of this apparent discrimination against our organization, the A. F. of L. representative can report that the new Bureau in Duesseldorf, acquired through the help of the German Trade Union Federation, is today recognized as the center of American trade union activity. We are busier than ever.

A. F. of L. Activities In Europe And North Africa

In the past year (1951-1952) the A. F. of L. representative in Europe, Irving Brown, continued to work with and assist those in the European Labor Movement and allied groups who are dedicated to: a) an unrelenting and vigilant fight against the Totalitarian Forces whether of the Fascist or Soviet variety; b) the unification or united action of all non-communist, free trade union forces; c) the strengthening of the economic and military defense of the Western European nations in order to prevent domestic subversion or external aggression; and d) the ideological offensive rather than to the passive defense against the Soviet and Communist conspiracy.

Specifically, this has meant that in *France* we have been working most intimately with those free trade unions that realize the prime necessity of not only stopping or countering the totalitarian threat of Communist party control of the trade unions but also of rooting out permanently the C.P. machine. This orientation, indispensable to the survival of a free and democratic France, is rooted in the following basic approach.

(1) The free labor forces must seek a common basis for united action so as to become the attractive alternative for the millions of workers who have already left the ranks of the C.P.-controlled unions.

(2) The government must discontinue dispensing direct or indirect favors to the C.G.T. The financial power of the latter would, thereby, be curtailed. Just as it was necessary in 1934 in the United States to enact governmental legislation for overcoming the reign of terror by Big-Business against genuine trade union organizations in the mass production industries and thus foster the dissolution of company unions and facilitate the organization of free trade unions, so today in France similar measures must be taken primarily against the C.P.'s goon squads, if a free trade union movement is to develop and grow.

(3) Both the Government and the labor movement should allow the rehabilitation of all trade unionists blacklisted at Communist factional instigation in the days of the tripartite coalition Government (1944-1947) when the Communist Party secured key posts in the French Government and the purging commissions.

(4) The employers of France must realize that their present economic policy on wages is feeding the fires of the C.P. propaganda machine. In addition, the employers' continued relations with the C.G.T.—in some cases even preferential—have the same effect.

(5) As an organization the C.G.T. is not "independent" but is an agency of a foreign power. It is therefore, not entitled to the rights of representation. The 1950 law on trade unions should be revised to penalize those who were traitors to France during the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939-1940.

(6) This program, however, can be successful only if, at the same time; a) the trade union rights of the democratic forces are being preserved; b) the economic conditions and social position of the workers are improved; and c) the employers of France begin to deal in a more intelligent fashion with the wage demands of the workers.

This orientation has been demonstrated most clearly and effectively in the work of the Mediterranean Committee and in the Force Ouvriere Movement. In such industries as printing, metals, transport, mines, etc. and in certain strategic departments of France, our close working relations with and support of these forces have continued and borne definite, concrete results. It is these results which are in large measure responsible for the frantic and violent attacks by the C.P. and the C.G.T. bureaucracy against the A.F.L. and its representative in Europe.

In *Italy* we have continued to support primarily the C.I.S.L. which consists of free trade union organization uniting primarily Christians, Socialists, and Republicans. This organization has made slow but steady progress, in spite of the difficulties confronting it—an enormous C.P. machine, shortsightedness of both the Government and employers in continuing to permit the flow of practical aid and recognition to the C.P. unions, and large scale unemployment with its adverse economic consequences. In the past year, our major work has been with the dockers, maritime and metal unions. The results of recent elections especially in the metal industry show the gradual growth of C.I.S.L. organization, as revealed in the rising percentage of votes while the C.P. controlled C.G.I.L. has been declining. It is in this decisive area of the metal industry that our Italian colleagues are beginning to concentrate their efforts. Our close working relations with them, our rendering of moral and material aid—as well as advice on organizational measures—have contributed towards their partial success.

In *Germany* our special assistance has gone to those trade union groups that have been concentrating on Eastern Zone activities. This is especially related to the Berlin organization and the railroads. Through this medium, it has been possible:

- (1) to learn what transpires in the labor organizations as well as in the general economic and political life of the Soviet Zone.
- (2) to work actively against the regime through the unions as well as in general propaganda.

In addition to our basic work in the three key countries of France, Italy and Germany our activities reached a high point last December in *Finland* when the Finnish metal workers voted to continue their affiliation to the I.M.F. and rejected the overtures of the W.F.T.U.

In *North Africa* and the *Middle East* our relations with the free labor forces continue to expand and grow. Our work with the Tunisian free trade unions and democratic forces is already known and has been treated in previous reports. This goes on. We have been able to make

headway in other areas of North Africa and the Middle East. If there are still non-neutral allies for the West in these strategic areas it can be credited, in no small measure, to the policy and activities of the A.F.L. That this part of the world has become more and more critical, has been demonstrated most recently by events in Tunisia, Egypt, and Iran. If some change of governmental policy is not forthcoming soon, these events in areas already mentioned will be followed by difficulties in Morocco. The nationalist struggle which predominates in these areas demands that Western policy change so that the masses will not be pushed unwillingly into the camp of the Soviets. Our work in these areas proves that there are millions of potential allies for the democracies here. The policies of the Western powers must be changed so that the peoples of the critical area of the Middle East and North Africa can become willing, effective allies of the democratic world.

The Free Trade Union Committee

Under the guidance of the Executive Council and the International Labor Relations Committee, the Free Trade Union Committee has been vigorously advancing the policies of the A. F. of L.

During the past year, the Free Trade Union Committee has secured very favorable response to its multi-colored pictorial pamphlets. "*Who Is The Imperialist?*" has already appeared in English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese editions totalling approximately half a million copies. The pamphlet "*Slave Labor In The Soviet World*" has appeared in English, Spanish, French and Chinese. Indonesian and Japanese editions of both pamphlets are now on the press.

The *Slave Labor Map* of Communist Russia has been circulated on a most extensive scale within the year. It attracted worldwide attention on three special occasions: At the San Francisco Conference for action on the treaty of peace with Japan, Stalin's chief delegate, Andrei Gromyko, created a scene when he was confronted by Congressman Armstrong with this authentic map of the real Russia. In Vienna, the armed forces of the Russian Occupation Authorities seized a special German edition of the map. In Berlin, on the occasion of the so-called Youth Festival staged by the Communists, many thousands of the F.T.U.C. Slave Labor Maps (German edition) were eagerly taken up by the German youths. There have also been published Japanese, French, and Spanish editions of this map which has already reached a total world circulation of over one million copies.

The circulation of the *International Free Trade Union News*—English, French, German and Italian editions—has been greatly increased especially in Australia, Britain and the Far East. Its authoritative material on conditions in the United States and special reports on the Soviet "paradise" have established this A. F. of L. publication as a most influential organ of free trade unionism and a reference source

for labor organizations, public libraries and universities in many countries.

The *International Free Trade Union News* has established a system of special correspondents and specialists in certain fields making regular surveys of conditions in various countries at critical moments. In India, Latin America, Britain, Australia and New Zealand, these correspondents have rendered real service in providing valuable enlightening material on the respective labor situations and economic problems. Thereby, better international understanding has been obtained and greater labor solidarity has been fostered. In Austria, the Russian Commander has prohibited the circulation of our German edition, but, with the aid of the Austrian free trade unions, we have been able to circumvent this barrier and our publication continues to reach the workers.

Through "*Operation Longshore*," the Free Trade Union Committee, in cooperation with the International Longshoremen's Association, has been enabled to get pro-democratic and anti-totalitarian literature in various languages into a number of hitherto inaccessible areas.

In cooperation with the Free China Labor League, the F.T.U.C. has aided the workers of Formosa in the publication of literature, in building free trade unions, and in maintaining contact with and limited support of the workers struggling for human rights in underground Communist China.

The F.T.U.C. has worked closely with the Tunisian Federation of Labor and aided this affiliate of the I.C.F.T.U. and its democratic associates in the struggle for self-rule, democracy and free trade union rights now suppressed by the French military authorities.

The F.T.U.C. has made a special survey of the growth of slave labor in Communist China. This invaluable material was made available to the I.C.F.T.U. Consultants to the ECOSOC. The findings of this survey were presented by the F.T.U.C. Chairman Matthew Woll, in behalf of the I.C.F.T.U. to the U.N. at its last hearings on slave labor at the close of June 1952.

In *Pakistan and Japan*, F.T.U.C. representative Richard Deverall, has cooperated with the respective free trade union organizations in helping them in their practical every-day activities and in preparing educational programs and publication of literature suitable to their specific conditions. Fruitful results have been obtained in these areas in promoting the exposure of the Communist infiltrators under Russian and Chinese influence as enemies of free trade unionism, freedom, and the national independence of the peoples.

The healthy foundation of the All-Pakistan Federation of Labor is a source of real hope for building here a dynamic affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and having this organi-

zation become a strong spearhead of free trade unionism on the Asiatic mainland.

Particularly in Japan does the free trade union movement have great potentialities. The enemies of free labor—the concealed reactionaries (Communists) and the openly reactionary employers—are driving hard to subvert and paralyze this great movement. Our representative, conscious of this double threat, is co-ordinating his work in closest understanding with the bona fide Japanese trade union forces.

In *Indonesia*, F.T.U.C. representative Harry Goldberg has rendered valuable assistance to the rising free trade union organizations and has helped them advance on the road towards unity of their ranks and functioning as effective fighters for decent working and living conditions. The incursions and intrigues of the camouflaged Communists and the pernicious role of the Communist-dominated SOBSI constitute a terrific obstacle to free trade unionism. We have aided the efforts of democratic Indonesian labor to overcome this enemy from within which has been a fanatical carrier of "neutralism" and anti-American propaganda.

For the first time, A. F. of L. literature in the Indonesian language has reached the workers of the Republic. Earnest and effective activities have been launched to give the workers and leaders of Indonesia a better comprehension and accurate picture of our labor movement and America's democratic institutions. Systematic and fruitful efforts have been made here to arouse the spokesmen of Indonesian democracy to the grave threat the Moscow-Peking Axis is to the freedom, well-being and national independence of the people of this vital country. The first delegation of Indonesian free trade unionists ever to visit the United States is now arranging for its tour of our country as guests of the A. F. of L.

In all of their activities, our F.T.U.C. representatives are working in closest possible cooperation and understanding with the regional representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. and making available to them the benefits of our experience and know-how. In a number of instances, these benefits have been obtained through the F.T.U.C. representatives having had to play the role of pioneers and ground-breakers under the most difficult circumstances.

The F.T.U.C. Labor League for Human Rights has made special efforts to aid refugees from Iron Curtain countries in Sweden, Germany, France, Austria and Britain.

When the disastrous Po River floods hit the Italian people, the Labor League for Human Rights rushed CARE parcels to the suffering workers. We have also aided victims of the Peron terror.

Rising but still weak free trade unions in the West Indies and some African countries have been aided by the F.T.U.C. upon request.

The F.T.U.C. has made special effort to gather authoritative ma-

terial on labor and political conditions in Yugoslavia and to help the International Labor Relations Committee utilize this material in line with the policy of the A. F. of L.

The F.T.U.C. has also made efforts to aid the fighting representatives of the democratic forces now working underground in the Iron Curtain countries. We have sought to secure humane, fair and helpful treatment by various American institutions of the courageous exiled leaders of the democratic workers' and peasants' movements. These are our best hopes for the future of freedom behind the Iron Curtain. In this connection, we have worked in close cooperation with the Free Trade Union Center in Exile and the International Peasants Union.

VIII. Administration Of Labor Policies In M.S.A.

From its beginning, the Economic Cooperation Administration (predecessor to the Mutual Security Agency) adopted as one of its basic policies the full participation of labor in developing program and policy. Labor was represented in the Harriman Commission, which developed the earliest legislation for the Marshall Plan. With the adoption of the legislation in 1948, the policy was continued and implemented by providing an Office of Labor Advisers in the Washington Office, a European Labor Division to be established within the Office of the Special Representative in Europe, and through having Labor Officers assigned to each of the important country Missions.

The form—if not the substance—for continuing this participation by labor at the important policy-making levels still continues. The Office of Labor Advisers is still in existence in Washington, and there are Labor Offices in ten of the important country Missions in Europe, and in Philippines and Formosa. In actual practice, however, the effective participation of labor in the policy of the Agency has been seriously diluted in a number of ways:

1. The Office of Labor Advisers in Washington now exists within the Office of the Deputy for Mutual Security and is removed from direct contact with the Office of the Director, which has no labor officer designated by organized labor. Important aspects of the program carried on under the State Department and under the Department of Defense have, therefore, only the indirect participation of the Labor Advisers.

2. The administration of the program has been decentralized to country Missions. While it is recognized as sound administrative practice to leave large areas of responsibility in the hands of the local offices of any Agency, as a matter of practice within the Mutual Security Agency, the decentralization has gone to a point where Mission Chiefs are in a position in effect to decide whether or not they shall have a Labor Adviser, at what level he is permitted to operate, and the parts of the over-all labor program developed in the central office which he chooses to put into operation.

3. The over-all Governmental policy of recognizing the Ambassador within each country area as the sole responsible head for all programs has tended to subject the Mutual Security Agency pro-

gram more and more to the control of the State Department. This is contrary to the original concept of Congress, which recognized the necessity for the existence of an independent Agency to carry on the program of economic reconstruction.

4. The European Labor Division, located in the Office of the Special Representative in Paris, has now been relegated to the third level of administration. The Director is no longer on the staff of the Special Representatives, as was the case in the earlier stages of the E.C.A. In addition, the removal of the Labor Productivity Section from the Labor Division has, in effect, split the Division into two parts and greatly reduced its effectiveness.

Aims Of Productivity And Procurement Programs

On the recommendation of the Executive Council, the 70th Convention of the American Federation of Labor gave its endorsement to a program designed to assist increased industrial productivity in Europe in order to enable the countries of free Europe to meet the increased demands resulting from the necessity to re-arm without lowering the standard of living for wage earners. The American Federation of Labor clearly expressed the conditions on which approval was given this program:

The Executive Council supports the aims and purposes of the recently announced program of the E.C.A. to assist European employers and workers to increase productivity. This program must be one that will guarantee that the rewards of increases in productivity be equitably shared by workers and consumers. The full participation of the trade unions at all stages is essential to meet this objective.

—Official Proceedings, 70th Convention
American Federation of Labor, p. 61

While the productivity program has not yet fully gotten underway, no small part of the delay is due to the reluctance of those in responsible administrative posts in Europe to accept labor as full partners in this undertaking. Setting up the Labor Productivity Section as a separate office outside of the European Labor Division has contributed materially to the ineffective participation of labor in this program.

If the expenditure in Europe of funds appropriated for procurement of military supplies for NATO forces were adequately brought within the policy expressed in the Benton Amendment to the Mutual Security Act, they could serve as a potent weapon in weakening the Communist domination of trade unions and serve materially in the strengthening of free trade unions as collective bargaining agencies with employers. We are informed that procedures designed to meet this objective, fully allowing for the differing situations within each country, have been developed in Washington and approved by the State Department and the Department of Defense. However, in only one or two countries are these policies effectively implemented. In other countries, the Procurement Officers of the Department of Defense are able to by-pass the Labor Officers. This is in large measure due to an unwillingness of top admin-

istrative officers within M.S.A. to provide clear directives to implement the policy approved in Washington and which would require the Procurement Officers to take into account the recommendations of the Labor Officers within the country Missions.

In one area of the program, administration has continued to improve within the past year. Both the organization of visiting teams to this country from abroad and the labor participation on the teams has improved. Considerable remains to be done to effect genuine representation of bona fide members on the visiting teams, but this is in large measure a responsibility of the cooperating labor organizations in the participating countries.

The American Federation of Labor is convinced that the broad program of Mutual Security set forth within the Mutual Security Act of 1952, with the importance of labor participation at all levels as indicated in the Benton and Moody Amendments, represents a program that is vital to the security against Communist aggression of all the free countries of the world. The short-comings in administration which we have pointed out do not in any degree lessen or modify our full support for the objectives of the program. We cannot fail, however, to point out that, if the weaknesses of administration are allowed to continue, the program cannot but fall far short of its objectives and fail to win the support of the working people both in this country and abroad. Our past experience leads us to believe that those responsible for the administration of the program will respond to our plea to correct the deficiencies which we have cited. We continue to offer our fullest cooperation to that end.

IX. International Labor Organization

The following report, in chronological order on the activities of the I.L.O. covers the period from August 1, 1951, through July 31, 1952.

Twenty-seven immigration and emigration countries were represented at the Migration Conference at Naples, which met from October 2-16, 1951. The Conference adopted a resolution proposing the establishment of a Consultative Council on European Migration, composed of governments interested in emigration from Europe, to further international action to facilitate migration, to study the needs and opportunities for migration, and to keep the several governments informed on activities in this field. Governments prepared to contribute funds or facilities were urged to consider making arrangements among themselves to deal with the transportation of migrants, including refugees and their families.

A second resolution was adopted asking the I.L.O. to continue its technical assistance activities, particularly in the field of vocational training, providing that the receiving governments would be bearing expenses which would require resources beyond those currently available

to the I.L.O. A third resolution called on the I.L.O. Governing Body to assemble a committee of experts to determine whether international standards, for the accommodation and welfare of migrants aboard ship, were needed, and, where found necessary, to decide how to establish such standards.

The 117th Session of the Governing Body was convened in Geneva from November 20-23, 1951, and was preceded by meetings of the various committees of the Governing Body. This Body authorized the Director-General of the I.L.O. to consult with the Egyptian Government on suggestions which would result in an investigation by the I.L.O., concerning Egyptian charges that the British Armed Forces were compelling Egyptians to work in the Suez Canal. A revision was made in the procedure by which complaints were submitted to the Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association, with a view to expediting and tightening up generally the preliminary examination of complaints regarding alleged infringement of trade union rights.

In addition to the above, the Governing Body decided to establish the Near and Middle East Manpower Office of the I.L.O. in Istanbul; approved the I.L.O.'s expanded program of technical assistance and the setting up of an Asian Field office for technical assistance to Cooperatives in meeting their problems; endorsed an agreement providing for cooperation between the I.L.O. and the Council of Europe; and requested the Director-General to submit proposals concerning the desirability of convening an I.L.O. European Regional Conference. The Government, Worker and Management Representatives of the Governing Body paid tribute to Leon Jouhaux, veteran trade union leader, who had just been awarded the Nobel Peace prize. Jef Rens, who was appointed by Director-General Morse to the post of Deputy-Director General of the I.L.O. was also honored by the Governing Body.

Government, Employer and Worker Delegates from twenty-nine countries attending the 4th Session of the Inland Transport Committee, which met in Genoa, Italy, December 4-16, 1951, reached agreement on a series of proposals designed to improve working conditions in inland transport throughout the world. The Committee worked out a series of regulations dealing with hours of work, rest periods, overtime pay and social security. These regulations were designed for inclusion in the standard rules for international road transport in Europe, under preparation by the Economic Commission for Europe. The Committee further recommended that a study be made on paid vacations, and social security in civil aviation. It was recommended that the 1939 Convention on Hours of Work and Rest Periods in road transport be revised, and that a study be made on conditions of work on inland waterways in the Far East; conditions of employment in road transport; the training of dock workers and other technical questions. The two Worker Delegates from the United States were Anthony Matz, President, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (A. F. of L.) and John

McConnell, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America (A. F. of L.).

The Asian Manpower Technical Conference was held in Bangkok, Thailand, from December 12-22, 1951. The Conference explored the question of what the I.L.O. should do in Asia with respect to manpower problems, and also what Asian countries can themselves do with respect to these problems. The I.L.O. submitted for discussion a plan to establish an Asian Training Center to train approximately 450 skilled workers from Asian member countries each year.

Mr. John Eklund, President of the American Federation of Teachers, and Mr. Leo Cluesman, Secretary of the American Federation of Musicians, represented the workers from the United States at the Second Session of the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers, which was convened at Geneva, February 18, 1952. The Committee proposed that the I.L.O. take action to solve problems of unemployment among white collar workers and to better conditions of salaried women workers, teachers, and journalists. The program agreed upon by this Committee calls for a series of I.L.O. studies on questions of collective agreements; pension schemes, methods of wage-determination; methods of advancement; training; salary increases for age and seniority; daily rest periods; and holidays with pay. Other studies would cover the right of the salaried inventor, system of job classification and method of grading. The Committee examined a preliminary draft of a proposed convention for the protection of performers, manufacturers of phonographic records and broadcasting organizations. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. was requested to transmit its comments on the proposed convention to Governments and to examine ways and means of continuing the I.L.O.'s association with the procedure leading toward adoption of the proposed convention.

A Committee of Experts on Application of Conventions and Recommendations met from March 17-29, 1952 and completed its annual survey of the way in which the I.L.O.'s member countries are living up to their obligation to give practical effect to those I.L.O. Conventions they have ratified. In presenting its observations, the committee found a "large degree of full and effective application by the great majority of States of the Conventions to which they are parties and fulfillment of their obligations thereto." It was necessary, however, again to call attention to a number of long-continued cases of serious disregard of the obligations imposed by the Conventions and by Constitutions of the I.L.O.

The 118th session of the Governing Body, meeting in Geneva in March 1952, made a preliminary examination of thirty-nine complaints alleging the infringement of the exercise of trade union rights of workers, including several complaints registered by the A. F. of L. concerning Latin America. Nineteen of the complaints did not merit referral for further investigation by the I.L.O.'s Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association. The special Governing

Body Committee, which made the preliminary examination, reported that it was consulting with the governments involved regarding twenty-one of the complaints, and would report later to the Governing Body. Among other decisions, the Governing body: (1) decided to refer to governments the report of a group of experts on women's employment; (2) approved a ten-point agenda for a meeting of twenty-eight experts from fourteen countries to consider techniques of dust prevention and suppression in mining, tunnelling and quarrying, to be held in Geneva, November 1952; (3) to transmit to interested governments the views of the I.L.O. Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories, urging that a deadline be fixed for the abolition of penal sanctions for non-fulfillment of labor contracts by indigenous workers; (4) accept an application from the International Organization of Employers for consultative relationship with the I.L.O.; (5) decided to convene at the close of 1952 a technical meeting on the protection of young workers in Asian countries; (6) and agreed to convene a meeting of experts on productivity in December of 1952.

Fourteen nations were represented at the Fifth Conference of American States, which met in Petropolis, Brazil, from April 17-30, 1952. The Conference approved measures to promote more efficient use of land and to make it possible for cultivators to acquire ownership of the land they till; adopted proposals intended to advance social benefits for agricultural workers; urged ratification of the I.L.O. Conventions on Freedom of Association and the Right to Bargain Collectively; and called attention to the advantage of impartial investigation by the I.L.O.'s Fact-Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association of disputes ensuing from allegations of infringement of trade union rights. Serafino Romualdi, Latin American Representative of the A. F. of L., represented the workers from the United States.

The Fourth Session of the Metal Trades Committee met in Geneva from April 21-May 3, 1952. Mr. Thomas L. Wands, International Representative for the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America (A. F. of L.), and Mr. Martin Gerber, New York Regional Director, United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.), represented the workers from the United States. The Committee stressed the importance of improving human relations in metal plants and strengthening the cooperation between top management, the supervisors and workers. The Committee also brought into focus the importance of the rights of the consuming public as an essential part of labor-management relations, and emphasized that employer and worker organizations should recognize the relationship existing between the well-being of the workers, the interest of the consumers, and the prosperity accruing to the undertakings as a result of their bringing about an improvement in human relations. It was accepted that the community should benefit from increased productivity—through a reduction in the

price of consumer goods and the consequent enjoyment by the workers of a higher standard of living and improved working conditions.

Government, Workers and Employer Delegates from fifteen iron and steel countries, at their Fourth Session held in Geneva in May of 1952, asked the I.L.O. to study the problem of maintaining a high and stable level of employment in the industry, in the event of a recession in the present high level of demand. This Committee also requested that the importance of this problem should be drawn to the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Committee recommended that the I.L.O. follow closely the work of the European Coal and Steel Community (Schuman Plan) in agreement with that body and to provide appropriate organs of the I.L.O. with information as to its repercussions on the employment and living standards of the workers of the countries concerned. The Committee further stressed the importance of welfare services in the industry and the need for consultation with workers to bring about improved working conditions. The Committee also laid down basic principles to govern the construction of houses for workers. It said that steel undertakings should attempt to improve workers' housing conditions in areas where national housing legislation is inadequate, and should ensure that such houses are made available to the worker at the lowest possible cost.

The 119th session of the Governing Body met prior to the convening of the 35th International Labor Conference.

This session of the Governing Body unanimously accepted the conclusions adopted by the Committee on Freedom of Association. In several cases, concerning India, Chile, the Lebanon, the United Kingdom (Grenada, Kenya, Malaya, Cyprus, British Guiana) the complaints were dismissed as not calling for further examination. In the case of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the Governing Body requested the Director-General to make further contact with the Government with a view to obtaining its observations. In the case of France, (Morocco and Tunisia, the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Venezuela, the Governing Body reserved its conclusions pending the receipt of additional information or observations. One case involving the Panama Canal Zone will be referred to the U. S. Government for observation.

In addition, the Governing Body authorized the Director-General to accept an invitation from the Confederation of Dominican Workers to send a mission of inquiry to the Dominican Republic to study the practical application of the legal provisions concerning freedom of association in force in the Dominican Republic. The invitation arose out of a complaint alleging the violation of trade union rights in the Dominican Republic.

A vacancy among the employer members, caused by the resignation of Charles P. McCormick, of McCormick Tea and Spice Company, Baltimore, due to illness, was filled by the election of Charles E. Shaw, of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

The Governing Body, at the conclusion of its 119th session, elected as its Chairman for the ensuing year, Fernando Cisternas Ortiz, Chilean Minister to Switzerland, who replaces Mr. Paul Ramadier of France.

Leon Jouhaux was re-elected Vice-Chairman of the Workers' side and Sir John Forbes Watson on the Employers' side.

Thirty-Fifth International Labor Conference

The 35th International Labor Conference, which met in Geneva from June 24-28, 1952 concluded its deliberations and discussions with the adoption of six international agreements—three Conventions and three Recommendations—adding new world social standards to the growing number of accomplishments of the I.L.O. Participating in the Conference were 654 Government, Employer, and Worker Representatives from sixty of the I.L.O.'s sixty-six member countries. The Conference elected Jose de Segadas Vianna, Brazilian Minister of Labor, Industry and Commerce, as its President; it elected as vice-presidents: Vyan-katesh V. Dravid of India, representing the Governments; Julio B. Pons of Uruguay, representing the Employers; and George Delaney of the United States, representing the Workers.

The three new Conventions covered social security, maternity protection, and holidays with pay for workers in agriculture. One of the Recommendations adopted was designed to promote cooperation between employers and workers in the world's plants and undertakings. The other Recommendations supplemented the Conventions on maturity protection and agricultural holidays.

The three new Conventions will require governments to ratify them to assure (1) the application of certain minimum standards of social security protection; (2) maternity leave of at least 12 weeks and other forms of maternity protection; and (3) that agricultural workers are granted an annual holiday with pay after a period of continuous service with the same employer.

The Recommendation on Labor-Management Cooperation declares that appropriate steps should be taken to promote consultation and cooperation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking on matters of mutual concern not within the scope of collective bargaining machinery or normally not dealt with by other machinery concerned with determination of terms and conditions of employment.

During its deliberations and discussions, the Conference considered two other technical questions:

(1) It approved a resolution recommending standards governing the employment of young persons in underground coal mining, agreeing on a minimum age of 16 years. It voted to consider a recommendation on the subject at its next Conference.

(2) It gave preliminary consideration to international regulations to protect the health of workers in places of employment, approved

a series of conclusions designed to provide a basis for these regulations, and decided to place the question on new year's agenda with a view to the adoption of either (a) a Convention supplemented by a Recommendation, or (b) a Recommendation.

The delegates also approved, without any opposition, a declaration submitted by nine Worker Delegates, including the Worker Delegate from the United States, which proclaimed a series of principles to protect the freedom and independence of the trade union movement. The resolution proposed: that the fundamental and permanent mission of the trade union movement is the economic and social advancement of the workers, and urged that the trade union movements, in their respective countries, preserve its freedom and independence of political parties in order to further its economic and social missions.

In another resolution, the Conference expressed its satisfaction with the I.L.O.'s program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, and called for its further extension.

In a third resolution, the Conference asked that countries make every effort, on a national and international scale—more particularly through their mutual relations in the field of economics and trade—to insure that adequate resources be progressively available for the effective prosecution in all countries, of the aims and objectives of the I.L.O. relative to conditions of freedom and security.

The United Kingdom of Libya was admitted to membership in the I.L.O., raising the total of member countries to 66.

X

United States Department Of Labor Trade Union Advisory Committees

During the past year, the American Federation of Labor continued its active work in both the Committee and the Standing Committee. The American Federation of Labor, as well as the C.I.O. and Railway Brotherhoods, are represented on the Committee, which serves as a direct link between the labor organizations and the Secretary of Labor and his staff concerned with international labor affairs. Through the Committee, the views of the trade union movement on international policies are expressed and Labor cooperates with the Department of Labor in its programs in the international labor fields.

The Committee and Standing Committee met several times during the year. Through its representatives, the American Federation of Labor stressed the need for: representation of Labor's views on the formulation of United States foreign policy; participation by qualified American trade unionists in United States foreign programs; a positive and dynamic program to create a better understanding of American Labor among foreign workers; technical cooperation with other countries in the labor field, encouraging better working and living standards abroad;

and a full appreciation by United States representatives abroad of the crucial role that the free trade unions are playing in the struggle against totalitarianism.

At the 16th meeting of the full Committee, the United States labor attachés from London, Rome, Paris and Brussels were present to discuss with the members significant labor developments in Western Europe.

Among the specific fields in which the Committee or the Standing Committee has rendered advice to the Department of Labor are: (a) provision for top level labor policy representation in the Point IV program and labor projects under Point IV through which trade unionists and labor experts are giving technical assistance to foreign governments; (b) arranging for exchange of key labor leaders between the United States and foreign countries, and cooperating in arranging for foreign labor visitors programs in the United States seeking to develop mutual understanding between the American unions and free trade unions elsewhere in the world; (c) expanding the labor attaché program; (3) recruiting of well-trained labor officers for various other United States programs abroad including labor information and technical assistance; (e) insuring that American Labor will be well informed on trade agreement negotiations in which it has a direct interest; and (f) making available to Labor research data on such matters as foreign trade union organizations, legislation in foreign countries, wage rates and living standards abroad.

The American Federation of Labor has found the Committee to be a useful agency which serves to bring to the attention of the United States Government our views on international labor matters.

XI. Labor Representation In The United Nations

As soon as the Charter of the United Nations was made public, representatives of the American Federation of Labor studied it carefully and urged several amendments. The most fundamental amendment we proposed was for representation of economic functional groups on those agencies dealing with economic matters. We also proposed that pending the adoption of this amendment, the Administration include as consultants our representative on the Economic and Social Commission and its subdivisions, a representative of management and a representative of Labor. The decisions of this agency should be guided by persons with practical experience.

The inclusion of representatives of Labor in national delegations requires no amendment.

The President of the United States appoints the delegation and can accord Labor this recognition by our Government, as has been done in other industrial countries.

We recommend that efforts be renewed to get action on these proposals from the administration to be elected in the November election.

Activities In The Economic And Social Council

The American Federation of Labor relinquished to the I.C.F.T.U. the non-governmental representation it had in the ECOSOC beginning with 1950. The A. F. of L. Consultants to the ECOSOC, Matthew Woll and David Dubinsky together with their assistant Toni Sender, became part of the I.C.F.T.U. Advisory Commission to this U.N. body.

Among the questions in which Labor took a special interest was the issue of *Full Employment*. The present Rearmament Program has increased employment. Though it must be expected that it will last for some time, it is most important that government prepare for a possible trend toward recession, once we pass the peak of the rearmament program. The U.N. has made it a duty for governments to report on this situation and to keep it informed on the measures in preparation. Thus, the governments have the responsibility of watching developments and preventing a recurrence of the events of the early 1930's.

The I.C.F.T.U. took the initiative in stimulating the negotiations on the drafting and signing of International Agreements on Primary Commodities. These are in many cases the main articles of export from the underdeveloped countries. The latter have not benefited from the violent fluctuations. They have rather been the losers during the prolonged periods of low prices. The I.C.F.T.U. proposed a system of relative stabilization, namely, measures to keep the price fluctuation within limits, thus making it possible for the underdeveloped countries to have a current income which would permit them to finance their own development.

In its activities for the protection of Trade Union Rights, the I.C.F.T.U. energetically opposed violations on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The I.C.F.T.U. brought well-substantiated complaints against the Argentina of Peron and against Venezuela. These governments have suppressed the most essential rights of labor. They have been persecuting its officers. We have also renewed our charges against the Soviet Union on the basis of newly documented evidence of most recent date. This data showed once again that there is no free trade union movement in the U.S.S.R. There are only organizations called upon to help the state administration and the Communist Party to tax as heavily as possible the physical strength and endurance of the working people. So far the Soviet Government has not replied to the United Nations and probably never will. Increasingly, this silence is being interpreted as an admission of guilt.

The I.C.F.T.U.'s complaints against Argentina and Venezuela, both members of the I.L.O., have been referred to the I.L.O.'s Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission which is charged with the handling of such cases.

Technical Assistance by the U.N. has now developed to a point where it is beginning to show substantial results. As of December 31,

1951, 75 countries had received and were receiving expert services and 797 technical experts of 61 nationalities had put their services at the disposal of the U.N. These figures do not include the men and services of the (British) Colombo Plan and of the U.S.A. Point 4 Program. The Workers Training Program also deserves mention. Some 845 fellows selected from 46 countries have been placed in technical training institutions or have otherwise been provided with training.

A most interesting offshoot of these activities is the plan for Bolivia. It has been proposed that the U.N. should assist Bolivia in obtaining the services of a number of experienced administrative officials of unquestioned authority, drawn from various countries. The Bolivian government would appoint these administrators to important positions, as members integrated into the Bolivian civil service. These men, internationally recruited, and employed by the Bolivian government are directly responsible to it.

The United Nations had called an Expert Committee on Restrictive Business Practices. The growing trend toward the formation of international cartels and monopolies is often detrimental to the consumer. No labor organization can ignore this problem. The I.C.F.T.U., therefore, requested the Commission not to have all its meetings behind closed doors. The I.C.F.T.U. was the only non-Governmental Organization to have asked for a hearing on this issue. This was granted. The I.C.F.T.U. presented a well-documented description of monopolistic policies which worked to the detriment of the consumers. In one cited case, they were allocating the markets among the various national producers and shutting out the American license-holders from the German and British markets. The need for action was clearly demonstrated. The measures recommended by the I.C.F.T.U. included the abolition of secrecy, cartel registration, and cartel control and means of implementation. The statement was very well received by the Experts Committee. It will be followed up during the forthcoming meeting of this Commission by the presentation of new material.

The *Covenant on Human Rights* is still under discussion. Finally, the constant pressure exercised first by the A. F. of L. and later by the I.C.F.T.U. was crowned with success when it was decided that Economic and Social Rights should be incorporated in a document similar to the Civil and Political Rights. This decision is now firmly established, and free labor may claim credit for this victory.

However, the most important work was done in the matter of *Forced Labor in the Soviet Union*. It will be remembered that after a more than four-year struggle the Economic and Social Council in session in Santiago in March 1951 decided upon the appointment of a Small Expert Committee of individuals of high standing to investigate forced labor in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The I.C.F.T.U. provided the Secretariat with a very considerable amount of new material consisting of laws as well as new data.

Vice President Matthew Woll appeared at a hearing before the Expert Committee. In an elaborate and well-documented statement, he made an irrefutable accusation against the Soviet Government showing that wherever it marches in, the system of forced labor is introduced. New and authentic material showed the vast expansion of slave labor projects in China.

The Ad Hoc Committee will probably hold another meeting in Europe during the Fall and then report its recommendations to the Economic and Social Council.

XII. United Nations Educational, Scientific And Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O.)

Since UNESCO was established, we have actively supported its ideals and objectives. We have cooperated heartily to help implement the programs through which the achievements of all peoples in education, science and culture might be utilized to further peace and good will among all men and all nations.

However, we have not always found it possible to accept the methods which have been used for implementing the objectives of UNESCO to which we subscribe. A case in point which received considerable attention at the San Francisco Convention (1951) was the recommendation made at the Florence, Italy, UNESCO Conference that international agreements which would remove custom duties from books, research instruments and many other items, should be ratified by all member nations.

Representatives of the printing trades met with Mr. Howland Sargeant, Assistant Secretary of State, and it was agreed that before any further action would be taken there would be further study made of this question. In keeping with this agreement, consultations have taken place with our representatives. The pending legislation on this subject is still in committee in Congress and will probably require more extensive study before an agreement can be reached. We are pleased to report that an amicable approach appears to have been found which will protect the interests of all.

We have watched with great interest the development of the Fundamental Education Program. Through this program we hope there will come to countries, not yet enjoying modern development, an appreciation of the use to which knowledge may be put to enrich the lives of all the people. However, this knowledge, which would probably affect greatly the lives of these people, must in itself be an expression of each people's traditional cultural pattern.

We believe that fundamental education must be education and training for a way of life—a way which recognizes spiritual, moral and aesthetic values as well as the more material gains which such training may produce. Our former representative on the Fundamental Education

Panel has reported that a successful effort has been made in developing these programs to respect the sensibilities of the peoples and nations with which UNESCO has worked. We regret that, of late, no one has served on the Advisory Panel on Fundamental Education who can represent our point of view. We hope this opportunity for further service will soon be restored to the American Federation of Labor.

We are in hearty accord with the efforts of UNESCO to assist every nation desiring assistance in establishing and extending free public education. However, we insist that at no time should any pattern of formal education be implanted on a nation or imposed on its people—each nation must itself be free to determine its own methods of furthering the education of its people in keeping with its own social objectives.

The Paris UNESCO Conference broadly referred to "world citizenship" through which to implement the Declaration of Human Rights. We realize that what was meant was each citizen's responsibility to world problems through his own country's sovereign rights and duties. Yet we would emphasize the importance of having all nations fully respect and understand the sovereign rights and duties of each.

On the other hand, we regret that the figurative use of the term "world citizenship" at a recent UNESCO Conference should have prompted the Congress of the United States to seek to circumscribe the work of the United States in *all* international agencies. It is unfortunate that the Congress should have tried to deny funds to any agency "directly or indirectly" which seeks to promote "world citizenship." What is meant by "indirectly"? What is meant by "world citizenship"? While we realize full well that no Appropriation Act or even any substantive law can, under our Constitution, abrogate our responsibilities under any treaty to which we are signatory and which we have ratified, yet we regret the use of language in a law which would seem to threaten our continued meeting of our responsibilities in the official international agencies of which we are by covenant an integral part.

We would commend UNESCO for its growing interest in Workers Education and especially for recognizing that the worker himself knows best his own field of workers education. In particular, we would commend UNESCO's action in convening its first Seminar on workers education at the UNESCO International Center for Adult Education at St. Jean-aux-Bois, Oise, France, for six weeks during the summer of 1952. Four A. F. of L. educational leaders—Russell Allen, John D. Connors, Arthur A. Elder, and Joseph Mire—were among the eight United States participants in this international seminar, to which sixty countries were invited and at which present needs and teaching problems in workers education were stressed, as well as international cooperation in this field.

We recommend continued and active support of UNESCO and full participation in the UNESCO activities which would further its objectives.

REPORT OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Increasing use by employers of the anti-labor provisions of our state and federal laws, particularly in the form of harassing litigation in the courts, plus the continuance of economic controls, has considerably augmented the work of the office of the General Counsel during the past year. The American Federation of Labor itself has been made a party defendant in seven lawsuits. In six of these cases favorable determinations were obtained, and the decision is still pending in the seventh. This increased tendency on the part of employers to use the provisions of anti-labor laws has made it more important than ever that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates be fully advised concerning the scope and application of the federal and state enactments in the labor field so that labor may continue its struggle for the protection and advancement of the American worker with as little hindrance as possible from the maze of regulations, restrictions and prohibitions that presently plague its efforts.

This year, for instance, saw the affirmance by the Supreme Court of the United States of a damage judgment awarded against an unaffiliated union under the secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in the amount of three-quarters of a million dollars. In addition, long-forgotten state conspiracy and anti-trust laws are being revived for use, along with the more recently enacted anti-labor regulations. All this body of law, plus the host of administrative and court rulings applying and interpreting the laws, must be constantly taken into account in charting much of labor's activity, and it has been a principal function of the General Counsel's office to supply advice and assistance in this respect. Since it is impossible in the limited space of this report to give a detailed account of a year's work of the General Counsel's office, only those matters of particular interest to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates will be discussed.

**Court Litigation in Which the
American Federation of Labor Was a Party**

Three cases mentioned in last year's report, in which the American Federation of Labor was directly involved as a party defendant, are still pending in the courts, although decisions favorable to the American Federation of Labor have been returned in two of them. It will be recalled that the cases of *Deena Artware, Inc. v. American Federation of Labor, et al.*, and *Deena Products Company v. American Federation of Labor, et al.*, involved an attempt by the two named companies to recover some \$900,000 in damages against the American Federation of Labor, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Brick & Clay Workers under the secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The *Products* case was dismissed by the District Court after trial, and the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit affirmed this

judgment in a summary decision rendered four days after oral argument which took place on February 14, 1952. The company has filed a petition for *certiorari* with the United States Supreme Court, to which a reply has been filed. That court being presently in recess, no determination of this appeal can be expected before the October Term. The *Artware* case resulted in a hung jury in the first trial and in a jury damage award against the American Federation of Labor and the United Brick & Clay Workers in the sum of \$29,000 in the second trial, the Brotherhood of Teamsters having been dismissed from the suit on a motion for directed verdict. The unions involved appealed this decision to the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit where the case was argued at the same time the *Products* case was argued. However, that Court has not yet rendered a decision.

The third case mentioned in last year's report involved a suit by the *Brown & Root Construction Company* against the American Federation of Labor, twenty international unions and sixty local unions functioning in Texas. The suit was brought under the Texas anti-labor laws, particularly the Texas conspiracy, anti-trust and anti-closed-shop enactments, and sought damages and a blanket injunction against all forms of striking, picketing and boycotting directed against Brown & Root by American Federation of Labor Building Trades' Unions throughout the State of Texas. This broad injunction was granted by a local judge without notice or hearing being afforded the defendant unions, and this blanket injunction remained in full force during the six months that the company took to submit its evidence in support of a temporary injunction.

Immediately following the close of the hearings on the temporary injunction, the same court granted the broad temporary injunction as requested by the company. The case was appealed to the Texas Intermediate Appellate Court which, on February 6, 1952, issued a decision drastically modifying in the unions' favor the broad injunction issued by the trial court. Only such labor activity as was in direct violation of specific law, such as the securing of closed shop conditions or engaging in secondary boycotting, was permitted to be enjoined, and the broad prohibitions against all picketing and striking, regardless of the legality of objectives or peacefulness of means, were removed, so that organized labor in Texas is no longer handcuffed and rendered impotent in carrying on many of its traditional activities. Brown & Root appealed this modification to the Texas Supreme Court.

On May 25, 1952, that Court affirmed the intermediate court's decision, and on June 30, 1952, denied a petition for reconsideration filed by the Company. The case now awaits final hearing on the merits. The trial is expected to take place this fall, and inasmuch as six months were devoted to the introduction of evidence in the support of the application for the temporary injunction will take considerably longer. The office of the General Counsel closely participated in the litigation, advising and meeting with local counsel on all questions of tactics and strategy. The

case is considered one of the most important in the history of labor litigation, involving as it does an attempt to hamstring the labor movement throughout an entire state through the use of state anti-labor legislation.

The American Federation of Labor was made a party defendant in four other suits during the past year. These suits were brought under state and federal anti-labor laws, and each of them sought injunctions and damages in sums ranging from \$10,000 to \$1,000,000. The cases are *Roan-Anderson Co. v. American Federation of Labor, et al.*, brought in Knoxville, Tennessee; *McDougal v. American Federation of Labor, et al.*, brought in Phoenix, Arizona; *Allen v. American Federation of Labor, et al.*, brought in the District of Columbia; and *Van Zandt v. American Federation of Labor, et al.*, brought in New Orleans, Louisiana. In each of them the complaints were dismissed upon motion. In only the *Van Zandt* case was notice of an appeal filed.

Litigation in Which the American Federation of Labor Participated

Last year's report referred to the case of *Morand Brothers v. National Labor Relations Board*, pending before the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, in Chicago. That case involved the important issue of whether members of an employer association can lock out their employees when a strike is directed against only one of the employer members of the association. The American Federation of Labor intervened on behalf of the union involved in the case, which was the Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers Union. The Board had found the lockout to be unfair labor practice. The court affirmed the Board's order in part, but referred the case back to the Board for further hearings. On July 5, 1952, the Board unanimously affirmed its previous rule, holding specifically that the employer does not have the same right to use the economic weapon of lockout as a union has to use the economic weapon of strike, and that a lockout instituted to support the Company's position in a bargaining negotiation constitutes an unfair labor practice entitling those locked out to reinstatement with back pay. Whether the employers involved intend to appeal this decision is not yet known.

At the request of the American Federation of Labor, an *amicus curiae* brief was prepared and filed in the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Day-Brite Lighting v. Missouri*. The case involved the constitutionality of a law permitting employees to take time off for voting without loss of pay. In addition to Missouri, sixteen other states have such laws. The Supreme Court, in a decision in which only one justice dissented, upheld the law in question. The decision will serve as an important precedent for Labor's League for Political Education, and should be helpful to organized labor both in getting out votes in those states which have similar laws and in obtaining the passage of like laws in other states.

The office of the General Counsel filed a petition for *certiorari* with the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Montgomery Building & Construction Trades Council v. Ledbetter Erection Co.* The very important question of whether employers can utilize state courts to obtain injunctions against alleged violations of the Taft-Hartley Act is involved. The Supreme Court of Alabama, as have courts in a number of other states, permitted such injunctions in spite of the fact that the National Labor Relations Board has repeatedly held that it alone has authority to obtain such injunctions. Were state courts, which for the most part are friendly to employers, to have this right, the consequences in terms of *ex parte* injunctions against claimed or imagined violations of the manifold provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act would be most detrimental. Just prior to its summer recess, the Supreme Court granted the petition for *certiorari*, and the case will be argued early in the fall term.

The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit decided the case of *Banks v. Masters, Mates and Pilots*, in favor of the unions involved, reversing a \$10,000 judgment which had been obtained. The case was decided on a question of service of process, the court holding that service on an employee of a local union did not constitute proper service on the parent organization. The case will serve as a helpful precedent in this troublesome field.

The American Federation of Labor will seek to file a brief *amicus curiae* in the case of *Rockaway News Supply Co. v. National Labor Relations Board*. There, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, in New York, held that an employer can lawfully discharge any employee who refuses to cross another union's picket line, and in so doing reversed a long-standing line of decisions by the National Labor Relations Board which had held that such activity was protected under both the Wagner and the Taft-Hartley Acts. In an earlier decision, the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, in Chicago, held to the same effect as the Second Circuit.

The National Labor Relations Board has filed an appeal with the United States Supreme Court, and if the appeal is granted, the American Federation of Labor will seek to intervene to present its view respecting protection of one of labor's most traditional and sacred rights—that of a union member to respect the picket lines established by his fellow members.

Another case of importance to the American Federation of Labor, and in which it is expected that the Solicitor General of the United States will apply to the Supreme Court for *certiorari* on behalf of the National Labor Relations Board, is that of *National Labor Relations Board v. American Federation of Musicians, Local 24, and Gamble Enterprises, Inc.* In this case the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit reversed a decision of the Board construing Section 8(b) (6) of the Taft-Hartley Act—the so-called “featherbedding” restriction. The Board has held that it was not unlawful for a Musicians' Local to at-

tempt to preserve its job opportunities by insisting that whenever the services of an outside name band are utilized by a theatre, such theatre, at some other time and to the same extent, employ the services of a local band. Under the Court's decision it would appear that the Act may proscribe attempts to secure employment opportunities even though no element of "standby" is involved and the members of the labor organization desire to perform actual services. If *certiorari* is granted, the American Federation of Labor will seek to file a brief *amicus curiae* in support of the Board's decision.

The office of the General Counsel has filed a lawsuit in the Court of Claims for the purpose of testing whether per diem or hourly paid employees who worked for the Federal Government during the World War II are entitled to gratuity pay for all holidays worked during that period. The affiliates and members of the Government Employees Council and the Metal Trades Departments are involved in the case, although only a few individual members are actual parties. It will be recalled that the United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Kelly v. United States*, held that such payments are due employees of the Government Printing Office, but the decision is not clear as to whether this was by virtue only of a special collective bargaining agreement which was in existence between the Printing Office employees and the Federal Government. The contemplated test case is further complicated by a six-year statute of limitations. It is hoped that the right to such gratuity pay can be established and that the Comptroller General can subsequently be prevailed upon to reimburse the employees involved. It is anticipated that the case will go to the United States Supreme Court. If successful, it could conceivably mean the payment of from \$100 to \$250 to each of the many thousands of wartime government employees who were paid only at the rate of straight time for holidays worked during the war.

A case of interest to the American Federation of Labor, in which the office of the General Counsel participated, is that of *Rabouin v. National Labor Relations Board*, the so-called *Conway Express* case, involving the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. That case, which was decided in favor of the position taken by the Brotherhood, upheld the validity of the so-called "hot cargo" or "struck goods" clauses which the Teamsters' organization had widely utilized in its contracts as a means of protection against the secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Under such a clause the union could legally refuse to handle the goods of a struck or unfair employer. The Court further held in the case that it was not a violation of the Taft-Hartley Act for a union to seek to induce an employer directly, as distinguished from his employees, to cease doing business with third-party employers with whom a labor dispute existed.

The long-standing case of *National Labor Relations Board v. International Typographical Union* was finally decided by the Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in favor of the Board and the publishers

and against the I.T.U. Although the office of the General Counsel was not called upon to participate in the Circuit Court proceedings, it had rendered assistance at earlier stages of the controversy. In the Circuit Court proceedings the Board's petition for enforcement of its various orders against the union and its locals in the I.T.U. case was granted in full. In addition, upon appeal of the Publishers' Association, the Court directed the Board to extend its order so as to find, additionally, that the I.T.U. was guilty of refusal to bargain. The case was remanded to the Board with instructions to take appropriate action to enlarge its decree against the union beyond its original scope, by including a requirement that the I.T.U. bargain in good faith. Thus, the evil effects of the Taft-Hartley Act in many of its aspects are seen, in practical operation, to restrict, in its peaceful activities, one of the most respected and honored of American trade unions. Both the I.T.U. and the employers involved have filed an appeal with the United States Supreme Court, but that Court has not as yet indicated whether it will accept the appeal.

Analysis of Proposed Federal and State Legislation

An important function of the office of the General Counsel consists of studying, summarizing and analyzing, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, various legislative proposals affecting or of interest to organized labor, introduced either in Congress or before the various state legislatures. In addition, the General Counsel has at times assisted in the preparation of testimony or statements either in support of or in opposition to such legislative proposals.

This year the hysteria produced by the labor dispute in the steel industry, presidential seizure of the industry, and the Supreme Court decision holding such seizure unconstitutional as exceeding the executive powers of the President, produced a number of bills designed to deal with these so-called national emergency labor dispute problems. Thus, in this connection Senator Morse introduced three separate bills, and Senators Maybank and Case and Representative Howard Smith introduced one each, all of which were analyzed and commented upon. It will serve no purpose to discuss the nature of these proposals, since none of them have been passed. Suffice it to say that they were all objectionable to organized labor as utilizing the unfair weapon of injunction or imposing the totalitarian principle of compulsory arbitration. One bill—that introduced by Representative Smith—provided for seizure of both company and union and the operation of both by court-appointed receiverships.

Numerous other bills before Congress were analyzed, the most important of which were as follows: A bill by Representative Fisher of Texas, which undertook to place unions under the anti-trust laws, eliminate industry-wide or multiple-employer bargaining, and limit a local union's membership rights to the employees of a single employer;

several bills seeking to amend the Universal Military Training Act; a proposed constitution for Puerto Rico; a bill directed to the control of subversive activities; a bill establishing a commission to study the functioning of the North Atlantic Treaty; a bill taxing municipal bonds the income of which is to be used to provide free plant facilities; and finally, the 1952 Amendments to the Defense Production Act.

Almost daily throughout the past year the office of the General Counsel has been called upon to make interpretations of the Taft-Hartley Act. In this connection a comprehensive study of the various provisions of that Act and of the decisions thereunder, from the date of its enactment until the present time, was made, which study analyzed those particular provisions which have proved most detrimental to organized labor to date and those likely to prove most destructive of labor's interests in the future.

Assistance to Federal Labor Unions and Councils

When specifically requested by officers of the American Federation of Labor, the office of the General Counsel has provided legal service this past year to federal labor unions throughout the country and to American Federation of Labor Councils. For the most part, this has taken the form of representation in Labor Board proceedings. Federal labor unions were represented at such hearings held in Lake Wales, Florida; Coldwater, Ohio; Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Jackson, Ohio; Warsaw, Indiana; Oolitic, Indiana; Huntington, West Virginia, and Alexandria, Indiana.

The Council of Aluminum Workers Unions was given assistance in proceedings held in New Orleans, Louisiana; St. Louis, Missouri, and Corpus Christi, Texas. In addition, advice and assistance on general legal problems were given to federal labor unions in all parts of the country in the form of phone calls, telegrams or letters. Federal labor unions in Elyria, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Huntington, West Virginia, were given active assistance in retaining funds claimed by seceding members. Brass Workers Federal Labor Union No. 24411 was represented in two arbitration cases before the Connecticut State Board of Arbitration at Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Miscellaneous Activities

As part of its daily functioning, the office of the General Counsel, in cases referred to it during the past year, gave advice and legal opinion by way of telephone, correspondence or personal conference in respect not only to the construction and application of the many federal and state laws and regulations in the field of labor relations, but also in respect to the administration of internal affairs, including union discipline, the construction and amendment of union constitutions, the phrasing and construction of provisions in collective bargaining agreements, and a host of miscellaneous matters.

In addition, the office of the General Counsel appeared at various hearings and conferences at the request of officers of the American Federation of Labor. Thus it participated in a hearing before the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Law on behalf of the employees of the Puerto Rican Telephone Company. A favorable decision was received from the Administrator. At the request of President Green, several American Federation of Labor organizations were represented in a hearing before the Manitoba Labor Board at Winnipeg, Canada, in which separate units for inside bakery employees and drivers were sought.

The office of the General Counsel engaged regularly in conferences with various administration officials of the federal government in respect to problems of administration and application of the many federal laws affecting labor relations. In particular, officials of the National Labor Relations Board, the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice were contacted on numerous occasions. The continuance of economic controls required close coordination with officials of the Wage and Salary Stabilization Boards as well as Price Control.

At the request of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, the office of the General Counsel made a comprehensive survey of the present laws of the forty-eight states of the United States and its territories governing the registration and protection of union labels, union shop cards and union buttons. The office of the General Counsel gave legal advice and assistance in the transfer to the American Federation of Labor of the educational activities of Labor's League for Political Education.

As anticipated, the work of the office of the General Counsel has increased during the past year, and with the continuance of controls and a growing use by employers of the many anti-labor restrictions in the federal and state statutes, it can be reasonably expected that the work of that office will continue at the same accelerated rate.

DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

With every year of its operation, Labor's criticism of the Taft-Hartley law, made at the time of its consideration by Congress, received further confirmation. The law has proved to be not only unfair and inequitous to workers while favoring employers, not only a threat to the economic security and welfare of Labor, but also a dismal failure as a means for settlement of labor-management disputes.

New decisions of the courts and of the National Labor Relations Board have shown unmistakably that the Taft-Hartley Act puts a powerful weapon in the hands of anti-Labor employers while it seriously handicaps unions in carrying on legitimate time-tested activities essential to the welfare of their own members and, indeed, of all workers. The whole atmosphere surrounding the Taft-Hartley Act places trade

unions under a cloud of suspicion and relegates workers to a status of inferior citizens.

Decisions of the Courts and the National Labor Relations Board

Expensive and time-consuming litigation in which unions have been involved since the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act has placed a heavy drain on the funds of many of our affiliates. No less serious is the ever-present threat to the financial security of unions from the privilege accorded to employers to press against unions ruinous damage suits, even though the conditions complained of are known to be beyond the control of the union.

The seriousness of this possibility is emphasized in a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in a case involving a jurisdictional dispute between two CIO unions (one of which was later expelled from the CIO). The Taft-Hartley Act permits any employer who pleads he has been "injured in his business or property" by a jurisdictional dispute to sue for damages. The employer involved in this case pressed such a suit against one of the two unions and was awarded a judgment of \$750,000 plus costs by the U.S. District Court of Alaska. The union appealed the case to the Supreme Court in an effort to have the decision set aside. The Supreme Court ruled that the union could be held liable for damages for the entire period of the jurisdictional dispute, even though in this case the NLRB did not order the union to "cease and desist" from engaging in the dispute until almost one year after the dispute began. This particular case happened to involve a jurisdictional dispute. The principle involved could apply to any activity which a union might engage in which the NLRB might later declare to be "illegal" under the Taft-Hartley Act. Such a union could be liable for heavy damages, even though the union may have believed that this activity was legal before the NLRB announced its ruling.

An NLRB decision handed down in November 1951 illustrates how the Taft-Hartley Act has increased penalties on strikers. In this case, involving an independent union, the Board made a legalistic distinction between "unprotected" and "unlawful" strikes and thereby abandoned its principle of "condonation". Under this principle the Board had always ruled that if an employer reinstates any employees after a strike, he must reinstate all of them regardless of the fact that particular employees might have engaged in so-called "unprotected" activities as, for example, mass picketing. The Board now said that a strike could be not merely "unprotected" but also "unlawful" if its purpose is "illegal" under the Taft-Hartley Act. If the strike is found to be "unlawful", the employer has complete freedom to reinstate some employees and refuse to take back others. In practice, this means that the employer may penalize the union's representatives and active members by refusing to reinstate them, while at the same time taking back selectively as many workers as he thinks he needs.

This decision assumes particular significance in the light of another recent NLRB ruling in a case involving the Medford (Ore.) Building and Construction Trades Council, A. F. of L., and several affiliates. In this case the Board ruled that if a union engages in a strike for both "legal" and "illegal" objectives the strike is automatically "unlawful" under the Taft-Hartley Act. Thus, if a union in conducting a strike sets a number of demands only one of which is considered by the Board to be "illegal", all of the participants in the strike lose any legal protection they might otherwise have had.

While the rights of workers and their unions are being constantly whittled away, the Supreme Court has strengthened the hand of employers in still another decision. The Court ruled in a recent case that, despite the legal requirement for parties to collective bargaining to bargain in good faith, the employer may refuse to bargain at all on such questions as promotions, discipline, and work schedules. The Court reached this decision in a case involving Local 27 of the Office Employees' International Union, A. F. of L. The specific issue before the Court was whether the employer had the right to insist on inclusion in the collective bargaining agreement of a so-called "management functions" clause which would exclude from arbitration such matters as promotions, discipline, and work schedules as provided for in the agreement with regard to all other matters. The Court's decision favoring the company on this issue in effect gives employers a license to refuse to bargain on certain issues which they may claim are entirely management prerogatives, regardless of how directly the employees may be affected by the way in which these matters are handled.

The Courts have also tilted the scales in favor of management by several decisions of the U.S. Circuit Courts. These decisions have said in effect that the Taft-Hartley Act gives employers the right to question employees about their union connections and activities even though it is a well known fact that such questions frequently intimidate workers from joining unions. Disregarding all the evidence to the contrary, the Courts have taken the position that such interrogations of their employees by employers are not coercive and are therefore not unlawful under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Union Shop

Since its enactment, there has been just one amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act. This amendment embodied in the Taft-Humphrey law of the 82nd Congress, eliminated the requirement that the NLRB conduct an election among the workers in a collective bargaining unit before the management and the union may enter into a union shop agreement.

This election requirement had caused much embarrassment to the supporters of the Taft-Hartley Act because they had freely predicted that workers would vote against the unions in these elections. Exactly

the opposite has happened. Workers have overwhelmingly voted for the union shop in the secret ballot elections held by the NLRB. In 1950, the union shop was voted for in over 96 percent of such elections. Thus the effect has been to discredit the earlier anti-union propaganda of the Taft-Hartley supporters. At the same time, it has also forced large expenditures of funds by both the NLRB and the unions which participated in the elections.

Under the new amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act, a union and employer may enter into a union shop agreement where the union has been duly authorized by the NLRB as the bargaining agent of the workers. The union must also meet all of the compliance requirements of the Taft-Hartley Act, including the filing of non-Communist affidavits and financial reports. Upon petition of 30 percent of the workers in a unit, the Board is required to hold an election to determine whether the union shop shall remain in force. The new provision continues the Taft-Hartley prohibition against the union shop where it is forbidden by state law.

In 1951 the Congress also enacted an amendment to the Railway Labor Act permitting the adoption of union shop agreements on the nation's railroads. In a subsequent recommendation in a dispute between the railway unions and carriers the signing of a union shop contract was recommended by the Federal Board after extensive hearings in which labor and management members had argued the case.

Building Trades Amendment

Under the Taft-Hartley Act, unions in the building and construction trades have been constantly harassed by the NLRB. These unions have been at a particular disadvantage because the Board has found it impossible to conduct the elections which the Act requires before a union can be certified as the bargaining representative.

In attempting to rectify this situation, the Building and Construction Trades Department, with the endorsement of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, supported an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which would have permitted the Board to certify a building trades union without prior election, and the union to enter into a union shop agreement with an employer prior to the hiring of employees for the job.

This bill (S. 1973) unanimously passed the Senate on May 12, 1952 but was never considered by the House. Building trades unions are thus left in the untenable position in which they have been placed since the Taft-Hartley law took effect. The Board is unable to hold any elections in the construction industry. This means that the building trades unions are unable to secure certification as the legal collective bargaining representative, and they therefore have none of the rights but are subject to all of the penalties under the law.

WAGE DEVELOPMENTS

During the year which has elapsed since the close of the 70th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1951 the wage stabilization program has moved steadily toward technical completion despite the watering down or complete elimination of other component parts of the Defense Production Act by Congress itself. This success in the technical construction of an equitable and practical wage stabilization program was due almost exclusively to the tripartite character of the Wage Stabilization Board made up by an equal number of public, industry and labor members.

Especial recognition must be given to the leadership demonstrated by the American Federation of Labor members on the National Wage Stabilization Board in formulating policies and by the A. F. of L. members of Review and Appeal Committees, Regional Wage Stabilization Boards, the Construction Industry Stabilization Commission, and dispute panels in applying those policies to particular cases. The A.F.L. members of the National Wage Stabilization Board were President Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers International Union, President William C. Birthright of the Barbers International Union, Vice-President Elmer E. Walker of the International Association of Machinists—who were regular members—and President Lee W. Minton of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association who was an alternate member.

At this point it is worthwhile to point out that to date some 60,000 petitions have been processed and recommendations have been made in some 27 dispute cases under the wage stabilization program. Despite this creditable record of performance, however, the Wage Stabilization Board was unjustly attacked in and out of Congress as a result of its recommendations in a single dispute case involving the steel industry.

The balance of this report will review in detail the record of the Wage Stabilization Board.

Wage Policies: General

Wage policies in any stabilization program may be divided into general policies applicable to all wage earners and special policies tailored to fit particular groups of wage earners.

The basic general wage policies are four in number. One pertains to the relation of wages to the cost of living. Another pertains to the elimination of wage inequities between plants (inter-plant inequities) and within a plant (intra-plant inequities). The third establishes a sub-standard wage level up to which wages may rise without approval by the wage stabilization agency. The fourth policy establishes the criteria by which a rare and unusual wage problem is recognized and the means of granting wage increases beyond stabilization limits.

1. *Cost of Living Policy*

Prior to the Convention the cost of living policy had been established in General Wage Regulations 6 and 8. General Regulation 6 created the 10% allowance for the rise in the cost of living since January 15, 1950. General Regulation 8 provided for the maintenance of real wages by allowing wages to move in keeping with the changes in the cost of living since January 15, 1951. Such wage changes could be made either by escalator clauses or by six-month re-opening clauses.

2a. *Inter-Plant Inequity Policy*

In the latter part of 1951 the Wage Stabilization Board completed and adopted its policy on inter-plant inequities. The policy was expressed in General Wage Regulation 17 and provided that where a comparison of the wage rate structure in a particular plant and the wage rate structures of an appropriate group of establishments in an appropriate industry or area demonstrated wage inequities, then necessary wage increases would be allowed.

2b. *Intra-Plant Inequity Policy*

On December 5, 1951 the Board adopted a companion policy directed toward eliminating inequities among wage rates within a plant. This intra-plant policy was contained in General Wage Regulation 18 and provided that corrections in the rate structure of a plant could be made either by individual job-rate adjustments or through a comprehensive job-rate review. Appropriate limits were placed on the amount of permissible adjustments. These limitations meant that through individual job-rate adjustments no more than 30% of the rates could be changed; that average straight time hourly rates in the unit could not rise by more than 1%; and that the hourly rate increase of no employee would be more than 15 cents. The typical A.F.L. case corrected intra-plant inequities by individual job-rate adjustments rather than by comprehensive job evaluation plans.

The importance of GWR 17 and GWR 18 cannot be overestimated. The majority of wage adjustments processed by the Wage Stabilization Board in A.F.L. cases during the year just passed were made under these two regulations.

3. *Substandard Wage Policy*

The third general wage policy established during the past year affected substandard wages. This policy was not formulated by the Wage Stabilization Board. Instead, Congress legislatively adopted a policy which established \$1.00 per hour as the substandard level when it was amending the Defense Production Act for 1952. Without doubt a higher wage would have been created had the tripartite Wage Stabilization Board been permitted to adopt such a policy because all

the pertinent facts would have been considered and given proper consideration.

However, at the present time all wage rates of less than \$1.00 per hour may be increased up to that level without prior approval of the Wage Stabilization Board and therefore without the submission of a petition. In effect, wages below the \$1.00 level are decontrolled until they reach \$1.00 per hour.

4. Rare and Unusual Wage Policy

In times of emergency which bring about a wage stabilization program, provision must be made for permitting wage increases beyond the limits normally applicable. Specifically, a policy must be created which allows payment of wage rates high enough to direct the flow of manpower to critically important industries. The present wage stabilization program is no exception to the rule. Provision is made in Regulation 6 for just such rare and unusual situations.

During the year which has elapsed since the Convention there have been approved 17 cases for rare and unusual wage increases and practically all such cases involved some phase of the atomic energy program.

Wage Policies: Particular

Upon the foundation established by the four general policies mentioned above, the Wage Stabilization Board has constructed a superstructure of policies designed to stabilize wages, hours and working conditions in special fields of the American economy. For example, prior to the last Convention the Board has established policies affecting stabilization of wages in agriculture (GWR 11). In May 1951 it created the Construction Industry Stabilization Commission to regulate wages in that industry (GWR 12). In that same month the basic policy for fringe benefits was adopted in GWR 13. Shortly thereafter policies were created for the regulation of bonus payments (GWR 14), and incentive wage or piece rates (GWR 15). Complete exemption from the wage stabilization program was granted by the Board to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands in GWR 16.

Since the 70th Convention of the American Federation of Labor there have been three important policies established by the Wage Stabilization Board directed at particular problems of wage stabilization. Specifically these problems have been concerned with health and welfare plans, commission payments, and pension and profit-sharing plans.

Health and Welfare Policy (GWR 19)

In January 1952 the Wage Stabilization Board adopted in final form its policy with regard to the health and welfare plans and paid sick leave provisions. The basic policy was contained in General Wage

Regulation 19, with a set of review criteria or guides in Resolution 78.

Regulation 19 contains a list of the types of benefits which are permissible. They are:

- (a) Temporary disability and paid sick leave.
- (b) Hospital expense—providing partial or complete payment of expenses incurred by an employee or his dependents for (1) hospital room and board, for other than private accommodations, and (2) other hospital charges, typically called "extras" or "miscellaneous charges."
- (c) Surgical expense—partial or complete payment of surgical expenses incurred by an employee or his dependents.
- (d) Medical expense—partial or complete payment of medical expenses incurred by an employee or his dependents (includes home and office care as well as doctor's visits in hospital).
- (e) Group term life insurance, covering employees.
- (f) Accidental death and dismemberment benefits.

There are no specific limits on amounts of benefits in the regulation. There is only a general provision setting forth a single test, namely, that "the Board shall disapprove any plan which it deems to be un-stabilizing."

As it now stands, this regulation affords a reasonable degree of scope for collective bargaining. During the past year, unions have accomplished a considerable amount of progress in this field, expanding and improving the scope and quality of these benefits through collective bargaining with employers.

Commission Payment Policy (GWR 20)

On February 13, 1952, the Wage Stabilization Board adopted General Wage Regulation 20 regulating wages paid in whole or in part by the commission method of payment. This regulation was a particular importance to employees in retail stores, the life insurance industry and to industries employing driver-salesmen. Needless to say, by far the greatest number of petitions submitted under this Regulation were the result of collective bargaining between local unions of the Teamsters International Union and their employers. The adoption of this policy marks a milestone in the technical development of wage stabilization because during the World War II wage control program a practical solution to this problem was never reached. As a consequence, all commission-paid wage earners have benefited within the limits of wage stabilization this time. This proper recognition by the Board of the just claims of commission employees has led to increased take-home pay as a result of adjustments stemming from both base pay rates and commission rates.

Pension Policy (GWR 21)

The most recent policy adopted by the Wage Stabilization Board was contained in General Wage Regulation 21 pertaining to pensions and profit-sharing plans. In essence, this policy establishes fixed limits within which a pension plan may be set up without prior approval of the Board. Submission of the plan is required for purposes of checking. The limits or guides stipulate that the normal retirement age for males should be no earlier than 65 years for full pension benefits and age 60 for females. Earlier retirement requires a proportionate reduction in the amount of the pension payment. Next, there is the requirement that pension payments shall be spread over the entire life of the retired wage earner. Finally, where the employee covered by a pension plan leaves the employer before retirement, his accumulated pension rights may not be paid to him in a cash sum but must be deferred until he does retire.

Here again as in the health and welfare policy, the limits are such as not to interfere with the adoption of a pension plan for the first time. Similarly, there is every reason to support the position taken by the A.F.L. Board members opposing continued control of pension plans.

Building Construction Industry Stabilization Policy

Along with other stabilization policies designed to fit special circumstances, the Wage Stabilization Board has established wage controls for the building and construction industry. Prior to the 70th Convention the unusual nature of the industry was recognized by the Wage Stabilization Board and the Construction Industry Stabilization Commission was set up. The approved wage policy of the Commission limited wage increases to 10% of the wage rate paid on July 1, 1950. This departure from the January 15, 1950 base date established in GWR 6 for other industries was founded on the fact that most contracts in the construction industry were negotiated in the Spring of the year; therefore, use of January 1950 as a base date would automatically have meant that 1949 wage rates rather than 1950 rates would have been used.

Since the last Convention the wage policy of the Construction Commission has been altered realistically to keep pace with the changes in wage stabilization rules for other industries. Specifically, the new wage policy for the construction industry permits cost of living wage increases of 10% plus 15¢ per hour. Also, in addition, employer contributions up to and including 7½¢ per hour to a health and welfare fund are permitted. Requests for approval of wage increases or health and welfare contributions in excess of the policy limits requires specific approval of the Wage Stabilization Board.

The fact to be noted is that the changes in stabilization policy for the construction industry simply parallels cost of living modifications

made by the Wage Stabilization Board in its general wage policies. In addition to the 10% allowance of Regulation 6, all other workers received wage rate increases in keeping with the rise in the cost of living since January 1951 under Regulation 8. The 15¢ increase allowed the construction workers is related to the rise in the cost of living since 1951 and also to any fringe issues for which approval may be sought. The 7½¢ employer contribution for health and welfare purposes is simply continuation of the amount customarily found in the construction industry prior to stabilization.

Productivity Policy

During the past year the Wage Stabilization Board conducted public hearings and held many executive sessions on the problem of establishing some method of allowing the increased productivity of wage earners to be reflected in their wages. The Board's deliberations on this subject were interrupted by the amendments to the Defense Production Act this year when Congress forbade the Wage Stabilization Board, as then constituted, to issue any new wage policies. Now that a new Wage Stabilization Board has been created, however, this limitation no longer operates. There is every reason to believe therefore that further progress will be made in the direction of an effective productivity policy in the near future.

The Disputes Function

The disputes function of the Wage Stabilization Board was but a minor role in its activities; yet, it was this aspect of its activities which lead to an investigation by the House Committee on Education and Labor at the insistence of the House of Representatives and later restrictive amendments to its authority over disputes. Above all, the Board's handling of the steel industry dispute apparently led to a severe reduction in appropriations.

Actually the jurisdiction of the Board over disputes was quite limited. It could process dispute cases up to the point of making recommendations when such cases were certified to it by the President of the United States, and when the Board accepted jurisdiction over disputes jointly and voluntarily submitted to it by parties whose output was vital to the national defense effort. All told, some 12 dispute cases were certified to the Wage Stabilization Board by the President; only 28 voluntarily submitted cases were accepted and but 15 of these were processed.

It is interesting to note that the Wage Stabilization Board made recommendations in only three disputes affecting affiliates of the American Federation of Labor. Only one of the three disputes were certified by the President to the Board for action: the dispute between the I.A.M. and the Boeing Airplane Company at Wichita, Kansas. The

two voluntary dispute cases submitted involved the Building and Construction Trades Union on the Hanford, Washington atomic energy installation and Carpenters International Union case with the Associated General Contractors in Anchorage, Alaska. While a dispute was certified involving the Aluminum Workers Council, A.F.L. and the Aluminum Company of America, that case was settled by the parties through collective bargaining without final action of the Board.

In summary, the disputes function of the Wage Stabilization Board was truly the smallest part of its work and the least important. The contrast between some 60,000 wage petitions on the one hand and 27 dispute cases on the other makes this conclusion self-evident.

Politics and public relations to the contrary, the majority recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board in the steel case were within the same policies applicable to all other wage cases. The facts are that the wage earners in the steel industry had practically none of the fringe benefits regularly found in the contracts of typical A.F.L. unions. Furthermore, the wage rates in the steel industry had fallen behind the cost of living. Far from being a leader in collective bargaining, the steel union was found to be retarding the progress of almost all other trade unions. Literally, the steel recommendations were providing these wage earners simply an opportunity to catch up to other American trade unions. No new policies were created by the recommendations and no benefits will be received by other wage earners in America as a result of the steel case.

Defense Production Act Amendments 1952: Wage Stabilization Board

The enactment of the 1952 amendments to the Defense Production Act introduced a number of radical changes in the wage stabilization program. First of all, wages were decontrolled in agriculture, in small businesses, in the professional fields of engineering, architecture and accounting and in the bowling alley branch of the amusement industry. Next, Congress itself established the substandard wage level of \$1.00 per hour and thus in effect decontrolled all wages under that level.

Equally drastic changes were made in the administration of the wage stabilization program. The Wage Stabilization Board as a creature of the Executive Branch of the Government was abolished. The present Wage Stabilization Board is a statutory body created by the Congress. The jurisdiction of the Board has been so modified that it now has no authority to handle dispute cases of any kind; its jurisdiction is limited to advising parties as to the legality of proposed wage and other compensation changes. While membership on the Wage Stabilization Board is attained by Presidential nomination, approval by the Senate is made necessary for the first time. Membership on the Board is limited by statute to May 1, 1953.

These modifications in the nature and operation of the Wage Stabilization Board reflect a decided "softening" in the attitude of

Congress toward the necessity of any form of an anti-inflation program. Only after full consideration of all factors did the Executive Council of the American Federation decide to cooperate with the government, for it was quite clear that the conditions under which the A.F.L. agreed to return to the national defense effort in May 1951 were partially ignored. However, the pressure of A.F.L. cases remaining in the backlog of unprocessed cases could not be ignored since every case represented a potential wage increase if it were approved.

With these and other factors in mind the Executive Council accepted the President's invitation to propose A.F.L. members for the new statutory Wage Stabilization Board. Specifically all three former regular members—President Bates, President Birthright, and Vice-President Walker were reappointed. Since President Minton was unable to accept re-nomination, International Representative Raymond McCall of the Teamsters' International Union was proposed as an alternate member.

Some Statistics

The Wage Stabilization Board has processed some 60,000 voluntary wage petitions and 27 dispute cases to date. Approximately one-third or 20,000 of the voluntary petitions represented A.F.L. cases. Of the 27 dispute cases only 3 involved A.F.L. affiliates.

Of the roughly 20,000 A.F.L. cases most were submitted to correct inter-plant and intra-plant inequities. The next heavy concentration of wage petitions involved commission cases and most of these involved the Teamsters' International Union. While, of course, there were A.F.L. petitions based upon job evaluation, merit and length of service increases, incentive or piece rate payments, bonuses and other wage types, the frequency in these latter classes was low.

With reference to petitions involving fringe issues, the A.F.L. cases show no different pattern than do all other cases. The heaviest concentrations were in health and welfare cases, followed by cases involving vacations, overtime, shift differential and pensions.

Roughly 6 out of every 10 cases involved some branch of the manufacturing industry. The next grouping of cases—by importance of numbers—would be the retail trade industries cases. Wholesale trade cases were third in importance.

Conclusions

An objective review of the wage stabilization program during the last year demonstrates beyond question that it has acted as an effective brake upon wage increases and improvements in working conditions. Yet this is the price which the trade union expected to pay in exchange for an effective price control program which would preserve the value not only of the wage dollar but of all dollars.

The facts on the record make crystal clear the conclusion that the Congress of the United States has foisted upon the wage earners a shoddy price control program. Time and time again the Congress has shown complete disregard for its obligation to maintain a price control program equal in effectiveness to wage stabilization. Despite the best efforts of the American Federation of Labor to obtain for *all* wage earners and *all* consumers some modicum of protection from the inflationary effects of the defense production program, the Congress has seen fit to continue on a path which can lead only to uncontrollable inflation. Unless there is a substantial change in the attitude of the elected representatives of the American people in the very near future, the continuation of the wage stabilization program will not only be useless but it will be a cruel injustice to the wage earners of America.

PRODUCTIVITY

The A. F. of L. has long recognized the dynamic possibilities for human betterment in the constantly increasing efficiency and productivity of American industry and agriculture. During the past century, the great increase in production per manhour in the American economy as a whole has laid the basis for our present standard of living. Because American workers, organized in strong unions, insisted on receiving their share of the benefits of this progress, a rising wage level has paralleled the rise in productivity.

As early as 1925, the convention of the American Federation of Labor established the policy of advancing workers' purchasing power proportionately with increases in industrial productivity, declaring that:

Social inequality, industrial instability and injustice must increase unless the workers' real wages, the purchasing power of their wages, coupled with a continuing reduction in the number of hours making up the working day, are progressed in proportion to man's increasing power of production.

Because of this policy, the practice of increasing wages and shortening hours, as improved efficiency made such benefits possible, has been recognized and accepted in collective bargaining throughout American industry. As a consequence, the worker's average real weekly income today—even after high taxes—is almost double that of 1900, and his hours of work are shorter by almost one-third.

Over the long term, the yearly increase in production per manhour for the American economy as a whole has been estimated at over 2 per cent per year. There is good reason to believe, however, that this figure underestimates our actual productive potential, for in certain periods it has been possible to increase our national productivity at a rate at least double this amount or even more. For instance, in World War II from 1939 to 1944, production per manhour in private industry rose by almost 5 per cent per year. Between 1949 and 1951 the increase was 5½

per cent per year, as noted in the Federation's brief on Productivity in Wage Stabilization, presented before the Wage Stabilization Board in May 1952. (The figures represent real gross private national product per manhour of work).

The current unusually rapid increase in productivity has been attributed to: improved technology, new machinery, greater efficiency of management and labor, shift in production to the heavy industries which have a higher average value per manhour of work, operation of industry at levels close to capacity. During World War II, cooperation of Labor contributed substantially to the rapid increase in productivity. In some operations, labor-management production committees increased output per manhour by 20 per cent or more in one year.

It is essential that our country realize its full productive potential and that we do everything possible to increase our productivity and assure equitable distribution of its benefits. It is increased productivity and in fair distribution of its fruits that lies the secret of our industrial strength and power, and is the greatest factor in constantly improving the living standard of the American people.

Historically, increasing productivity in the United States has been due to many factors. Chief among these are: the competitive private enterprise system; the free consumer market where all who buy may exercise a free choice among many products; the skill of American workers and their cooperation in measures to improve production; the inventive genius of our people and their interest in expanding production. More information about productivity and better methods for measuring it will help each group to participate more effectively in industrial improvement.

Any concerted effort to improve productivity must mobilize the interest and resourcefulness of all groups by assuring all that they will participate equitably in the benefits of increasing efficiency. Labor's wholehearted cooperation is indispensable. It is essential for workers to know that they will share fully and fairly in the gains resulting from increased productivity so that their full effort can be contributed to it. Present wage stabilization regulations however have prevented workers from increasing their wages proportionately with their increase in productivity. For while production per manhour is now rising at the rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year, workers' real wage per manhour has risen on the average only slightly more than 1 per cent per year during the wage stabilization period. This small wage increase however has been more than offset by the increase in taxes, so that the average worker's living standard is actually being reduced while his productivity rises at an unusually rapid rate. In some industries, workers' average earnings have not even kept pace with living costs and rising taxes have reduced living standards severely.

It is significant that while representatives of our country urge

foreign nations to improve the living standards of their workers as an essential part of their productivity program, here in the United States the living standard of our workers is reduced when they are denied wage increases commensurate with their growing productivity. To achieve workers' full cooperation in improving production, this situation must be corrected. The first step is the acceptance by the Wage Stabilization Board of the resolution presented by Federation members, which proposed that the Board permit wage increases based on increased productivity.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

One of the most difficult and exacting tasks carried on by the Government during the past year was the program of expanded national defense, assuring the supply of needed materials, and at the same time of safeguarding the economy from inflation and from undue dislocations. Congressional authority for defense mobilization and economic stabilization was originally granted in the Defense Production Act enacted on September 8, 1950, (Public Law 774, 81st Congress), expiring on June 30, 1951. When the dilatory tactics of the opposition delayed the renewal of this authority right up to the deadline, a one month extension was provided. Finally, authority was extended on July 31, 1951 to carry the program through June 30, 1952, with a number of changes, known as the 1951 amendments, (Public Law 96, 82nd Congress).

The original 1950 law fell far short of the objectives called for by organized labor by permitting relatively weak handling of price controls, while requiring relatively rigid control of wages. This approach became even more one-sided by the series of 1951 amendments designed to safeguard the special business interests. Notable among these were (1) the *Capehart Amendment*, which forced the Office of Price Stabilization to allow manufacturers to pass on the consumers all cost increases up to July 26, 1951; (2) the *Herlong Amendment*, which guaranteed to retailers their pre-Korean margin markups; and (3) the *Butler-Hope Amendment*, which prevented the OPS from setting quotas on livestock slaughter.

Our 1951 San Francisco Convention approved the A. F. of L. stand against these weakening amendments and listed the following as the "major deficiencies" in the price control provisions of the Defense Production Act:

1. Several specific restrictions on price control authorities, guaranteeing profits and passing along cost increases (Capehart and Herlong Amendments), since they meant that unwarranted price increases must be approved by OPS.

2. The prohibition against utilizing livestock slaughter quotas (Butler-Hope Amendment) since it made it almost impossible to control meat prices.

3. The absence of any food subsidy program, since it meant that there was no way to stop farm price increases from being reflected in the prices of foods at the grocery store.

4. Lack of any control over the quality of products coming under price control since it made it easy for manufacturers to avoid price control regulations.

Early in the 2nd session of the 82nd Congress, when the 1952 amendments to the Defense Production Act were pending in Congress, President Green testified before both the House and Senate Committees. He emphasized that strong anti-inflation controls were needed because prices remained high and were still rising, defense disbursements were continuing at a heavy volume, and the international situation continued to be potentially explosive. He urged that the Defense Production Act be strengthened along the lines approved by the San Francisco Convention. His specific recommendations were:

(a) Reject any suggestions for altering the tripartite representation on the Wage Stabilization Board or weakening its powers and functions.

(b) Reject any proposals for weakening price controls and adopt positive amendments to strengthen price stabilization and to protect consumers.

(c) Reject proposals designed to emasculate the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act which provides for minimum wage and other labor standards for workers employed in connection with government contracts.

(d) Strengthen rent controls, particularly in defense areas, and amend the rent control law to meet the special problems arising where building services are provided.

The proposals for 1952 amendments were considered in the Senate first. The Senate rejected all proposals for strengthening anti-inflation controls and eventually voted for weakening the law. With regard to wage stabilization, the Senate voted for the so-called Ives Amendment. This amendment did not alter the tri-partite representation of the Wage Stabilization Board, but denied to the Board the authority to deal with disputes involving issues other than those arising directly from stabilization of wages. The Senate took this action despite the A. F. of L.'s warning that in collective bargaining it is impossible to separate disputes over wages and working conditions from disputes over union security, seniority and all other issues which, while not measurable directly in dollars and cents, bear on the worker's economic status and his tenure of employment.

In dealing with price controls, the Senate rejected a number of amendments which would have removed price controls entirely, but did adopt a proposal to decontrol prices of all fresh fruits and vegetables. The Senate also voted to require that the price markup principle in the so-called Herlong Amendment be extended retroactively to regula-

tions issued before September 1951. The Herlong principle was already being applied to regulations adopted after September 1951.

The House took much more drastic action than the Senate to weaken the existing law, voting at first, by a teller vote, to discontinue all price and wage controls on July 31, 1952. Although this action was later reversed on a roll call vote, the House adopted an amendment which would decontrol prices of all products not subject to rationing to consumers or subject to allocation for defense purposes.

After the two Houses had acted on the Defense Production Bill, President Green wrote to the House and Senate conferees stating that labor was highly dissatisfied with both versions of the Bill, but that the House action in particular was "a cruel blow to the workers of this nation which they will long remember."

In the finally adopted version of the Bill, some of the worst provisions voted by the House were eliminated, but the measure fell far short of being a reliable bulwark against inflation. While it retained wage controls in full force, it greatly weakened controls of the prices and rents that workers must pay.

As finally adopted, the 1952 Defense Production Act (Public Law 429, 82nd Congress) extended authority for wage controls and watered-down price controls until April 30, 1953, and for allocation and priority controls of scarce materials until June 30, 1953. Rent controls in critical defense areas were extended to April 30, 1953. In other areas, rent controls will end on September 30, 1952, unless the City Government by resolution or referendum requests their continuation.

The 1952 law contains the following main features:

1. *Wage Stabilization*

(a) No relaxation of the existing wage controls. (b) The old Board is replaced by a new tripartite Wage Stabilization Board within the Economic Stabilization Agency, similar to the old Board, but appointed subject to Senate confirmation. Senate confirmation will not take place until January 1953, unless the President convenes a special session sooner. (c) The new Board has no authority to settle labor-management disputes. However, on the request of any affected party or of any government agency, it may interpret regulations. It functions under the supervision and direction of the Economic Stabilization Administrator and recommends policies and regulations for promulgation by him. (d) Exempt from wage stabilization are: agricultural workers; employees paid less than \$1.00 an hour; employees in firms with 8 or less workers; employees of bowling alleys; and professional architects, accountants and engineers. It is estimated that over 8 million additional workers will be exempt from wage controls as a result of these amendments.

2. *Price Controls*

(a) Price controls are removed from all fresh and processed fruits and vegetables. (b) Changes have been made extending further the benefits to business of the 1951 Capehart and Herlong Amendments. (c) It is proclaimed to be the policy of Congress to suspend both price and wage controls "as rapidly as possible" where suspension will not result in a "cumulative and dangerous unstabilizing effect." However, suspension of price controls in a particular industry is permitted even though wage controls are maintained, and vice versa. In addition, the Office of Price Stabilization is forbidden to require any reports with regard to sales of materials or services at prices below the ceiling, if the person or firm making such sales certifies that they were below the ceiling price.

3. *Rent Control*

(a) Federal rent controls are ended on September 30, 1952, except in areas designated by the Secretary of Defense and Director of Defense Mobilization as "critical defense areas." In all other areas, rent controls can be continued beyond September 30 only if the community by resolution of its governing body, or in a public referendum declares that a substantial housing shortage exists requiring the continuance of federal rent control in the area. (b) A public hearing must be held after 30 days' notice before rent controls can be reinstated in any area which has previously been decontrolled.

4. *Credit Controls*

(a) All controls of consumer credit are ended, suspending regulations which previously governed down payments and installment payments by consumers for goods bought on credit. This brings to an end the Federal Reserve Board's Regulation W. (b) The removal of controls on housing credit is called for whenever the rate of housing construction on an annual basis drops below 1,200,000 dwelling units started in any three-month period. The controls must be removed within not more than a month of such a three-month period. Since it is most unlikely that the rate of construction will exceed the 1,200,000 figure, provisions of the Federal Reserve Board Regulation X, controlling down payments on homes are likely to be suspended by next November. The anti-inflation effect of Regulation X is reversed by a provision that, during the period when real estate credit controls are inoperative, the government may not require more than a 5 percent down payment on housing.

5. *Allocations and Priorities*

(a) The new law permits continued U. S. participation in the International Materials Conference, an international body concerned with allocation of critical materials among nations. However, our government is directed to make agreements with other nations authorizing

American firms to purchase the quantities of materials allocated by the International Materials Conference to other countries when these countries may not use such materials. It is stated as the intent of Congress that this provision shall have no effect on the Controlled Materials Plan or other methods of domestic allocation. (b) Controlled allocation or distribution of meat or meat products is forbidden, unless the Secretary of Agriculture determines and certifies that the overall supply of meat is inadequate to meet civilian or military needs. This provision makes almost completely unworkable any attempt by the OPS to control meat prices.

The 1952 amendments became law on June 30, when the President reluctantly signed the bill just as the old law was expiring. In signing the bill, the president said:

"... the new law weakens our ability to hold down prices and stabilize our economy. At a time when our defense production is still expanding and necessarily contributing to inflationary pressures, the Congress has weakened price controls, has limited the effectiveness of wage controls, has invited widespread abandonment of rent control, and has virtually cancelled selective credit controls. . . . This law gives the American people only very limited protection against the dangers of inflation."

The relaxation of anti-inflation controls was quickly followed by a further advance in both wholesale and retail prices. The consumers' price index passed the 190 mark. The action of the 82nd Congress not only brought labor face to face with the immediate threat of further inflation, but also brought the whole country closer to the danger of an unchecked inflation and a subsequent depression.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Development of atomic energy in its various forms was gaining in importance in the life of the nation, not only as a matter of self-defense and self-preservation, but also as a source of, yet unmeasured, future productive peacetime growth. A large-scale construction program of additional facilities for production and storage of fissionable products made up a large part of defense program of industrial plant expansion. It also brought the atomic energy production within the ranks of major industries of modern America.

Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the responsibility for directing the atomic energy program rests with the Atomic Energy Commission, subject to a continuous and searching review by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress. This properly preserves the civilian character of public responsibility for this vital program and makes possible close cooperation on policy between the Legislative and the Executive branches of the government.

In view of the urgency to carry out the expansion of the program

and in order to broaden the scope of civilian participation in the review of its progress and policies, the late Senator Brien McMahon, then Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee, appointed on March 6, 1952, an Advisory Panel to advise and consult with the Joint Committee on the various phases of atomic construction and development. Lewis L. Strauss, a former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, is serving as the Chairman of the Panel and the A. F. of L. is represented on it by Boris Shishkin.

The untimely death of Senator McMahon has delayed the organization of the necessary technical staff for the Panel and the allocation of the funds essential for the study. The Panel itself has already surveyed several new plant construction sites.

Much of the progress of America's atomic energy program is, for security reasons, necessarily veiled in secrecy. A large proportion of available and published information is so highly technical as to be an almost exclusive preserve of the scientists. All information that touches upon our nation's security must, of course, be jealously guarded. But means should be found to enable the general public to know the issues involved in the atomic energy policies and understand fully their implications. The ability of our government to discharge this vital responsibility may, in time, become the test of representative government in a democracy.

Atomic energy itself and technology arising out of nuclear fission must remain in public domain. While development of private investment and enterprise for civilian use of atomic energy should be encouraged, such use of it by private enterprise should be strictly competitive. Private monopoly in any phase or segment of the atomic energy industry is intolerable. Yet even now monopolistic aggregates are already building up, not only around fringes of this public program, but within it. Monopoly of engineering skill and scientific technology is no less dangerous than monopoly of private capital. No private corporation should be permitted to accumulate materials, equipment or skill of this industry for its own exclusive use or to arrogate to itself the power derived from their exclusive possession.

We commend the step taken by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in appointing a public panel with labor participation. We urge that, in addition, qualified men, drawn from the ranks of labor, be chosen to serve on the Atomic Energy Commission and in appropriate posts within its organization.

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

The A. F. of L. Advisory Committee to the Council of Economic Advisers has held periodic meetings with the Council and has submitted for the consideration of the Council both factual information on the status of workers in the economy as well as economic policy

mendations. James A. Brownlow has continued to serve as Chairman of the A. F. of L. Committee, which included Richard J. Gray, Eric Peterson, George Q. Lynch, H. L. Mitchell and Boris Shishkin, Secretary.

The Council, through its semi-annual Economic Reports, has made a real contribution toward the development of sound and balanced economic policies of the government. Its analytical work has given valuable guidance to private groups as well as governmental agencies seeking to pursue the objectives of the Full Employment Act. We commend the Council's Chairman, Leon H. Keyserling, for the high competence with which he has directed the Council's work and his readiness to consult Labor along with other private groups.

OUTLOOK FOR MATERIALS

On June 2, 1952 the President's Materials Policy Commission rendered a report of far-reaching significance, representing its findings after a year and a half of intensive study. The Commission was charged with the task of appraising the broader and longer range aspects of the nation's materials problem as distinct from the immediate defense needs.

The Commission's evaluation of the long-range outlook for the supply and requirements of materials has alerted us to the need for a new outlook and new policies which would help safeguard our future growth. It is the supply of key materials especially metals, fuel and power that will largely determine our future opportunity for economic expansion as well as our country's status in the family of nations. The task of building a truly free world is not a short-term task. It is a task that will never be completed until oppression gives way to freedom of opportunity everywhere.

Labor must not only undertake a continuous study of our nation's future supply of materials for production, but also develop policies and programs which would translate the use of these materials into stable employment and higher living standards. Concentration of economic power and monopoly control of key materials may destroy the promise and growth of our country and threaten the future welfare of our nation.

We ask that an economic study be prepared by the A. F. of L. Research Staff evaluating the report of the President's Commission and preparing recommendations on its significance to future stability and growth, for submission to the Executive Council.

DEFENSE MANPOWER PROGRAM

Availability of qualified labor has been, in general, sufficient to meet the requirements of the national defense program during the past year. Nevertheless, many serious manpower problems have arisen and have been dealt with successfully through voluntary action. Ex-

perience since the beginning of the present defense program has proved the effectiveness of the voluntary machinery in meeting the nation's manpower needs.

Throughout the past year high levels of employment have been maintained for the country as a whole and on the national basis unemployment has been kept to a low level. Within this general picture, however, two contradictory developments have stood out. One has been the development of labor shortages in certain areas despite the fact that no general labor shortages have been felt. In a number of new plants located in out-of-the-way areas, temporary shortages of workers of certain skills have been experienced. In such areas also recruitment has been hampered by the inadequacy of housing and community facilities, as well as the absence of essential services such as day nurseries, which would make it possible for women workers to accept defense employment. Some shortages have also been felt in a few scientific, professional, and highly-skilled metal-working occupations and in certain skills in the electronics industry and in foundries. Wherever our membership was affected, our affiliates have taken effective action to help overcome such shortages.

On the other hand, in a number of areas, unemployment reached serious proportions. In some of these areas joblessness was traceable to dislocations resulting from the defense effort. In a number of cases extended unemployment was due to plant shutdowns necessitated by the conversion from civilian to defense production. In others, work was curtailed or suspended due to the critical shortages of materials. In still others, it was clear that business firms were taking advantage of tax benefits, as well as local inducements, to shift their defense production away from established plants to little-developed areas where they could maintain lower labor standards. In the case of the building trades there was substantial unemployment last winter in several localities, notably in New York City, due to a combination of factors related to the defense program. There was also substantial unemployment and part-time employment in the textile, apparel, shoe and related industries affecting localities where such industries were concentrated.

All these developments were taking place against the background of increasing demand for manpower throughout the land. The very effect of quick military mobilization bringing our armed forces to over 3,500,000 within a short period of time served to drain the supply to industrial employment, especially younger men. By maintaining 3,700,000 under arms in the years immediately ahead, the nation's manpower supply will continue to be taxed.

To deal with all aspects of the manpower problem on a voluntary basis a network of labor-management manpower committees on the national, regional and areal basis was provided. The program as a whole was guided by the Director of Defense Mobilization with primary responsibility for initiating and carrying out manpower policies resting

with the Department of Labor and its Defense Manpower Administration.

Full participation of organized labor at the policy-making level was assured through a 14-man National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee which met regularly twice a month to advise the Director of Defense Mobilization and the Secretary of Labor on all major manpower issues. Arthur S. Flemming represented the Director of Defense Mobilization, and Robert C. Goodwin, serving in place of Frank P. Graham as a representative of the Department of Labor, acted as the Committee's Co-chairman.

Representing the American Federation of Labor on the Committee during the past year have been President William Green, with Boris Shishkin as alternate; George Q. Lynch, President, Pattern Makers League of North America, with Lewis G. Hines as alternate; and A. J. Hayes, President, International Association of Machinists, with Eric Peterson and W. G. Flinn as alternates. Peter Henle has served as Secretary to the labor members.

The Committee has proved a useful instrument for bringing labor and management viewpoints to bear upon manpower policies. It has made the program more practical and effective by enlisting the support of organized labor and management.

Committee activities have ranged over the many different aspects of the defense program. Some of the Committee's actions during the past year, all taken by unanimous vote, are the following:

1. *Deferment of Apprentices*: The Committee approved a policy for the deferment of apprentices from selective service. With some modifications of labor's recommendations, this policy was adopted by the President and issued as an Executive Order.

2. *Voluntary Employment Practices*: After considerable discussion, the Committee worked out a set of principles to guide employment practices designed to support a voluntary manpower program. Along with these principles the Committee adopted a vigorous statement opposing compulsory manpower service.

3. *Hours of Work and Overtime Pay*: The Committee recommended a policy, later officially adopted by the Government, of maintaining State and Federal standards regarding hours of work and overtime pay during the defense program.

4. *Areas with Heavy Unemployment*: The Committee recommended a policy, later adopted by the Office of Defense Mobilization as Manpower Policy No. 4, to give firms in areas of heavy unemployment preference in the awarding of Government contracts.

5. *Older and Handicapped Workers*: The Committee adopted special statements designed to increase the employment and utilization of older and handicapped workers.

6. *Migratory Farm Labor*: A comprehensive statement was adopted by the Committee dealing with the employment of migratory farm workers and calling for supporting action to safeguard the standards of such workers and to meet their needs for continuous employment and income, as well as for transportation, housing and other facilities.

7. *Local Committees*: Thirteen Regional Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committees have been established, covering all the United States. Area Committees are functioning in 25 localities.

Although it was becoming increasingly apparent that management members were intent on either preventing significant action by the Committee or greatly diluting the necessary policies, the Committee, due to the able chairmanship of Mr. Flemming and extreme patience of labor members, has succeeded in making a valuable contribution to the national defense and at the same time keep manpower policies and programs on a voluntary basis.

APPRENTICE TRAINING

Sound and continuous training of skilled workers has always been a major concern of the American Federation of Labor; for without expertly adept craftsmen our great American industrial machine could not operate.

From the beginning our craft unions have been aware that their continuance depended upon their being able to offer the services of men who knew their work thoroughly, and who were in adequate supply. Union labor, because of better training and therefore superior skill, has been able to demand higher wages; at the same time employers are aware that it is less expensive to employ qualified journeymen at high wages than "jack-legs" at cheap wages.

It became apparent during the 1930's that there was need for a program which would promote among employers and labor unions the need for training sufficient numbers of skilled workers, according to such standards that the thoroughness of the training would be assured, and the welfare of the apprentice safeguarded. Accordingly in 1937 the American Federation of Labor was greatly instrumental in the passage of Public Law 308, which provided for the establishment of what is now the Bureau of Apprenticeship in the U. S. Department of Labor. Indeed one of our own members, William Fitzgerald, was author of the Act. We have watched zealously as the Bureau of Apprenticeship in the last fifteen years has performed its work, setting up thousands of programs in which hundreds of thousands of apprentices were trained. The success of this work, and its value to the war time and peace time economy of this country, have been recognized and praised by all familiar with it.

This is one agency which conscientiously avoids trying to dictate to management and Labor. It has followed the policy that training is

a function of industry, as is the determination of such matters as wages, hours and working conditions; and it has limited its activities to consultation and services.

Despite the importance of the work done by the Bureau of Apprenticeship, it has never had enough field representatives to meet the demands from labor unions and employers for its services! And despite the fact that no government agency can show a better record of work accomplished at such small cost.

Since 1951 this agency has suffered serious decreases in its staff. The cuts responsible for these decreases, we learn, have been made not only by the Congressional Appropriation Committees, but also by the Budget Bureau. It appears that there is failure to understand the scope and significance of the work of the agency.

In view of the fact that the staff has already been spread so thin that the building trades are complaining, and in view of the fact that the defense program, assignments on the Korean G. I. Bill and the Selective Service Act have still further increased the workload of the field representatives of this agency, we feel that steps should be taken at once to provide an adequate staff to carry on its functions efficiently.

While we are in agreement that governmental costs should be cut, we feel that such cuts should be made on wasteful duplicating and unnecessary activities. It is foolish economy to cripple an agency which is being economically and efficiently operated, and which by its assistance to labor and management is helping to increase production; and therefore to increase the wealth of the country, and to elevate the standards of living of working people.

There has been noted a trend toward "quickie" training as a substitute for the proven method of apprenticeship. This is a shortsighted and dangerous practice and one whose menace to craft unions is obvious.

Our opinion in this matter should be emphatically made known to the Bureau of the Budget and to the appropriate committees in Congress, and we should insist that in order to provide necessary services to our unions, sufficient appropriations should be made available to make possible an adequate staff.

HOUSING

Ever since the passage of the comprehensive national housing legislation embodied in the Housing Act of 1949, a drive has been under way to destroy it. Organized labor and a great number of civic and other organizations dedicated to the cause of better housing in America have been struggling against heavy opposition to the objectives of the Housing Act of 1949. As the leading champion of this law, the American Federation of Labor has continued to be in the forefront of the fight to preserve the essentials of this necessary and forward-looking program. This has not been easy. The lobbies of home builders, real

estate interests, and mortgage bankers have increased their organized pressure against sound federal housing legislation and made effective use of the reactionary coalition in Congress to prevent the realization of this program. The opponents of the housing program have been careful to avoid the outright killing of any of the essential features of the housing program. Their strategy has been to strangle the housing activity by technical amendments and by cutting authorizations and appropriations to the minimum.

High volume of activity has been maintained in residential construction during the defense mobilization period. During the two years 1950-51 construction was started on almost 2,500,000 units, with 1,091,000 of these units started in 1951. In the first five months of 1952, more than 450,000 units were started, and all indications are that in 1952 residential construction will again exceed 1 million units.

Despite this relatively high level of housing construction, the nation is still faced with a serious housing shortage. The latest available detailed figures are for 1950 when the government took the regular decennial census. At that time of the total of 39 million non-farm units, more than 11 million were substandard as gauged by such measures as dilapidation, or the lack of essential sanitary facilities. Even more striking was the fact that 6,300,000 or more than half of these substandard units, were in urban areas.

The census revealed, in addition, an extremely low vacancy rate, a further indication of the housing shortage. In 1950, only 1.7 percent of all available dwelling units for year-round use which were not dilapidated were available for sale or rent. Even of these units, one-fifth were without private toilet or bath.

The comparatively high level of construction in the last few years has not substantially relieved this shortage. In 1948, the Joint Congressional Housing Committee of the 80th Congress estimated that there would be a need for building 1,500,000 units a year for at least 10 years in order to merit the nation's essential housing needs. Since 1948, housing starts have averaged about 1,100,000 a year. The number of houses built during the last few years was only slightly greater than needed to take care of new families. Very little of this new construction was available to replace substandard units.

Under these conditions, the housing needs of most other workers and their families were far from being met. Real estate speculation and an artificial shortage of mortgage funds has forced already high rents and sales prices still higher while the quality of new homes built has continued to deteriorate.

Although families should have to spend no more than 15 percent of their income for housing, and 20 percent should be the absolute maximum, the families who now have to buy or rent new dwelling accommoda-

tions usually must devote a far greater share of their income to meet their housing costs.

For a time, the difficulty experienced by moderate-income families in securing new housing within their means was intensified by government credit restrictions requiring large down payments even on moderate-priced houses. However, down payments required on houses below \$12,000 were reduced on September 1, 1951 and on June 11, 1952 they were reduced again. The 1952 amendments to the Defense Production Act require the government to remove all housing credit controls when the level of housing construction in any three-month period on an annual basis falls below 1,200,000 units. However, such a rate of construction is unlikely in the near future and controls on housing credit may therefore be expected to end by November. If such is the case, it is probable that builders will shift a greater proportion of their operations to the higher priced homes.

Defense Housing

In addition to the great shortage of adequate housing accumulated over many years, since the outbreak of the Korean war there has developed an urgent need for housing for workers who have taken jobs in areas of expanding defense activity. Little has been done to provide decent houses for these workers.

With the outbreak of the Korean conflict in the summer of 1950 marking the beginning of a large-scale defense mobilization, the A. F. of L. was quick to recognize the need to assure adequate housing and community facilities for workers in defense areas. Our Executive Council called for a special defense housing program as early as August 1950. Despite this call, Congress delayed for more than a year action to meet this critical need.

In September 1951 Congress finally passed a measure concerned with defense housing (Public Law 139). In this law the initiative, the leadership and the responsibility of the government for assuring housing to defense workers were surrendered outright to private interests. The enactment confined itself largely to special aids for private builders of housing for rent and for sale in defense areas. It added a provision for publicly aided moderate rental housing in such areas but made action possible only after an affirmative finding that private interests were unable to provide sufficient housing construction. The funds authorized for such public aid were extremely limited and appropriations for it have been even smaller.

Amendments to the Defense Housing Act which Congress considered in the spring of 1952 involved, in the main, extension of the 1951 law with no important changes. Appearing before the Congressional Committees considering these amendments, representatives of the American Federation of Labor pointed to the fact that the 1952 amendments again placed primary reliance on providing special aids for private

builders and warned that there was nothing in the record of private builders of housing in defense areas to sustain this hope. The A. F. of L. stated that the authorization in the 1952 amendments as originally introduced of an additional \$200 million for publicly financed moderate rental defense housing and \$100 million for community facilities was inadequate and should be substantially increased.

Disregarding these recommendations, the law which was finally enacted (Public Law 531), provided \$1.4 billion of additional guarantee for speculative builders but authorized only an additional \$50 million for publicly financed defense housing and \$40 million for community facilities and services.

Private builders have made an extremely poor showing in providing housing in defense areas despite the special incentives. Meanwhile, the publicly aided program has been badly crippled by the lack of funds.

By mid-July 1952, the Housing and Home Finance Agency had programmed 85,931 defense housing units for construction by private builders. Even if this number of units had been built, it would have failed by far to meet the actual need for housing in defense areas. This fact was confirmed when the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, testifying before a congressional committee in June 1952, stated that in addition to any units that might be built by private builders, there was immediate additional need for 67,000 to 72,000 units of moderate rental publicly-financed defense housing, and that construction of even that number of units did not represent the total needs in defense areas but only the most urgent top-priority needs.

In the face of the known facts regarding the need for adequate housing for workers in defense areas, only \$87.5 million has been appropriated for publicly-financed moderate rental housing. Hampered by lack of funds, the program has been restricted to the provision of a very limited number of makeshift temporary housing units or trailers. By mid-July 1952 only 7,483 units were completed and only 23,000 units started by private builders. These units involved rents or monthly housing costs in most areas ranging from \$75 a month and upwards, and in many cases over \$100 a month. Appropriations for publicly financed moderate rental defense housing have been so inadequate that the government has been trying to stretch them by providing trailers and other types of flimsy temporary housing. By mid-July only projects involving 5,581 such units had been started and projects involving 1,607 units completed. Available funds would permit construction of only about 20,000 additional units of a similar type.

The Defense Housing Act of 1951 also made a limited provision for federal aid to the construction of the necessary community facilities and services in defense areas. The estimated minimum need for 150 defense areas called for federal aid of \$170 million for such facilities by the end of June 1953. However, by July 1952 only \$100 million

had been authorized and a total of \$28.6 million had been appropriated.

The result of inadequate Congressional action is that workers in defense areas will continue to face a critical shortage of adequate housing within their means and of sufficient community facilities and services.

Public Housing

The Housing Act of 1949 which authorized annual construction for a six-year period of 135,000 units of publicly-aided low-rent housing for low-income families represented a notable victory for the American Federation of Labor. This victory was won only after many years of intensive effort by the A. F. of L. and its affiliates, supported by many other organizations interested in assuring good housing for all families.

No sooner was this law on the books than the real estate and home building interests organized to prevent in the local communities what they had been unable to block in federal legislation. They organized a campaign to obtain local referenda and state legislation to prevent the action by local governing bodies which was necessary to permit the construction of low-rent housing projects. Referenda were held in many cities throughout the country. Although in the great majority of cities the low-rent housing program is proceeding without effective opposition, by July 1952 real estate interests had succeeded in stopping public housing programs by forcing and winning referenda in 40 cities. Pro-housing forces won the referenda in 23 localities. In addition, the success of the opponents of the public housing program in a statewide referendum in California resulted in a requirement in that state that a referendum must be taken in each community before work can begin on a public housing program. Laws with similar requirements have also been enacted in Nebraska, South Dakota, Vermont and Virginia.

The public housing program has been held back not only by the machinations of real estate interests, but also by federal legislation limiting the size of the program. Although in 1949 Congress authorized annual construction of 135,000 units, in the Independent Offices Appropriation for 1951 which included funds for the Public Housing Administration, the program was limited to 50,000 starts for the year ending June 30, 1952. Even this limited program was won only after a no-holds-barred fight had been made by the opponents of public housing to limit the program to 5,000 units for the entire nation.

The fight was resumed in the second session of the 82nd Congress when an attempt was again made to hold the program down to 5,000 units for the year ending June 30, 1953 and each succeeding year. This time, the compromise figure was 35,000 units. However, the bill as enacted contained the additional proviso that the 35,000 units limitation was to extend to all subsequent years. This means that the Public Housing Administration may plan in advance for construction of no

more than 35,000 units in any one year, a limitation which will have a very disrupting effect on the entire public housing program.

Under the Housing Act of 1949, and by June 30, 1952, a total of 144,539 low-rent public housing units had been put under construction of which 35,374 had been completed. There was a backlog of units on projects programmed and ready for construction far exceeding the 35,000 units which Congress has authorized for construction during the next 12 months. This means that unless the present congressional limitation is lifted in the next Congress, many low-rent projects, which communities have counted on for housing low-rent families now living in slums, will be delayed indefinitely.

Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment

In addition to authorizing the low-rent public housing program, the Housing Act of 1949 also inaugurated a far-reaching program of slum clearance and urban redevelopment. The law provided for a five-year program of local slum clearance and urban redevelopment projects with federal financial assistance in the form of loans to communities of \$1 billion and capital grants of \$500 million.

By June 30, 1952 there were 247 localities participating in this program. Their projects had reached various stages ranging from preliminary planning to the actual beginning of slum clearance work. In five cities, site improvements, transfer of land to ultimate users, or both, had begun.

In many communities progress in the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program is being blocked by the difficulties which local officials are experiencing in relocating the occupants of the slum dwellings which are to be torn down. In most communities, it had been hoped that a large proportion of the families living in the slum sites could be moved into new low-rent public housing projects. With the cut-back in the public housing program, these accommodations have not become available and this has increased the difficulties local officials have had in obtaining adequate housing for the families to be moved off the slum sites.

A further complicating problem was the fact that in many cities a disproportionate number of families living on slum sites were negroes and members of other minority groups. In most cities, there are very few houses available for such families to which they are able to move. This lack of available housing for minority groups is holding up redevelopment programs in a number of localities.

In many communities, union members have taken an active interest in the planning of slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs.

It is very important for Labor to participate in the development of these programs in order to prevent them from being used to benefit only industrial and other wealthy interests while failing to improve

the conditions of the great majority of families. Labor should see to it that urban redevelopment programs are directed toward the objective of assuring better housing and neighborhood conditions for lower and middle income families.

Rent Control

The housing problems of workers have been intensified in the past year by rising rents. Rent increases have been particularly widespread in areas where federal rent controls have been removed. By June 30, 1952, rent controls covering almost 8 million units in 1,650 communities had been removed. During the year ending June 30, 1952, controls were removed from 342,000 units in 273 communities.

In addition to rent increases on decontrolled units, many units which remained under rent controls had rent increases. The 1951 amendments to the rent control law permitted landlords to obtain increases of 20 percent over the 1947 level. As a result of this legislative action, the Office of Rent Stabilization authorized rent increases for more than 2,200,000 units during the year ending June 30, 1952. These increases averaged \$6.42 a month, or about 13 percent.

The 1952 amendments to the rent control law threaten workers and their families with further increases in rents. In its final action, Congress dealt a more severe blow to rent controls than any of the other stabilization programs. None of the A. F. of L. recommendations was accepted. The amendments adopted made the following changes in the law:

1. Federal rent controls are ended on September 30, 1952, except in areas designated by the Secretary of Defense and Director of Defense Mobilization as "critical defense areas." In all other areas, rent controls can be continued beyond September 30 only if the community by resolution of its governing body, or in a public referendum, declares that a substantial housing shortage exists requiring the continuance of federal rent control in the area.

2. A public hearing must be held after 30 days' notice before rent controls can be reinstated in any area which has previously been decontrolled.

3. Rents in federally-owned housing occupied by Federal employees must be made comparable with rents in controlled units in the same or nearby areas. However, rent increases on this basis are specifically forbidden in housing owned by the Atomic Energy Commission.

The law removes rent controls in all areas except those designated by federal officials as "critical defense areas." Federal rent controls will end in all other communities on September 30, 1952 unless the community by action of its city council or in a referendum requests continuance of federal rent controls. This could mean the end of federal rent controls for over 6 million units in 2,300 localities, including all of the larger cities of the country which are still under federal rent control.

Programs for the Future

In the last two decades the American Federation of Labor has consistently maintained leadership in the drive toward the objective of a good home for every American family. Recently, we have been confronted with stronger and more insidious opposition on the part of organized special interests and reactionaries. In fact, had it not been for the broad public support of sound housing programs mobilized by the National Housing Conference with our active help, much of what we have accomplished over a period of years would have been destroyed.

Our housing activities were carried on during the past year by the A. F. of L. Housing Committee under the able chairmanship of Vice President Harry C. Bates. Other members of the committee include James A. Brownlow, Robert Byron, Richard J. Gray, and Adolph Held, with Boris Shishkin resuming his duties as the secretary of the committee. The committee has not only represented the American Federation of Labor in all legislative and administrative hearings, but has also kept our affiliates closely informed about major developments. The committee has received close and valuable cooperation from the Building and Construction Trades Department.

In looking ahead, we recognize the need for intensifying our activities for better housing and in bringing about closer and more active participation in this work by all of our affiliates. A standing Housing Committee should be established by every central labor union so as to strengthen Labor's service as well as leadership within each community.

The time has come for us to take stock of the housing situation, to review the existing programs, and to develop new ones. The quality of housing determines very largely the character and the living standard of each community. Although few communities can cope with their entire housing problem singlehanded, good housing is very largely a community problem inseparable from community planning and development of community facilities.

Housing is an essential part of the American standard of living as well as to employment stability. Labor's approach to housing calls for a fresh reexamination of the problem and for the development of new comprehensive programs. We urge that our Housing Committee be charged with the responsibility of undertaking a broad study of the country's future housing needs and the development of a new program to meet these needs by appropriate local, state, and national action.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

Advances in technology, in transportation and communications, in the organization of industry and of trade, have paced the march of progress of our American economy toward higher production. The powerful voluntary process of collective bargaining, combined with other dynamic forces of a full employment economy, has helped to translate

this higher production into a higher standard of living. Despite the drain of costly rearmament and because of the press of urgency of a nation mobilizing for defense, our country has taken during the past year another long forward stride in its ability to produce. Even more remarkably, this was accomplished without sacrificing the civilian standards of consumption.

The prime mover in this process was simple: our ability to put more and more horsepower at the disposal of every individual—to do his work, to work for him, to transport him, to serve him. The resulting changes upon our society have been far-reaching. Our agriculture produced more with fewer people. The central residential areas of our cities exploded into the suburbs, giving rise to new commercial and industrial development. Our families have become smaller. Our workers have become more and more dependent on wages earned in their employment as the sole source of their livelihood.

While our technology has moved forward at this rapid pace, programs to safeguard the security of our people have lagged behind. Much less than is necessary has been done to protect the welfare of the people against the economic hazards as we discovered and defined them in the last two decades. Nothing has been done to guard the people against the new hazards that lie ahead.

Our nation's Social Security System is far from adequate and far from complete. Its design is to give to every individual a measure of security against the great economic hazards of our time: (1) the hazard of old age and the hazard of death extinguishing the source of livelihood for the survivors; (2) the hazard of unemployment; and, (3) the hazard of sickness. We in the American Federation of Labor are dedicated to the principle that in our modern industrial society *social insurance* is the means of providing security against all these hazards. In the world in which we live the individual, as a rule, has neither the financial means nor the institutional arrangements to cope with these hazards alone. The cost of insurance against them must be borne by all of the productive society. And such necessary economic aid as the social insurance system cannot bring, must be provided in the form of *public assistance*.

Business prosperity prevailing during the past year has served to intensify the antagonism against even the most essential features of the national social security program on the part of the reactionary business interests and their political servants and, at the same time, has served to lull the public into apathy toward even the most urgent needs of the program. Progress has been made in some areas during the last twelve months. Yet, in reporting on our fight for better security against the main economic hazards during the year just ended, we emphasize not only the limited scope of the progress made, but also the importance of our success in the defense of the system against the inroads of reaction.

I. The Hazard of Old Age.

Inflation has hit hardest the retired persons for whom old age insurance or survivors' benefits constitute the main, and often the sole, source of livelihood. The loss of buying power of these social insurance benefits and the growing disparity between the money income of the active population and that of the persons dependent on social insurance benefits has imparted added urgency to a further revision of the Social Security Act to strengthen its provisions and especially to increase the benefit amount. At the beginning of the Second Session of the Eighty-Second Congress, the American Federation of Labor discussed a number of proposals for further improvements of the OASI program with key members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Many of these suggestions were embodied in a comprehensive bill, introduced in the Senate by Senator Lehman, but no committee action was secured on these proposals.

On May 12, 1952, Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee introduced H.R. 7800, which contained a more limited set of proposals to liberalize the old age and survivors provisions of the law. This Bill was reported out in a few days without hearings, and was brought up on the floor of the House on May 19 under suspension of the rules. The Bill contained a provision for the preservation of insurance rights of those unable to continue in employment because of permanent and total disability. Because this involved a determination of disability under the rules laid down by the Federal Security Administrator, the medical lobby immediately raised the outcry that this provision permitted "socialized medicine" to put its foot in the door. The American Medical Association lobby brought out its heaviest ammunition, with the result that the vote in favor of the Bill was only 150-140—short of the two-thirds vote necessary to pass the Bill under the suspended rules. The medical lobby was thus directly responsible for this initial failure of the Bill.

The Bill was brought up again with some amendments, and finally on June 17 was passed by the House by a vote of 361-22.

When received on the Senate side, H.R. 7800 was considered by the Senate Finance Committee, which also responded to the medical lobby and struck out completely the section dealing with the preservation of rights of the disabled. It also eliminated the provision which would have extended eligibility to OASI benefits to employees of state, county and municipal governments, where such employees chose to enter the system by a referendum vote. With those changes the Bill was reported out and approved by the Senate on June 26. The Section dealing with the rights of the disabled was reinstated in the Bill in the Conference Committee in a greatly diluted form. With this modification, the Bill became law on July 18, 1952. (Public Law 590, 82nd Congress, Second Session).

The first important change effected by the 1952 amendments was to increase the amount of insurance benefits. For retired workers whose benefits were computed by use of the conversion table and based on total earnings after 1936, the benefits are increased by \$5.00 or 12½ percent, whichever is larger. Thus where the maximum monthly benefit was \$68.50 under the old law, it was raised to \$77.10 under the 1952 law, or an increase of \$8.60. The maximum for a retired man and wife is increased from \$102.80 to \$115.70. These increases apply generally to old age insurance beneficiaries now on the rolls.

Where benefits for retired persons are calculated on the basis of total earnings after 1950, the benefits were increased as follows: the percentage in the formula applicable to the first \$100 is raised from 50 to 55 percent, while the remainder of the formula set at 15 percent of the next 200 was left unchanged. Under this formula the maximum monthly benefits for persons who have received an average monthly wage of \$300 or more are increased from \$80 under the old law to \$85 under the new law. In the case of a retired worker and wife, the benefits are raised from \$120 to \$127.50 under the 1952 law. This change will apply generally to persons who will retire in the future.

Benefits for wives, widows, children and other beneficiaries were increased proportionately subject to the limitation on the total benefits payable to a single family. Thus the 1952 amendments raised the largest possible amount payable to a family from \$150 to \$168.75. The minimum benefit payable to a retired person was raised from \$20 to \$25. These changes become effective beginning with the month of September 1952.

The compromise provision preserving the rights of the disabled as finally approved will not become effective until July 1, 1953. Under the law previously in effect, workers permanently and totally disabled are penalized in that their retirement and survivors benefits may be greatly reduced because their contributions have stopped and under certain conditions the individual or the survivor may be disqualified altogether. The provision of the 1952 law attempts to overcome this but is greatly weakened in many respects including the delegation to the state agencies the necessary administrative determinations under agreements with the Federal Security Administrator. The effect of the 1952 Amendment is to provide for a series of hearings on the disability problem early in 1953 with studies of the problem by the Congressional Committees on the questions of evidence of disability, and other related matters. It is hoped that the law can be greatly strengthened when the next Congress convenes. Otherwise disabled persons, whose qualifications are greatly limited, could file applications for a disability determination not sooner than July 1953. They could receive increased retirement benefits beginning with that month if they are in a position to establish a period of disability dating back to not earlier than the fourth quarter of 1941.

The 1952 amendments make servicemen in the active military or naval service from July 25, 1947, through December 31, 1953, eligible to old age and survivors insurance wage credits of \$160 a month. This in effect gives to servicemen the benefits extended to the men in the armed forces in World War II. The new credits will also apply to lump sum death payments where death occurs after August 1952.

Another 1952 amendment increases the retirement test from \$50 a month in the old law to \$75. In other words, a retired person is eligible to receive benefits if his cash earnings do not exceed \$75 a month instead of the \$50 limit previously in effect.

The 1952 amendments are estimated to increase benefits by about \$400 million for the calendar year 1953 and will be financed on a self-supporting basis from the existing funds.

The 1952 amendments fall far short of the mark set by the A. F. of L. Benefit increases are far too small to be of real help to retired persons hit hard by inflation. A further substantial liberalization in the benefit formula is essential. It is also necessary to increase the maximum wage base in order to bring benefits in line with the rise in the living costs which has taken place in recent years.

Workers who are without the protection of retirement benefits should be brought within the system. State, county and municipal employees, including teachers, should be made eligible to social security benefits wherever, by secret ballot referendum, they choose to take advantage of the old age and survivors benefits.

Most important of all is the urgent need to provide compensation for all those deprived of earnings prior to retirement because of permanent and total disability. We ask for a full extension of OASI benefits to cover this form of disability.

We must look upon the retirement problem realistically. Our population is growing older. In 1900 those over 65 numbered 3 million, or 4.1 percent of the population. In 1952, they numbered 13 million, or 8.4 percent of the population. In 1975 their number is estimated at 20.8 million, or 10.4 percent of the population. Advances in medical science have made possible not only greater longevity but also robust health for older people. Greater employment opportunities for older workers are essential to keep our society dynamic.

At the same time, it is also important to make proper provision to assure a subsistence minimum, which today is at least \$2,000 a year, to older people who have earned retirement through a lifetime of productive employment. In 1950 more than 30 percent of all families in which the head of the family was 65 or over had a family income of less than \$1,000 a year. Fifty-two percent of families with heads 65 and over had income of less than \$2,000 a year. Our failure to adjust social security standards to the economic realities of our life is a growing handicap to the progress of the whole nation. It is our foremost

task in the coming year to mobilize the forces of the American Federation of Labor in an effective drive to remove the economic hazard of old age with which our wage earners are confronted.

II..The Hazard of Unemployment.

Since March, 1951, unemployment in the United States has fluctuated between 2 million and 1.6 million. While this was, indeed a low level of unemployment for the country as a whole, the fact that, as recently as February, 1950, unemployment had reached a high of 4.7 million, was a constant reminder of the need to make effective provision against insecurity of employment in the future.

As we point out in the section dealing with defense manpower, despite the generally low level of unemployment in the country as a whole, in many areas workers were hard hit by unemployment, caused directly or indirectly by defense dislocations in a number of such areas. In midsummer of 1952, 51 labor market areas were in the labor surplus category, 22 of which were major industrial centers and 29 were smaller areas.

Concentration of unemployment in such areas and its persistence has created a serious special problem. In the localities where unemployment persisted, it was clear that both the benefit amounts and particularly the duration of benefits allowed under the state laws fell far short of meeting the minimum economic need of unemployed workers and their families. The American Federation of Labor proposed that this be remedied by emergency federal supplementation of unemployment benefits.

Companion bills on this subject were introduced by Senator Moody, S. 2504, and Representative Dingel, H.R. 6174. We felt, however, that these bills did not go far enough toward meeting the emergency problem. They were directed entirely toward the supplementation of the amount of benefits, making no provision for supplementing compensation beyond the low standards for the duration set by the states. We recommended that the duration of benefits be extended through supplementation to a total period of 39 weeks. A Bill introduced by Congressman Lane, H.R. 6437, met in part the purpose of extending duration of benefits sought by the A. F. of L. No action on any of the bills dealing with emergency unemployment was taken by Congress.

In the concluding session of the 82nd Congress, consideration was given by the Ways and Means Committee of the House to a limited set of proposals dealing with unemployment insurance. A bill, introduced by Congressman Forand, H.R. 3391, and supported by the American Federation of Labor, would have extended unemployment insurance coverage to employers of two or more employees.

Another bill, also sponsored by Congressman Forand, H.R. 6954, provided for federal re-insurance grants to strengthen the unemployment insurance systems in states whose funds have been depleted by adverse

economic conditions. The A. F. of L. also supported this proposal as both necessary and important to take care in advance of possible adverse developments in the future. The Forand Bill, however, was heavily opposed by reactionary employers and by the lobby of the State Employment Security Agencies.

These forces sponsored the Mills Bill, H.R. 4133, which labor regarded as unsatisfactory and dangerous. The Mills Bill provided for a system of loans from a "states' reserve account", to be extended to states whose reserve funds are seriously depleted. It also provided for the distribution to the states, without any federal controls, of the excess in the unemployment trust fund, in the form of outright grants, with the largest grants going to the largest states. In effect the Mills Bill proposed that the purse strings of the U. S. Treasury and control over federal funds be given out of hand to state administrators. Moreover, it provided for the allocation of such funds without specification of purpose or any specific limitation on the way in which they might be used.

We objected further to the plan to distribute federal funds to the states on a basis proportionate to the distribution of state taxable wages as unsound and unrealistic. Neither was the Mills plan sound in putting relief to state funds in the form of repayable loans, placing a burden of repayment at the time when the state funds could ill afford it. No action was taken on these proposals in the last Congress, but they are likely to be pressed again in the coming year.

In the year ahead the problem of benefit financing must be reconsidered so that the system will be equipped to meet the possible burden of extensive unemployment, and at the same time provide for higher standards of compensation. Both the amount of benefits and their duration must be substantially improved.

It is equally urgent that coverage be extended to include employers of one or more employees and to bring into the system workers now left out, such as workers employed on the farms. A concerted drive should also be made to reinforce the true purpose of unemployment insurance as a part of the social security system. The recent trend of subverting unemployment compensation to the control and interests of employers must be reversed.

Specific proposals should be formulated and advanced to provide against the hazard of temporary disability of wage earners by making the periods of such temporary disability specifically and adequately compensable under the unemployment insurance system.

Finally, it is vital that we help correct the destructive effects of irresponsible budget cuts made by the Congress, impairing efficient and informed administration of the program by the Bureau of Employment Security.

State Legislation on Unemployment Insurance

Organized employers continued their relentless attack on the unemployment insurance system throughout the past year. They made every effort to shift the emphasis in unemployment insurance from benefits to taxes. They also made a drive to fit both the disqualification and the benefit provisions of the state laws to the merit rating provisions by which employers' tax rates are reduced below the standard rate.

The character of the various proposals advanced by employers in various states differed considerably depending on the political and economic situation in each state, the character of the existing state law, the effective leadership of the state's unemployment insurance administration and the effectiveness with which labor voiced its views in the state. Virtually all the employer-sponsored amendments, however, were similar in that they were designed to remove unemployment insurance from the realm of true social security, and turn it into a system of self-insurance by employers.

The attacks were concentrated in the most populous states. To date all but two of the eight states most heavily populated (which include over 60 percent of the covered workers in the country) have adopted some of the provisions included in the employers' package of proposals. To illustrate the aims and the detailed provisions sought by the employers, against which labor must be on guard, we will briefly mention the developments of the past year in Massachusetts and New Jersey.

Massachusetts changed from a benefit-wage ratio system of experience-rating to a reserve-ratio system. This, according to a report of one employers' group, increases an employer's property interest in his past contributions. No change was made in benefits except to increase the minimum qualifying wages from \$150 to \$500. Those responsible for the program were put on the defensive by charges in newspapers and in speeches before employers' organizations that benefits were being paid to great numbers of claimants who were not in the labor force and qualified to receive them.

New Jersey's amendments centered around a change in charging benefits to employers' accounts. This involved a complete shift in the State's philosophy of unemployment insurance and in its administrative procedures. The old law charged a claimant's benefits to all his base-period employers in proportion to the wages that they paid him. This is an appropriate system in a pooled fund law in which all contributions are mingled and benefits are payable *from the fund* to any claimants eligible under the law, regardless of any balance in their employers' bookkeeping accounts. Charging benefits to employers' accounts was chiefly allocating the costs of a claimant worker's unemployment to the

employers who had given him employment and had thereby incurred liability for benefits.

The new law charges the employer from whom the worker is separated as the one responsible for the claimant's unemployment. After charges are made to that employer in proportion to the time he employed the claimant, other employers are charged in inverse chronological order. The more remote the employment from a spell of unemployment, the less is the probability of an employer being charged. The new law involves notices to all base-period employers of claims and determinations and notices to the chargeable employer of every check paid. It even provides for notice to the most recent chargeable employer in the base period of the name and address of the most recent employing unit so that the chargeable employer may obtain information on which to challenge the payment of benefits if the most recent employer has no immediate financial interest at stake. Benefits and disqualifications are adjusted to the charging formula. Duration is figured separately for each employer being charged. Each employer is notified when his account may be charged so that he may offer any available employment to claimants becoming liable for benefits which would be charged to his account.

We believe that in the coming year when 46 State Legislatures and the Federal Congress will be in regular session, the trade union movement must press for a clarification of the purposes of unemployment insurance and for raising the standards of adequacy of benefits, by Federal legislation and by State legislation. As a background for the task ahead, some of the more significant provisions of the present State laws are summarized below:

In 1952 only 12 State Legislatures which met in regular session considered amendments to their unemployment insurance laws. These States included four legislatures which meet only in even-numbered years and eight which meet every year. By the middle of July, the Louisiana Legislature which convened May 12 had taken no final action on any unemployment insurance bills. Seven of the other 11 States made significant amendments to their laws. In general the amendments continued the trends of 1951 when 46 State Legislatures were in session—i.e., increases in weekly benefit amounts and in maximum annual potential benefits to bring benefit levels closer to wage levels and to changes in the cost of living, and decreases in minimum contribution rates or in the requirements for specified rates resulting from employers' pressures for reduced rates.

As a result of all the amendments to date, maximum weekly benefits range from \$20 to \$30 without dependents, and \$20 to \$48 with maximum compensable dependents in the 11 States which provide allowances for dependents. The maximum basic benefits are distributed as follows:

Maximum basic weekly benefit	Number of States	Percent of covered workers in States
Total	51	100.0
\$20	7	8.8
22, 22.75, 24	9	9.0
25	18	24.4
26, 27, 27.50, 28	9	25.2
30	8	32.6

Since the average weekly wage in covered employment in April-June 1951 was \$64.73 in the United States and less than \$50 in only three States, there is great need of our urging higher weekly benefits so that workers with the average weekly wage can have benefits equal to at least half of their wages when working.

Maximum potential weeks of benefits are increasing also but in many States duration is far from adequate. Only 14 States provide uniform potential benefits for all eligible claimants. In the States with variable duration, 18 States provide less than 10 weeks of benefits for claimants who barely qualify for benefits. Seven States have benefit formulas under which only claimants who are eligible for maximum weekly benefits can draw the maximum 24, 25, or 26 weeks; in these States the *maximum* weeks of benefits for claimants with the minimum weekly benefit range from 8 to 15 weeks. The maximum potential weeks of benefits are distributed as follows:

Maximum weeks of benefits	Number of States		Percentage of covered workers in States
	Uniform potential duration	Variable duration	
Total	14	37	100.0
16, 18	3	3	5.2
20	5	12	17.3
22, 23, 24, 25	2	7	16.1
26, 26.5	4	15	61.4

As a result of changes in maximum weekly benefits and maximum weeks of benefits, maximum potential basic benefits in a benefit year vary from \$320 in Florida to \$795 in Wisconsin. In the 10 States with dependents' allowances maximum augmented benefits range from \$400 in the District of Columbia to \$1200 in Alaska and a comparable amount in Massachusetts, where an allowance is made for each de

pendent child under 18 up to the claimants' average weekly wage. Sixteen States including 16 percent of the covered workers in this country have maximum potential benefits of less than \$500 as shown in the table below:

Maximum potential benefits	Basic Benefits		With Dependents Allowances
	Number of States	Percentage of covered workers in States	Number of States
Total	51	100.0	51
\$300 - 399	5	4.7	5
400 - 499	11	11.7	10
500 - 599	12	17.7	9
600 - 699	11	18.1	11
700 - 799	12	47.8	10
800 and Over	—	—	6

As maximum potential benefits have increased so have the base-period wages required to qualify for the benefits. Twenty-two States now require base-period wages of more than \$2000 for maximum weekly benefit and maximum weeks of benefits, seven of these, \$2500 or more. Maryland requires wages in excess of \$3400 to draw maximum weekly benefits (\$25) and maximum allowances for dependents (\$8) for the maximum number of weeks (26).

In many of the 48 States where contribution rates are assigned in accordance with one or more rate schedules, recent amendments have lowered the minimum rates or the requirements for specified rates, and have added transfer provisions so that new employers may more quickly qualify for reduced rates by acquiring all or part of a business with such a rate.

As a result of all the amendments on rate schedules to date, the minimum rates which an employer may pay in the 48 States, where rates are assigned in accordance with one or more rate schedules as shown in table on page 125. In two other States without rate schedules, employers may have in effect a zero rate.

Some States have no solvency requirement, i.e., no requirement of a minimum fund balance before rates may be reduced or the standard rate may go into effect again. Other States have unrealistic dollar

Minimum rate	Number of States
0	11
0.1	8
0.2	5
0.25	6
0.3	6
0.35	1
0.5	4
0.9	4
1.0	2
1.3	1

requirements that have not been amended for years and have no relation to the present liability of the fund. These requirements need to be strengthened. At the other extreme are States with funds which would pay benefits for years without the collection of any contributions. Since benefits have not kept pace with wages, the benefit and eligibility provisions of these States should be examined and liberalized where appropriate. After the laws have been strengthened on the benefit side, employers' contributions can properly be decreased.

These are some of the phases of the problem which labor must meet head on when the Legislatures meet in the coming year.

III. The Hazard of Ill Health.

Dislocation of families and increased movement of workers around the country incidental to the defense activities, the relatively depressed financial status of retired workers, as well as others on fixed incomes, and their dependents, and greatly increased birthrate in recent years have been among the elements that contributed to the growing need for medical services in the United States. At the same time, the provision of such services in the form of increased and improved hospital facilities, the supply of trained medical personnel, including nurses, and the development of adequate local public health units have all been lagging far behind the rising need. By far the most important was the inability of a growing number of families to sustain with their own resources the financial burden of disabling sickness, as well as of preventive medical care.

One of the most urgent emergency measures we supported in the last Congress was a bill to provide for maternity and infant care and hospitalization benefits for dependents of enlisted personnel. A bill

introduced by Senator Lehman, S. 2337, was the subject of hearings, but died with the adjournment of the 82nd Congress.

In the meantime, the country needed and wanted more doctors and hospitals, more government aid to medical and nursing education, while it awaited the development and acceptance of a sound national health insurance plan. On December 29, 1951, President Truman appointed a President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, on which labor was represented by President A. J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists. The President asked the Commission "to study the facts and to present its recommendations for safeguarding and improving the health of the Nation". He called upon the Commission to look into such major health problems as "insuring an adequate supply of physicians, dentists, nurses, and allied personnel; developing local public health units throughout the nation; making more hospitals and hospital beds available where needed; stepping up the tempo of fundamental research; meeting the needs of the chronically ill and aged; and providing adequate diagnostic, rehabilitative, and other health services to all income groups."

Since its first meeting in January, the Commission has held more than 30 days of panel discussions and formal hearings. It has heard some 300 witnesses, including top medical experts, as well as laymen from all parts of the country. In August of this year the Commission started a series of regional hearings across the country to which all leading organizations in the area were invited to send representatives. The Commission's report and findings are to be made by the end of the year.

A private Commission on Financing of Hospital Care was formed in 1951 under the Chairmanship of the President of the University of North Carolina, Gordon Gray. We were represented on this Commission by Boris Shishkin, Acting Director of our Social Insurance Activities. Extensive studies of financing of hospital care and related medical costs are being conducted by this Commission.

According to the Health Resources Advisory Committee of the Office of Defense Mobilization, ill health is responsible for the loss of about 500 million man days of employment a year. To workers and their families this represents \$4.2 billion in lost wages. Figures gathered for World War II show that illness caused 35 times as many man days lost as did strikes, and 10 times as many as did industrial accidents.

The solution to the industrial health problem is a complex one. Timely attention to accident and sickness prevention calls for programs in which labor shares its responsibilities with management. Closer cooperation with governmental health agencies can do much for the protection and betterment of the health of workers and their services should be included in union programs. The Division of Occupational Health of the U. S. Public Health Service can give guidance and assist-

ance in planning and developing sound health programs. At the same time, we must always recognize that the industrial health problem cannot be separated from the welfare of the worker on the job. Responsibility for the health and safety of the industrial worker should therefore rest within the state and federal Departments of Labor.

While the country eagerly searched for solutions to its health problems and demanded long-delayed action, the American Medical Association continued unabated its propaganda against sound policies and necessary health programs.

As we approach the time for decision on how we should do the things which are indispensable to the health and welfare of the average American family, the need for labor's leadership and widely-organized support for a sound national health program is clearly of decisive importance. The Committee for the Nation's Health continued to render extremely valuable services during the past year, not only to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, but to the public generally. The American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have contributed substantially to the financial support of the Committee and it is hoped that this support will be continued generously in the coming year.

The health and strength of our citizens are the real test of our ability to translate the material gains of recent years into genuine welfare for our people. The task of helping the American wage earners and their families meet the hazard of ill health falls very largely upon the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and members. It is up to us to develop programs, policies and organization equal to that task.

IV. Public Assistance.

A vital part of the Social Security System is the extension of public assistance to those in need. In March, 1952, although the number of recipients of old age and survivors insurance rose to 4.5 million from 3.8 million a year before, 2.6 million aged persons were still dependent on old age assistance payments. Nearly 600,000 needy families were receiving aid for dependent children, with 1.5 children as beneficiaries. Under the program initiated in October, 1950, nearly 135,000 received aid for the permanently and totally disabled. Aid to the blind was extended to over 97,000 persons and 335,000 were in receipt of general assistance.

The aged, children and youth under 18, the blind and the permanently or totally disabled constitute 90 percent of all persons aided under the federal-state assistance programs. Old age assistance takes the largest share of public assistance funds, with the age of those receiving such assistance averaging 75. Payments to the needy aged take nearly two-thirds of the national expenditures per person for all public assistance programs. Home relief programs which the federal government does not support financially help less than one-half of one percent

of the country's population. About one-fifth of all persons 65 and over now receive old age assistance.

In examining these facts, we should recognize that the total public assistance bill of the country has remained extremely small. In 1950 and 1951 the proportion of all public assistance payments of the total national income was barely more than one percent. Actually today we are spending less for public welfare than we did a decade ago. The current per capita cost of all public assistance is about \$16 as compared with \$20 in 1940. Allowing for the decreased value of the dollar, we are actually spending per capita on public assistance less than half the amount we spent twelve years ago.

Disclosure of the public relief rolls under the notorious Jenner Amendment, which was enacted in the Fall of 1951 in a modified form, leaves the responsibility for disclosure to the several states. This discriminatory and dangerous legislation should be rescinded at the earliest opportunity in order to protect the needy old folks and other public assistance recipients who are in need through no fault of their own from the humiliation of such disclosure.

Welfare needs of the nation have been intensified in the last generation. Lack of adequate housing and sound community planning is one of the most important contributory causes to family instability and multiplying welfare needs. Labor should stand watchful guard to make sure that the essential public assistance programs are adequate, that they are soundly administered so that the welfare of those in need is properly safeguarded.

TAXATION

The exact amount of total federal expenditures for fiscal 1953 cannot be determined at this time because of numerous last minute changes approved by Congress prior to adjournment early in July. However, total expenditure of from \$80 to \$85 billion with a deficit in income of from \$8 to \$10 billion for the year are anticipated.

As in the past several years, the bulk of these federal expenditures will be spent for military services, supplies, equipment, foreign aid, interest and veterans' services all directly chargeable to defense activities.

It seems apparent that the possibility of curtailing federal expenditures in non-defense areas is not as great as some advocates of economy would have us believe. Federal expenditures for all programs except national security, veterans benefits, and interest on the national debt were about 91 percent higher in fiscal year 1952 than they were in fiscal year 1940.

In comparison, the index of wholesale commodity prices is nearly 110 percent higher, and the consumer's price index about 90 percent higher. These figures would seem to show that government programs

directed toward servicing general needs have been held down despite necessary expansion of services to take care of an increasing population.*

It is obvious that while every effort should be made to effect all possible economies in expenditures, we cannot look forward to substantial cuts in spending until the defense emergency program is curtailed.

On the revenue side, it should be pointed out that in spite of the ill-advised tax reduction measures adopted by Congress, there has been a net budget surplus of \$8 billion for the five post-war years 1947 through 1951. Undoubtedly, the adoption of a more effective tax program during the war years as well as the years that followed, would have contributed materially to increasing this surplus and to checking the inflationary forces which developed with the removal of controls following World War II.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly pointed out that the several tax reduction measures approved by Congress between 1945 and 1950 were excessive in amount and inequitable in their impact. Retention of the "war emergency" excise taxes and high personal income tax rates on those in the low income brackets have resulted in unwarranted cuts in basic living standards of millions of Americans. On the other hand, the enlargement of old and creation of new tax loopholes have resulted in the loss of at least \$5.5 billion dollars yearly from groups of taxpayers who enjoy special privileges under existing tax laws.

Early in 1951, President Truman recommended a tax program to yield a minimum of \$10 billion in additional revenue. Congress enacted a bill that added approximately one-half the tax revenue requested; at the same time, it included a number of provisions which resulted in loss of revenue and greater inequity in the tax system.

This year, the President recommended that Congress, as a minimum, provide revenues in the amount by which the 1951 legislation fell short of meeting his requests. Mr. Truman's message confirmed the American Federation of Labor's position that this additional revenue could be secured through eliminating loopholes and special privileges. Congress took no action on this recommendation; it failed to adopt a measure that would have eliminated serious inequities and checked inflation by reducing the Federal deficit by \$5 billion yearly.

The leaders of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress which opposed adequate taxation during the war were most urgent in their demands for tax reduction in the post-war years and consistently supported more and bigger tax privileges for special groups. It is ironic to note these same Congressmen and Senators are criticizing the government for the inflationary conditions they themselves were so largely

*Report to the President, Jan. 1952. Annual Economic Review, Council of Economic Advisers.

responsible for creating and now, in the defense emergency, are alternately demanding that government expenditures be reduced, the budget be balanced, and that taxes be slashed.

Government expenditures should be reduced as our international commitments and the needs of the defense program permit. As expenditures are reduced, every effort should be made to achieve a budgetary surplus, particularly during any continuing periods of high prosperity and employment. If and when tax reductions are made, they should be carefully considered in terms of their impact on the economy. Indiscriminate and ill-considered tax reduction during the twenties was a contributory factor to the depression of the thirties just as reductions between the close of World War II and 1950 have been a major contributory factor to current inflation.

Any further changes in federal tax programs should take into account the fact that a combination of ever increasing costs and need for services is making the financing of state and local governmental services more difficult. Excessive dependence of states and local governments on various forms of regressive taxes combine with federal excise taxes to constitute a significant inflationary factor at the present time. Continued major dependence on regressive taxes will find many states and localities unable to provide needed services at a time when Federal spending declines. Sales taxes and various form of excise taxes at the local, state, and federal level now provide close to \$16 billion in revenue yearly. Of this total, federal excise taxes account for close to \$10 billion. Because of the fact that these taxes in many cases appear with a considerable mark-up in the final pricing of goods, consumers actually are paying considerably more than the amount collected by the government in taxes.

If and when cuts are made in federal taxes, therefore, highest priority should be given to reductions in excise taxes. Next in priority should come recognition of the fact that the present \$600 exemption is inadequate for low income taxpayers. Certainly the need for a tax rebate or tax credit to take into account the injustice of taxing a worker at the 75 cent minimum hourly wage at an income tax rate in excess of 20 percent on a considerable portion of his income should be apparent. Not only equity but the future health of the economy demand that excise taxes at the federal level and excessive taxation of low bracket incomes should be eliminated as soon as possible.

Current Problems

In spite of the high level of federal expenditures and the many inflationary factors which continue to exist, the representatives of certain business and taxpayers organizations continue to agitate for immediate reductions in personal and corporate income tax rates. This agitation is evident in moves to impose overall limits on income tax

rates, in efforts to adopt arbitrary budget limitations, and in campaigns to increase and extend regressive tax measures at the local and state levels as well as at the federal level.

The overall tax load is high; an abnormally large percentage of the national income is being devoted to the support of government services. However, real national income is increasing year by year; investment in capital plant is continuing at high levels; personal savings in 1951 were in excess of \$18 billion, more than double the average amount of personal savings for the five years 1945-50. Taking all these facts into account it cannot be said that the taxes for fiscal 1952 operated to restrict economic development unduly, taking into account that tremendous strides were made in speeding up defense production.

It should be pointed out, however, that while the overall operation of the tax program may not be unduly restrictive, certain aspects of it may be undesirable. There is no doubt, for example, that taxpayers on pensions and those on low fixed income have had their living standards considerably lowered by a combination of high prices and high taxes. The ever increasing tendency of states and local governments to throw a disproportionate share of the burden of governmental support on low income taxpayers increases the serious nature of the problem.

Future tax adjustments should take these problems into account as well as recognize the fact that the existing tax structure favors certain groups of taxpayers unduly. Unless we have more effective laws governing capital gains, estates and gifts, partnerships and over-liberal depletion allowances, concentration of economic power will be intensified. The approval of the split income provision by Congress eliminated elements of equity that continued to inhere in our dependency allowance exemptions. It also established different categories of taxpayers to which the income tax rate schedule applied with varying impact favoring wealthier couples in the income brackets above \$5000 yearly.

These problems as well as the necessity for rationalizing the relationship between local, state and federal revenue system deserve the continued attention of labor representatives.

Constitutional Amendment On Taxation

For several years, there have been active forces at work attempting to induce a sufficient number of the States to approve an indirect plan to add a twenty-second amendment to the U. S. Constitution. These groups are led by a former official of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, with headquarters in Chicago.

The principal purpose of the supporters of a twenty-second amendment is to repeal the present Sixteenth Amendment which provides that the Federal Government may levy taxes on incomes derived from whatever source. No limitation is specified. Advocates of repeal want a 25 percent limitation placed on the amount of taxes which may be collected.

President Green has called attention of all State Federations of Labor to this campaign. The effect has been that there has been a considerable slowing down of the campaign. In some states where the legislatures have approved the proposed amendment, resolutions of rescission have been adopted and in some others where no action had been taken, approval resolutions have been voted down.

The hopes of those who want a twenty-second amendment are that a constitutional convention can be called on the strength of what they accomplished in the states and that the Congress then will be maneuvered into submitting the proposed amendment in direct and formal manner for final ratification. There is the likelihood that the courts eventually may have to decide the validity of rescission resolutions inasmuch as the amendment's supporters claim such resolutions have no validity once the states have acted affirmatively.

The number of states which have endorsed the "millionaires amendment" has remained unchanged from the time of our 1951 report on this subject, despite the strenuous campaign in a number of states to induce the legislatures to approve the proposal. Seven states have rescinded their approval action and in two others, the governors have vetoed the resolutions. So, the tide of battle ebbs and flows. Although the repeal campaign has been actively or inactively waged since 1938, it was not until the American Federation of Labor stepped in aggressively that the repealers were held to no further gains. Today, the actual total of ratifying states is still considerably fewer than twenty, though the campaign at one time was well within striking distance of the prescribed number of states to cause a constitutional convention to be called.

Since the A. F. of L. took a vigorous stand on the "millionaires amendment," two Committees of the Congress, acting in unison, have issued a report on Constitutional Limitation on Federal Income, Estate and Gift Tax Rates," dealing with this important issue. They are the Joint Committee on the Economic Report and the Select Committee on Small Business.

This report puts the public on notice that the Amendment can only create the need for a national sales tax to assume the burden shifted from the backs of those who now bear the more than 25 percent tax. Further, federal tax revenues would be cut more than 16 billions or more than 30 percent of present income and estate and gift taxes sources and that taxation would be conducted without regard to tax paying abilities.

A. F. of L. Tax Committee Activities

The A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation met to consider convention recommendations and formulate its program following the 1951 San Francisco Convention.

During the year, a pamphlet *The Great Tax Fraud* describing developments in federal tax policy and emphasizing the need for a more pro-public tax policy was published by the American Federation of Labor. Several articles on taxation by Chairman Woll were also published by the *Federationist*. A series of Taxagrams—short articles on current tax issues—initiated early in 1952—is now a weekly feature of the *A. F. of L. News Reporter*.

A number of inquiries from state federations and city central bodies on federal, state and local tax problems were referred to the committee for attention. Two short studies on the legal status and resources of charitable trusts and foundations, and the tax status of pension income were prepared under direction of the committee. Conferences with officers of affiliates were also held to discuss specific tax problems.

Local central bodies and state federations are urged to become more active in promoting constructive tax programs at the local and state levels. Such programs are urgently needed because of the fact that local and state tax systems are inadequate in providing sufficient revenue for necessary services in many parts of the country. In addition, with few exceptions they are too largely dependent on regressive taxes which throw a disproportionately large share of the tax burden on low income group taxpayers.

EDUCATION

Federal Aid for Education

Pursuant to the provisions of Resolution No. 96 adopted at the 1951 Convention, we continued our activities to obtain for the common school systems of the Nation, a division of the federal revenues to be derived from offshore oil and gas reserves to be developed.

We worked closely with our unions and with those Senators who sponsored the Hill amendment to S.J.Res. 20. This amendment would have guaranteed from moneys flowing into the federal treasury from the sale of submerged oil deposits, a fair division to be used for the benefit of the school children of America.

Starting only a few short months previously with the names of but eight Senators, the Hill amendment drew the support of the Senate Floor of 36 Senators when the amendment was called for a vote. This was a remarkable awakening from the grass-roots on an issue which meant so much to the educational system.

Our unions, including the American Federation of Teachers, the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, and others, also worked untiringly for the success of the Hill amendment which finally was defeated, 36-47. This vote constituted a hard core of votes which seemed to assure upholding of a prospective veto of the Quit-Claim

Bill, which also carried the Holland amendment after the Hill amendment had been disposed of.

A vote of this size, to use the words of Senator Hill, "enables us to fight another day for the educational system." Thus, the issue was not buried with the defeat of the Hill amendment, but will be revived at every opportunity on subsequent legislation.

Significantly, the Hill amendment was defeated not on a direct vote, but on a vote to table the amendment, so that the merits of the amendment are yet to be determined.

The Senate followed the example of the House and passed S. J. Res. 20, but the President vetoed the measure. Several dates were set for an attempt to override the veto but neither House took such action.

We reaffirm our support of four major projects to be developed under the federal aid to education program:

1. Federal Aid for Public School Teachers' salaries.
2. Federal Aid for Public School Construction

We regret that no legislation for a permanent building program was adopted by this Congress, but we are pleased that the Congress did in the closing hours put a provision into the Supplemental Supply Bill through which it made essential funds available for schools and school buildings in the war-impacted areas.

The program of the American Federation of Labor in the field of education is a matter of public record. We pioneered in the effort to provide every American child with an education adequate to equip him to meet the responsibility of good citizenship and to assure him equal opportunity for advancement in his personal life. Our first fight was to take children out of factories and to seek state laws for compulsory school attendance. Our goal since that early victory is the continual improvement of the public schools so that the youth of this country, regardless of their economic status, their color or creed, will have adequate and ample opportunities for educational growth and development.

There were again introduced in this session of Congress a number of bills relating to some form of Federal aid to education. Hearings were held, however, only on those bills pertaining to Federal financial assistance to the States and Territories in the construction of public elementary and secondary schools.

The American Federation of Labor testified before the House Education and Labor Committee in support of the principle of this legislation but opposed the bills (H.R. 1727 and H.R. 7105) in their present form because they failed to contain the prevailing wage requirements of the Davis-Bacon Act. The Committee postponed indefinitely any further action on this legislation.

The American Federation of Labor will have re-introduced in the next session of Congress appropriate legislation to meet this problem.

3. Federal Aid for Services for All Children

The development of the School Lunch Program, extension and improvements in services for children through the Social Security Law, mark sound developments in a program for our children. We regret that as yet no bill has passed affording health examination and services for all children; in legislation to help provide especially for the mentally and physically underprivileged.

In addition the failure of the states to enforce the compulsory school attendance laws creates many problems. Actually the majority of the states cannot under present conditions enforce compulsory school attendance laws.

State funds should be expressly supplemented by federal funds from the Children's Bureau to assure adequate implementation of compulsory school attendance laws.

4. Eradication of Illiteracy

We note that several bills have been introduced in Congress to help the states eradicate adult illiteracy. We hope that action on this subject may be had in the next Congress.

The Adult Education programs proposed should work in cooperation with state educational authorities and such organizations as the Workers Education Bureau of the A. F. of L., and others certified by the U. S. Office of Education, so that in eradicating letter illiteracy, "social illiteracy" would also be dealt with.

Attacks on Public Education

There have been many attacks on public education during the past few years. The attacks have taken four forms: attacks on the cost of education; attacks on the methods of teaching; attacks on curriculum and textbook content; attacks on the integrity and fitness of teachers.

These attacks must be met by the American Federation of Labor, the traditional friend of the American public school, by helping correct the faults that do exist, and by exposing the sham and reasons behind the sham, where the schools are unjustifiably attacked.

The false attacks on the cost of education are already bringing dire results. American cities actually spent less, in dollars, per school child last year, than in preceding years, even though the purchasing power of the dollar had sunk and there had been a rise of the nation's income of \$55 per person, according to a recent nation-wide survey of the Office of Education. The reduction of dollars spent for public education by American cities is so great that it means that we spent \$6 less per school child than in former years when each of the greater number of dollars spent was actually worth considerably more.

We recommended that our state federations and local central bodies be warned of attacks on school financing through efforts to have business "contribute" to public school financing in any way except through an

equitable system of taxation. We reaffirm our position that the adequate financing of our nation's schools is primarily a *state* responsibility. The local community should pay as adequately as it can through local taxes for its schools; the state aid program should help equalize educational opportunities for all persons within the state. We further reaffirm our support of federal aid for education to assure equitable distribution of educational opportunities among the states, to be administered under the proper and adequate safeguards to which we are committed.

Vocational Education

For many years the American Federation of Labor has tried to effect a closer working arrangement between labor and the schools under the Federal Vocational Program.

At no recent time has there been the close functional cooperation between Labor and those administering the vocational programs as we have enjoyed between Labor and the apprenticeship program. From the very beginning of the apprenticeship program there has been an assumption, reflected in the development of the program itself, that Labor has a very real contribution to make in and through the program.

The lack of a closer working relationship in the vocational program is in part due to the rigidity of the public school organization, but more fundamentally due to the contemptuous disregard in which Labor and vocational training are held all too often by school administrators and teachers.

We have often called attention to the fact that pupils with low I.Q.'s are told to take vocational work; those with high I.Q.'s are advised not to. In many cities, vocational schools themselves do not have the same scholastic standing as do the purely academic schools. Pupils in vocational schools are often not allowed to participate in inter-scholastic contests with those from academy schools. Particularly significant is the fact that teachers in vocational schools are far more generally required to have college degrees than they are required to have trade experience. Actually, in most places if two persons apply for public school work in the field of vocational education, and one of them has a college degree and no practical experience in the trade he will teach, and the other has no college degree but has learned his trade well but on the job, it is the one who has the college degree with no experience in the trade who will be given preference.

There is no doubt about it: there is a caste system in our educational structure which places the manually adapted pupil and adult below the others.

In addition to the serious consequences which such practices have on the sound social conception of the community, they also have a very detrimental effect on the training of the individual child and on his having a healthy, happy orientation in the community.

In certain areas, particularly in the distributive education work, schools have a direct relationship with plant and store managers, but very little if any with the labor unions in this field.

At this time, when more and more the real experts and authorities in American education, and indeed in education throughout the world, recognize the absolute necessity of developing manual skills and the necessity of adapting school programs to have them meet the needs of a changing social order, and to have them secure and maintain the interest of the pupil who is in school because he has to be there, it is imperative that the entire vocational program conducted jointly by the Federal Government, the states, and local communities, be critically reevaluated.

The original Smith-Hughes Act, which was written in part under the direction of Samuel Gompers in 1916, served the purpose of establishing a vocational program. Since then, the program has grown rather than developed. Just talking about the problem will do nothing to help us understand the issues involved and try to meet them. Neither will the repeated enunciation of statements of policy, as we have done from year to year, accomplish our purpose. We were making some headway by working closely through the A. F. of L. Committee on Education in cooperation with late Mr. Rakestraw. His untimely death has robbed us of a good friend and has deprived the nation of the services of a great educator and an excellent public servant.

We recommend that now the following steps be taken:

1. That we ask the Division of Vocational Education in the Office of Education to call a conference at which representatives of Labor, industry, the schools, and experts in academic training in the field of vocational education be invited so that a frank and full discussion of the present status of the law as it is actually administered may be held.
2. That we recommend to state federations and to city central bodies that steps be taken by them to have schools require practical working experience of not less than three years of any person employed to teach a vocational subject.
3. That we advise our state federations and city central bodies to arrange in cooperation with other civic bodies for a city-wide or state-wide conference to evaluate the present status of mental and achievement tests and the role they play in shaping general school policy, as well as the adjustment of the individual child.
4. That steps be taken to present to community civic bodies the importance of recognizing the social contribution made by all workers whether manual or non-manual, and the need for developing a respect for all who contribute to the social good through their work.

We are happy to report that a very significant step has been taken

to recognize the importance of vocational education as equal to college education in the value of its contribution to the national safety. Due largely to the effective work of the American Federation of Labor, apprentices in essential industries are now to be granted deferment, as well as students in academic fields.

We are also pleased to report that the new GI Bill (for Korean veterans) will protect our members from the extortions and dishonest practices to which they were previously subjected under the old bill, and will at the same time give them the opportunity to use their GI educational grant for training for a non-academic job, as well as for academic study.

Workers Education Bureau

The Workers Education Bureau serves the A. F. of L. as a clearing house of information and a coordinating agency in the field of labor education and related activities. Its activities include planning nationwide and state-wide programs, local classes and study groups, lecture courses, forums, advice on setting up scholarship award programs, developing public relations programs, assistance in securing the inclusion of courses on labor in the public school curriculum, gaining the cooperation of public libraries, furnishing speakers, aiding on radio and television programs, and advising on and distributing labor films. In addition it responds increasingly to requests for information, advice, and materials which come from colleges and universities, public school administrators and teachers, government agencies, libraries, and other community organizations.

The Bureau has during the year held two conferences of education directors of national and international unions and state federations of labor. At the Fall Conference, held in Washington on November 1 and 2, 1951, the main subjects of discussion were international relations, political action, problems in a defense economy, all considered from the viewpoint of helping union members to gain an understanding of and information on them; the relationship of Labor and the public schools, including the scholarship programs conducted by labor groups; and the present and future program of the Bureau. The Spring Conference, held April 24 and 25, 1952, also in Washington, concerned itself with methods and techniques of teaching economics to labor groups, the conducting of state federation scholarship contests, the correlation of state federation and international union educational programs, political action, and a discussion of international workers' education activities by the education officer of the I.C.F.T.U.

There has been considerable increase in the number of labor institutes sponsored by national and international unions, state federations, city central bodies, in the planning and conduct of which the Bureau and many universities cooperate. Best known among these are the institutes

and schools sponsored for years by such state federations as New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, Montana, and Kentucky. Many state federations which have not undertaken such activities in the past are now initiating such programs. The outstanding example of this is the Southern American Federation of Labor School to be held this fall at Lakeland, Florida, under the sponsorship of the fourteen southern state federations. The subjects to be discussed are problems of establishing educational programs in state federations and city central bodies; functions of state federations and city central bodies; history of the labor movement; and economic and social problems of the South. Arrangements are in the hands of a committee consisting of the presidents and secretaries of the fourteen state federations, with the Southern Director of Organization for the A.F.L. and the Director of the Bureau, serving as consultants.

More and more emphasis is being placed upon leadership training by the education departments of our national and international unions. To mention a few: the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union maintains a year-round Training Institute; the International Association of Machinists and the United Automobile Workers—A.F.L.—handle such training in regional institutes.

During the past year our affiliated unions have made considerable progress in the use of movies and filmstrips, and it is encouraging to note that they are entering into the field of film production at an accelerated rate. For instance, the following films have been produced recently by A.F.L. unions: "A Bounty Unpurchasable" (International Typographical Union); "50th Convention of the ILGWU"; "It's Up to You" (Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union); "That All Men Are Created Equal" (United Automobile Workers—AFL); and "Without Fear" (a kinescope of a television show presented by the California Machinists Non-partisan Political League). In addition, the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, the United Automobile Workers—AFL—and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have other films in process of production.

To service this growing interest in the use of audio-visual materials, the Bureau maintains a film library which includes not only films produced by American Federation of Labor unions but also those produced by governmental and other agencies on such topics as discrimination, world affairs, foreign trade, the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, labor-management relations, social security, health and welfare, and political action. In addition to furnishing films and filmstrips for showing by A.F.L. organizations, the Bureau also aids them in purchasing projectors, screens, recorders, etc., at substantial discounts.

The Workers Education Bureau News Letter, published monthly, surveys current workers education projects among American Federation of Labor affiliates and universities. It also reviews and annotates new

films, books, and pamphlets. A completely revised and enlarged edition of the Bureau's bibliography *Labor's Library* will be published this fall. During the past year the annual supplement *Labor and Education in 1951* was published, as well as the 15th printing of its parliamentary procedure manual *How to Run a Union Meeting* and the sixth printing of its *Shop Steward's Manual*.

In line with the Federation's expanding program of encouraging the growth of free trade union movement throughout the world, the Bureau continues its cooperation with the educational activities of the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations. Considerable time has been spent in assisting Mutual Security Agency, the State Department, the Department of Labor, and other governmental agencies in their programs of international exchange of workers and information. The Bureau is cooperating with the State Department in the production of a series of filmstrips to be used by workers organizations abroad, particularly in Asia, to show workers the advantages of free democratic trade unions and how they can help workers to solve their economic problems. The Director of the Bureau represented the American Federation of Labor at the first International Seminar on Workers Education sponsored by UNESCO, held in France during the summer, to which more than sixty countries sent representatives.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

The Department of Organization through its national director, regional directors and general organizers in cooperation with representatives of our national and international unions, central labor unions and state federations of labor, has actively engaged in organizational work throughout the United States, the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii and in Canada.

Reports from our staff organizers are most gratifying and indicate that in spite of the antagonistic attitude of many employers toward labor organizations and the flood of adverse publicity the wage earners are subjected to, there is a great deal of interest being manifested by the American wage earner for membership in the American Federation of Labor.

In accordance with the action taken at the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Director of Organization has held a number of organizing conferences both with the staff organizers and representatives of the central labor unions and state federations of labor for the purpose of co-ordinating campaigns in the various localities. Conferences were held at the time of state federations of labor conventions with the officers and delegates as well as with the state conferences of various trades groups who were in meeting at the time of the state federations of labor conventions. In line with

this convention action, the Director of Organization also attended and conferred with executive board meetings and special conferences of several international unions for the purpose of developing organizational work.

Due to the complexities of labor-management relations today, caused by the Taft-Hartley and restrictive legislation in a number of states, an ever increasing amount of time is required of our general organizers to service* and protect our existing organizations.

The general organizers have established 35 new federal labor unions and 10 central labor unions as well as having assisted many of our national and international unions in their organizing activities.

The Department of Organization through the general organizing staff has accomplished a great deal of public relations work in furnishing speakers to various organizations, both of local and national character. Through the Department of Organization and the general organizing staff, it has been necessary to resist the raids of dual organizations not only against our federal labor unions but many of our national and international local unions as well. In practically all incidents we were successful in repelling these raids, and when the National Labor Relations Board elections were held our American Federation of Labor Unions remained the bargaining agents.

Northeastern and Atlantic Coast States

In the Northeastern and Atlantic Coast States we have a concentration of federal labor unions and national and international local unions which have required the services of our staff organizers both in organizational work and service to them in negotiations as well as protecting our interests from the raiding activities of dual organizations. A number of new federal labor unions were established in this area and the membership of existing local unions was built up.

Southeastern and Southwestern states

In the Southeastern and Southwestern States a great deal of organizing activities have taken place principally at the atomic energy plants and in the aluminum industry. We have had great success in these activities. We have also assisted our various national and international unions in cooperation with their general representatives in not only establishing new local unions but in building up the membership of already existing locals. Along this line was the organizing of strawberry and vegetable farmers in Louisiana for the National Agricultural Workers Union.

*Note: The term "service" is defined to mean preparation and negotiation of contracts, settlement of grievances, processing petitions for approval of wage increases, etc., for submission to the Wage Stabilization Board and subsequent conferences with W.S.B. members when and if required, representing same local unions in N.L.R.B. matters, arbitration cases, etc., in addition to the many related matters which may affect an individual member as well as the entire membership.

Western and Northwestern States

In the Western and Northwestern States organizing work has been carried on in all lines of industry, particularly in the interest of our national and international unions, as well as in the aluminum industry. The programs which were established are in progress, through Metal Trades Councils, and in most instances considerable success is being made by this means of organization.

Middle West and Great Lakes States

Our general organizing program in this area, where ordnance plants are being reactivated and atomic energy plants are being established, has been most successful. In the ordnance field through Metal Trades Council campaigns, which embraced our affiliated organizations, we successfully claimed the bargaining rights through National Labor Relations Board Elections, likewise we were chosen bargaining agents through a Metal Trades Council in a recently established atomic energy plant in Fernald, Ohio.

Organizational work in this area has been progressing most satisfactorily in the establishing of new local unions and in the increase of membership of already existing local unions in all lines of industry and transportation.

Canada

Organizational gains through new local unions and established local unions of our international unions are indicated through reports of members of our general organizing staff, in Canada.

Newfoundland

Our reports indicate that in spite of a determined effort on the part of dual organizations we were able to establish new local unions for several international unions. The American Federation of Labor is becoming stronger in this Province and it will be necessary for us to continue our progressive organizational work there.

Hawaii

As this report is written the Territory of Hawaii is again suffering economic losses because of the West Coast maritime strike. This strike, by stopping the normal flow of food and supplies into Hawaii and the shipping-out of raw sugar and pineapple, is causing local industry to tighten-up and retrench.

Shortages are beginning to show up in some building and construction supplies for non-military projects and this situation, unless relieved soon, will cause some unemployment in the Building Trades.

The tourist industry is greatly affected by the shipping tie-up. This situation has adverse psychological effect upon our organizing work and employers use it as propaganda with their employees and with the

assistance of the local reactionary press, several NLRB elections have been lost.

Several times during the past year we have been called upon to protect several of our local unions from raids by the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, (Ind.), and to date we have been successful in protecting our organizations from these raids.

Through the efforts of the Metal Trades Council of Honolulu, wage rates for unclassified civilian employees of the Armed Services employed in Hawaii, have received two wage adjustments. The first adjustment gave the skilled workers eleven cents per hour effective February 1952. The Metal Trades Council appealed this increase as insufficient and unrealistic and an additional adjustment of eight cents per hour was gained and became effective in June 1952. The Helper and Laborer grades did not fare as well as the skilled men and they received only three cents per hour increase. The success of the Metal Trade's fight to increase the pay of these employees has added great impetus to organizing activities among these workers. Many new members have already joined their local unions and two new local unions were organized.

Four new local unions affiliated with international unions were organized in the past year; Pearl Harbor Naval Yard Machinists, Local No. 1998, Navy Yard Riggers, Local No. 742, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, Local No. 22 and the United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Local No. 257.

Successful organizing campaigns have been conducted among airlines, electrical and industrial workers by the local unions having jurisdiction, and many new members were gained and agreements negotiated. With the stepped-up activities in the building and construction industry in Hawaii and the Pacific Islands areas, building trades unions have been increasingly active and substantial membership gains have been made. Organizing activities have been extended to the outside islands of the Hawaiian group and is showing some success and efforts are continuing in this field.

Rent control in Honolulu is by a City County ordinance enacted in 1941, and recently the Landlord's Association proposed to the Board of Supervisors that all controls be abolished. However, through the combined efforts of representatives of the Central Labor Council, Metal Trades Council and American Federation of Labor organizers we were successful in having the Board of Supervisors continue rent control for another year.

The American Federation of Labor organizers continue to render assistance to local unions in their organizing efforts and in interpreting Wage Stabilization Board rules and regulations, and rendering assistance to local unions and the councils in agreement negotiations with employers, and organizing work. Organizing campaigns are continuing in several unorganized industries and with the conclusion of the West

Coast shipping tie-up these campaigns will be accelerated and many new workers will be added to the steadily growing American Federation of Labor membership in the Hawaiian Islands.

Alaska

In the past two years collective bargaining in Alaska has changed from agreements covering the entire Territory. This is particularly true in the building trades and to a limited extent among the Culinary Workers local unions. The basic agreements covering culinary workers on construction projects is covered by a master agreement on an Alaska-wide basis.

The Building Trades Unions and the Culinary Workers gained 20 cents per hour on an across the board basis in their 1952 agreement with the Alaska Chapter of the Associated General Contractors. This set the pattern for all construction wages, particularly among those building contractors not members of Associated General Contractors.

The membership of most all organizations in the Territory in their 1952 negotiations received a substantial increase in their wages.

Our general activities in the Territory calls for the repelling of raids by dual organizations against our various unions. We also rendered assistance to the Territorial Federation of Labor as well as the several central labor unions. Frequently we are called upon by the representatives of various unions for advice and information concerning procedure to be followed under the Taft-Hartley Act and the wage stabilization program. This requires considerable research keeping up-to-date on the policies and regulations of various government agencies.

The opportunity for new organizational work is not too great at the present time. However, it is most important that we continue to furnish our services to our local unions in the Territory of Alaska as we have been doing, as there are strong indications of new industries being developed in the Alaskan Territory.

Organizing Situation in Puerto Rico

The Executive Council in the past year has given considerable attention to our organizing situation in Puerto Rico. Due to the unsatisfactory progress of organization there, President Green, at the suggestion of the Council sent two representatives of the American Federation of Labor to Puerto Rico to make an investigation and report back to him.

These reports indicated that our chartered central organization in Puerto Rico, known as the Free Federation of Workingmen and which organization has the same status as a State Federation of Labor, was not in the slightest degree representative of the American Federation of Labor. The investigation showed that the Free Federation of Work-

ingmen had a membership of about 12,000 persons of whom exactly 173 held membership cards in A. F. of L. unions as follows:

Retail Clerks, Local 1314.....	80 members
Upholsterers Local 423.....	40 members
Cigarmakers Local 460.....	9 members
Carpenters Local 1967.....	34 members
Federal Labor Union 17983.....	10 members

Our report showed that there are approximately 21,000 A. F. of L. members in Puerto Rico who are not affiliated to the Free Federation of Workingmen. Our report further showed that Federal Labor Union 17983 was a union in name only; that it had no dealings with employers and was maintained merely for the purpose of providing A. F. of L. membership cards to 10 persons who maintained no employer-employee relationship based on normal trade union activity.

President Green has, on the basis of these reports and on the advice of the Executive Council, revoked the charter of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico and also the charter of Federal Labor Union 17983. This action of President Green is, of course, subject to the regular appeal procedure provided in Section 6 of Article VI of the A. F. of L. Constitution.

In the meantime, the Executive Council has recommended that President Green take whatever steps are necessary to safeguard the interests of the American Federation of Labor in Puerto Rico.

Conclusion

The following table presents the average membership of Federal Labor Unions from 1942 through the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952:

1942	241,677
1943	259,344
1944	297,852
1945	264,862
1946	208,256
1947	244,513
1948	239,865
1949	201,019
1950	188,231
1951	209,940
195210 months.....	199,182

Although this table would indicate a decline in average yearly membership of federal labor unions, it is not necessarily true so that it reflects a decline in the membership of the American Federation of Labor. As in past years, several new international unions were established, which drew their membership from the federal labor union field

and a number of federal labor unions were transferred to various international unions under whose jurisdiction they came.

There is much organizational work yet to be done in all areas, particularly in those localities where new industry is being established. It is urged that all of our affiliated organizations continue to extend their cooperation to the general organizing program of the American Federation of Labor so that we can have continued success in extending the benefits and protection of trade unionism to the unorganized wage earners of America.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1951

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	
Agricultural Workers Union, National	4,250.00						4,250.00
Air Line Dispatchers Association	2,000.00						2,000.00
Air Line Pilots Association	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	
Automobile Workers of America, International Union United	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	155,373.00	590,702.93					746,075.93
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeyman	183,500.00	63,558.00					247,058.00
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	20,025.00						20,025.00
Boiler Makers, Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of			99,201.00			715.70	240,616.70
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	140,700.00						140,700.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	57,375.00						57,375.00
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America	742,551.47				362,327.50		1,104,878.97
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United		3,400.00					3,400.00
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	116,400.00				359,088.66		475,488.66
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International							
Building Service Employees International Union	650,124.00	44,874.78	222.00		25.00		695,245.78
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	462,000.00				7,550.00		469,550.00
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	2,240,136.99			2,913,975.00	14,550.00	93,787.65	5,262,449.64
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID	
Chemical Workers Union, International						10,650.00	10,650.00
Cigarmakers' International Union of America						7,560.00	7,560.00

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1951

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of	5,000.00	14,587.50					19,587.50
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	87,000.00	16,045.60				21,442.75	124,488.35
Clerks' International Association, Retail	814,828.33						814,828.33
Coopers' International Union of North America	217,908.03	257,757.43	126,318.31	137,218.58	4,144.06	7,707.11	751,053.52
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	9,150.00						9,150.00
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union	7,550.00		439.35			6,993.52	14,982.90
Draftsmen's Union, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of	281,500.00					1,306,552.65	1,588,052.65
Elevator Constructors, International Union of Engineers, International Union of Operating Engravers Union, International Metal	NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID		
Engravers Union of North America, International Photo	1,662,487.50			2,488,131.80			4,150,619.30
Fire Fighters, International Association of Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID		
Flight Engineers, International Association of Garment Workers of America, United	254,310.00						254,310.00
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies' Association of the United States and Canada	6,000.00	4,500.00			5,600.00		16,100.00
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	286,374.00	84,565.88	145,441.53	194,834.50	1,181.51	1,966.80	714,364.22
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID		
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	72,275.00						72,275.00
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID		
Government Employees, American Federation of	36,900.00						36,900.00
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	903,442.02	48,769,587.72	493,640.00	3,847,991.45		12,276,999.91	26,291,661.10
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International	41,500.00						41,500.00
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United	11,500.00			28,165.00			39,665.00
	27,300.00						27,300.00
	3,300.00						3,300.00
	NO	INTER NATIONAL	L	BENE FITS	PAID		
	22,000.00					2,250.00	24,250.00
	28,241.27	569,823.59	1,008.00	48,004.62	18,375.00		665,452.48

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1951

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	600,500.00			5,319.25			605,819.25
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1,200.00						1,200.00
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of	14,025.00					72,344.00	86,369.00
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union	551,825.00					527,563.97	1,079,388.97
Insurance Agents International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	33,000.00	152,882.21			2,630.09	30,167.16	218,679.46
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	57,099.19						57,099.19
Laundry Workers' International Union	31,966.50	151,003.33			167.14	163.15	183,300.12
Letter Carriers, National Association of	251,481.74	233,449.20		6,620.00		261,164.83	752,715.77
Longshoremen's Association, International	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Machinists, International Association of	350,393.17			36,241.75		282,923.78	669,558.70
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	490,133.34						490,133.34
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of	5,600.00						5,600.00
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	No	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of							
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	265,200.00		63,000.00			130,000.00	458,200.00
Metal Workers International Association, Sheet	120,400.00					17,420.00	137,820.00
Millers, American Federation of Grain	14,426.31	5,134.30				6,659.82	26,220.43
Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International	405,341.40	114,594.25	17,527.20				537,462.85
Musicians, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Office Employees International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	552,382.49				47,525.00	24,625.00	624,532.49

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1951

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unem- ployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscel- laneous	Total
Paper Makers, Interna- tional Brotherhood of	68,866.90			4,500.00		27,987.65	101,354.55
Pattern Makers League of North America	17,434.40	22,875.00	21,429.00			2,862.44	64,600.84
Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	132,825.00				950.00		133,775.00
Plumbing and Pipe Fit- ting Industry of the United States and Canada, United As- sociation of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	653,200.00	5,325.00				14,230.00	672,755.00
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Postal Supervisors, The National Association of	72,590.00	7,479.28					80,069.28
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate	396,308.74	59,087.26	12,105.00	1,234,655.00		1,616.59	1,703,772.59
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International						43,351.40	43,351.40
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Radio and Television Directors Guild	1,613,680.26	98,173.95		42,055.00	2,000.00	346,053.06	2,101,962.27
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	20,000.00				185,672.64		205,672.64
Railway Mail Association	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Railway Patrolmen's International Union	79,220.00						79,220.00
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	193,362.59	100,233.00	61,064.29			31,490.76	386,150.64
Seafarers International Union of North America	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Siderographers, International Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of							

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1951

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONA L	BENE FITS		PAID	
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	NO	INTER	NATIONA L	BENE FITS		PAID	
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	167,864.30						167,864.30
Stove Mounters' International Union	9,175.00						9,175.00
Switchmen's Union of North America	19,560.00						19,560.00
Teachers, American Federation of	207,825.00				3,400.00		211,225.00
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	NO	INTER	NATIONA L	BENE FITS		PAID	
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad				1,679,688.92		122,934.50	1,802,623.42
Telegraphers' Union, The Commercial	234,201.09					84,150.73	318,351.82
Textile Workers of America, United	39,975.92						39,975.92
Tobacco Workers International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONA L	BENE FITS		PAID	
Typographical Union International	8,275.00			1,200.00		57,620.00	67,095.00
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	776,141.81			7,707,811.24		2,708,940.41	11,192,893.46
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United							
Weavers Protective Association, American Wire	26,362.25						26,362.25
Yardmasters of America, Railroad							
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers	6,600.00					61,429.11	61,429.11
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	1,336,098.93		13,397.01	2,100.00	44,665.50	1,553,034.79	2,949,296.23
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	3,233,807.78	3,100,756.77			154,179.78	2,171,035.47	8,659,779.80
Order of Railway Conductors of America	696,133.10				2,000.00	1,652,998.80	2,351,131.90
Total	23,307,483.82	14,470,396.98	1,054,792.72	20,378,512.11	1,216,031.88	23,969,393.51	84,396,611.02

* Includes Old Age Benefits.

* Includes Employer Contributed Funds.

* Employer Contributed Funds.

* Includes benefits paid by local unions.

* Paid by local unions.

Recapitulation: Death Benefits.....\$23,307,483.82
 Sick Benefits.....14,470,396.98
 Unemployment Benefits.....1,054,792.72
 Old Age Benefits.....20,378,512.11
 Disability Benefits.....1,216,031.88
 Miscellaneous Benefits.....23,969,393.51

Total.....\$84,396,611.02

WOMEN WORKERS

There can be no question but that women are permanently an integral part of the labor force, working because they must have income to support themselves and their dependents. They constitute about 30 percent of the total labor force (May 1952), with 17,596,000 in industries and 1,219,000 in agriculture.

There has been a decline of about 10 percent in the number employed in private households. Between April 1951 and April 1952 the number employed as wage and salary workers in private industries has increased 5 percent while those employed in the government increased 6 percent.

Plans for defense and defense production have made additional employment opportunities for women who need these opportunities for their own and their dependents support. Diversion of men to the military services makes entrance into jobs previously barred to women open to such as can get the necessary required training. In such emergencies, training rarely provides for full craft training but trains for special operations. But even this much enables women to get into occupations previously completely barred. This and previous experience indicate that the road to equal industrial opportunities begins with assuring equal access to craft and industrial training. To do equal work with equal efficiency necessitates equal training, understanding and ability to maintain volume of high quality production.

The discipline of daily work under specific conditions where standards must be maintained is good for both women and men workers providing opportunities for creative development.

We recommend the following program for the coming year:

1. That every national and international union within whose jurisdiction women workers are employed initiate a special organization program to turn these women workers into good trade unionists
2. That the AFL Director of Organization assist this movement by promoting common undertakings and pooling experience.

The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor provides excellent data and other information on the problems of women who work. This material would be most useful to such an organization drive. It is high time for unions to realize the importance of organizing all women workers as an integral and essential part of the labor movement.

It is also important that women workers realize their responsibilities as members of the labor force and assume the duties of keeping step with industrial progress. Even if it should happen that some women workers ceased to be income earners, they would still be better off

living in a world where workers are better off as a result of universal sharing in progress.

Women workers who marry and become responsible for family welfare will purchase supplies with understanding of workers' problems and problems of workers' progress.

April, 1952 figures from the Women's Bureau indicate that women wage earners have major opportunities for employment:

<i>Major occupation group</i>	<i>Number of Employed Women</i>
Clerical & kindred workers	5,284,000
Operatives & kindred workers	3,496,000
Service workers, except private household	2,134,000
Professional, technical, & kindred workers	2,026,000
Private household workers	1,748,000
Sales workers	1,416,000
Managers, officials & proprietors, except farm	978,000
Farm laborers & foremen	614,000
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	244,000
Farmers & farm managers	166,000
Laborers, except farm & mine	128,000
	<hr/>
	18,234,000

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

Fair Labor Standards Act

It is now almost three years since the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act establishing a 75 cents minimum wage went into effect. Even at that time, the American Federation of Labor took the position that a 75 cents minimum wage was inadequate and urged that the minimum wage be established at no less than \$1.00 an hour.

Since January 1950, when the 75 cents minimum took effect, prices have risen rapidly in the general inflation which followed the outbreak of the Korean War. This inflation has worked a particular hardship on low-wage workers because prices of food and housing, by far the most important items in the budgets of low-income families, have risen even more rapidly than other prices. Since January 1950, there has been a general price increase of about 13 percent, but the increase in the cost of living of low-income families has been at least 15 percent. In view of greatly weakened restraints upon inflation and continuing inflationary pressures, we must revise upward our minimum wage goal.

While no major legislative or administrative issues have arisen under the Fair Labor Standards Act during the past year, a number of issues considered at hearings last year are still unresolved. One of these relates to the so-called "area of production" under which more

than a million workers in industries processing food and agricultural commodities are exempt protection under the wage and hour provisions of the Act either outright or partially, on a seasonal basis, from its overtime provisions. At hearings held in the spring of 1951, American Federation of Labor representatives urged that the administrative regulations defining the "area of production" be revised to reduce the present exemptions and extend the protections of the Act to additional low-paid workers in these industries. No decision has been rendered on this question or on requests made by employers in 1950-51 for administrative exemptions of groups of employees in other industries.

The American Federation of Labor and several of its affiliates in the past year have made representations to the Labor Department to eliminate the sub-minimum wages which have been permitted to be paid to workers in a few industries under the provisions of Section 14 of the FLSA. Section 14 of the Act permits payment of sub-minimum wages to learners, apprentices and messengers "to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment . . .".

We have urged that employers of these categories of workers should not be permitted to pay less than the statutory minimum wage of 75 cents an hour. Our position has been supported by the experience of the past year. During the year ending June 30, 1952, the number of applications filed by employers for permission to pay learners sub-minimum wages and the number of learners employed at sub-minimum wages has been reduced by about half. It is thus clear that the overwhelming majority of employers do pay at least the statutory minimum wage of 75 cents an hour. The few employers who are still paying sub-minimum wages would undoubtedly be able to pay at least the minimum wage if they were required to do so. It is therefore to be hoped that the Administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions will take steps to abolish the special privileges enjoyed by some few employers who are permitted to pay their beginning employees less than 75 cents an hour.

In addition to the employers who are legally permitted to pay some workers less than the minimum wage, there are other employers who illegally evade the requirements of the Act by failing to meet the minimum labor standards required by the FLSA. Because of limited funds, the Department of Labor is able to track down only a small percentage of the actual violations. During the 9 months from July 1951 through March 1952, 29,659 investigations were completed under the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts. Violations of the minimum wage, overtime, and child labor provisions of either or both Acts, and the safety and health provisions of the Public Contracts Act were disclosed in 17,302, or 58 percent of the investigations completed during this period. Overtime violations surpassed all others during this period—12,615 establishments were found in violation of overtime provisions.

There can be no doubt that there is widespread evasion of the Act by employers. It is therefore essential that the Department of Labor be given additional funds to permit effective and equitable enforcement of the minimum standards required by the statute.

Labor Standards on Government Contracts

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act authorizes the Secretary of Labor to make determinations with respect to prevailing minimum wage in various industries and to establish minimum standards of health and safety. The Act was intended to permit the government to take positive and meaningful action in support of minimum labor standards.

During the past year, the major attack against labor standards has been directed against the Walsh-Healey Act. Reactionary employers have waged an all-out fight to secure complete repeal of the Act or to emasculate it so thoroughly that its beneficial effects will be completely nullified.

This attack on the Walsh-Healey law reached its height when the 1952 amendments to the Defense Production Act were being considered in Congress. A rider was introduced by Senator Fulbright which would have modified the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act in the following major respects: (1) It would have required the Secretary to make separate wage determinations for each industry in each city or town; and (2) It would have exempt from coverage under the Act all government purchases of materials and machinery sold in the open market regardless of the method of procurement used by the government.

The A. F. of L. strongly fought the adoption of the Fulbright proposals. Our spokesmen pointed out that the effect of the proposed changes in the law would be to force the Secretary to make minimum wage determinations at the level paid by fly-by-night firms in the localities where the lowest wages are paid and also to exempt completely from coverage under the law at least 50 percent of the workers now covered. The A. F. of L. therefore urged that the proposed amendments should be rejected.

In the end these amendments were not adopted. The only significant change made in the law would permit employers to appeal to the courts the determinations and regulations issued by the Secretary of Labor. Under this amendment, many employers will no doubt seek to escape compliance with the legal standards through litigation. It is also to be expected that reactionary forces will take up with new vigor the fight against the law itself. It is important therefore that labor be vigilant to resist any attempts to remove or weaken the essential protections assured by the Walsh-Healey Act.

Even before the Fulbright proposal, efforts were made to weaken the Act by exempting certain groups of workers from its protections

by administrative action. Employers in the canning industry succeeded in securing a complete exemption of their employees from the requirements of the Act. Despite strong representations made by the A. F. of L. and our affiliates, in September 1951 the Secretary of Labor at the request of the Secretary of the Army issued an order exempting from the overtime provisions of the Act hundreds of thousands of low-paid cannery workers. This action was protested by the 1951 convention of the A. F. of L., and efforts were made to have the exemption withdrawn. On July 1, 1952 the exemption was extended for 45 days while the Secretary studied the entire question to determine whether the exemption would be continued beyond that time. The A. F. of L. strongly urged the Secretary to withdraw this exemption so that full protection under the Act would be restored to the cannery workers. On July 17, the Secretary announced that the exemption will not be extended after August 15, 1952.

During the past year, the Department of Labor has issued determinations in a number of industries as to the prevailing wages that firms performing government contracts of \$10,000 or more are required to pay. In addition, hearings have been held for a number of other industries for which determinations have not yet been issued. From July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952, the Secretary of Labor issued eight determinations as to the prevailing minimum wage in four industrial groups. These determinations ranged from 85 cents in the toilet preparations and cosmetics branch of the drug industry to \$1.20 in the explosives branch of the small arms ammunition and related products industry. In addition, hearings were held with determinations still pending in 6 industries, including paper and pulp, tobacco, woollens and worsted, metal business equipment, drugs, and photographic and blue-printing equipment and supplies industry. American Federation of Labor unions concerned with these determinations were represented at most of these hearings, and assisted by the headquarters staff.

Because of limited funds, the Department of Labor has been greatly handicapped in carrying out its duties under the law and the number of hearings held and determinations issued has been very small. The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act is of great importance to organized labor, especially at the time when government contracts are on a large scale. Although minimum rates determined by the Secretary are usually below those provided for in union contracts, they are, nevertheless, above the rates which are paid in the low-wage sweatshop firms. These determinations, therefore, have the effect of eliminating substandard wages paid in non-union firms with the worst wages and working conditions. It is, therefore, to be hoped that additional funds will be made available to the Department of Labor that this program will be extended as rapidly as possible to industries where firms employing workers under substandard conditions are still permitted to obtain government contracts.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Expansion of the public relations program of the American Federation of Labor was carried forward during the past year with encouraging results.

There is no letup in the pressure campaigns being conducted against organized labor and its progressive objectives by hostile organizations. In self-defense and in furtherance of its goals, the trade union movement must continue to battle for the good will of the public. It must fight against great odds, in that big business exerts a virtual monopoly over the media through which news and opinion are communicated to the public.

Yet, even against these great handicaps, by patient and unremitting presentation of factual information and sincere argument, the American Federation of Labor has succeeded in gaining steadily increasing recognition of its great contribution to the American way of life and wider acceptance of its point of view on national and international issues. Today the American Federation of Labor is regarded by the great majority of American people as a force for good in the economic, social and political life of our nation.

A summary of the Federation's public relations activities during the past year follows:

AFL News-Reporter

In conformity with the decision of the last convention to integrate the educational activities of Labor's League for Political Education with the permanent information program of the American Federation of Labor, the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service and the League Reporter were merged into a new weekly publication, the *AFL-News-Reporter*, which made its debut on Dec. 5, 1951.

This 8-page tabloid has already set a new high standard of excellence for labor publications. It provides readers not only with labor news and views, but also thorough coverage of political developments and a weekly review of national and international affairs. Its format is striking, attractive and, at the same time, dignified.

Without fanfare or promotion, the *AFL News-Reporter* picked up more than 25,000 paid subscribers in its first 6 months and has been sent free of charge to about 80,000 officers of local unions. The Executive Council recommends that this portion of the free list be discontinued after Jan. 1 and that those wishing to receive the paper be required to pay the regular subscription rate of \$1.25 a year, or \$1 a year on orders for groups of 50 or more.

Labor Press

The *AFL News-Reporter* has served a double purpose. It gives the Federation a hard-hitting weekly newspaper for general circula-

tion and at the same time serves the bona fide labor press with an expanded news and photo service to replace the old clip sheet. An increased number of mats and a greater volume and velocity of news and feature material is now provided free of charge to the labor press through the *AFL News-Reporter*.

It should be emphasized that the *AFL News-Reporter* is not intended to compete with bona fide labor publications. Its circulation field is primarily among those workers and general readers who do not get any other weekly labor publication or who wish to supplement their present sources of information.

The Executive Council reiterates its long-standing pledge of full cooperation to the loyal, bona fide labor press. Every means of extending assistance to the labor press in improving its service to the nation's workers will continue to be supported by the American Federation of Labor.

Radio News Program

The American Federation of Labor's radio news program, with Frank Edwards as commentator, gained in listening audience and in prestige during the year—at a time when most radio programs suffered considerable losses in listeners, due to television competition.

This program, broadcast over the Mutual network 5 nights a week, continued to serve as the main channel of communications between the A. F. of L. and its members and the public generally. While there is no way of measuring the extent of its influence on public opinion, this radio program remains the most direct and effective way of transmitting the news and views of the A. F. of L. to the people of this country.

It should be noted that many public officials and outstanding members of Congress participated in the program by broadcasting brief messages on major issues. In almost every instance, they reported a tremendous response from listeners.

The Executive Council, therefore, recommends the continuation of an A. F. of L. radio news program during the coming year. It is also recommended that the officers of the Federation be directed to explore the possibilities of initiating a popular weekly program on television, which is rapidly becoming the top medium.

Free Time Radio

Again, the major radio networks accorded free time as a public service to the American Federation of Labor for the continuation of three separate series of broadcasts. Also, time was made available for the broadcasting of special events and programs.

On NBC, the "America United" round-table program was discontinued and its replacement "Viewpoint, USA" was cut from 30 minutes to 15 minutes. It should be pointed out that this change was due to

pressure from the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce, whose representatives have adopted a firm policy of refusing to participate in forum-type programs where their opinions can be challenged. They insisted on an "interview" program, where their views can be presented unilaterally. This attitude betrays the weakness of the "big business" position. It means they prefer not to debate the issues. The representatives of the American Federation of Labor will continue to fight for resumption of the forum format.

On ABC, the American Federation of Labor continued to present the weekly "As We See It" programs, airing the news and views of labor from coast to coast. This has become the most valuable free-time program carried on by the A. F. of L.

On CBS, representatives of the American Federation of Labor participated in discussions of national problems in a series of about 30 weekly half-hour programs called "Cross-Section—USA".

As usual, Mutual made free time available for speeches and special events on request, in line with a standing agreement.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The American Federationist, the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, has performed its traditional functions in furtherance of enlightened and effective trade unionism during the past year. Numerous articles have drawn attention to the basic principles of the American Federation of Labor and have dealt in an interesting and educational way with the undeviating, aggressive efforts of the A. F. of L. to advance the cause of liberty and to combat and frustrate the oppressive program of totalitarianism.

During the year the official magazine has presented a wealth of material on the progressive activities of the American Federation of Labor, affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor bodies and local unions. Articles concerned with these activities as well as with other aspects of trade unionism have been written by the elected officers of the A. F. of L. and various affiliated units of the Federation as well as by other highly regarded and authoritative figures.

The world labor scene has been given considerable attention during the past twelve months. Our representatives in Europe and Asia have contributed valuable articles. In addition, *The American Federationist* has been privileged to publish illuminating articles written by the officers of democratic labor movements abroad which are resisting Communism. The Executive Council feels that the magazine has rendered a most worthwhile service to the members of the American Federation of Labor in securing and publishing articles of real substance on the

important labor aspects of the struggle being carried on in other countries between the forces of freedom and the forces of slavery.

The American Federationist during the past year has served as one of the chief goodwill ambassadors of the American Federation of Labor. The official magazine has made new friends for the cause of Labor by presenting the truth about democratic trade unions, their purposes, their activities and their accomplishments on behalf of our country and our people. *The American Federationist* is read in the United States and around the world. It has come to be generally regarded as a reliable source of authoritative information regarding the American Federation of Labor and its policies.

The Executive Council is grateful to all the officers of international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies who have contributed to the pages of *The American Federationist* during the past year. The Council is also deeply appreciative of the fine cooperation which has been extended by officers, representatives and others toward increasing the circulation of the magazine, and it is hoped that efforts to win a wider audience for *The American Federationist* will be broadened and intensified.

RESEARCH REPORT

This publication, prepared by the Research Staff of the American Federation of Labor, is designed to help keep union officials and organizers advised as to the actions and decisions of executive and judicial branches of the government in the administration of legislation affecting trade unions, trends and developments in the field of collective bargaining, and general economic trends.

During the past year, summaries of NLRB and court decisions of interest to organized labor generally were published regularly in this bulletin. Since the inauguration of the defense and economic stabilization program, a considerable amount of space has been devoted to the reporting of developments under the Defense Production Act, including orders, regulations and other actions taken by the various defense agencies. The major decisions and actions of the Wage Stabilization Board have been given primary attention in the reporting of these developments.

The response to the Research Report indicates that union officials have found it to be of considerable practical value, and that there is a continuing need for its services.

NOTICIARIO OBRERO NORTEAMERICANO (North American Labor News)

The Spanish-language newspaper, published semi-monthly by the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, has continued to grow in influence and circulation through Latin America.

Through the medium of the NOTICIARIO, the American Federation of Labor aids and supports the free trade union activities of the workers in Latin America. It has continued its outspoken and firm opposition to those who would suppress the legitimate work of the trade unions and their leaders.

In addition, through the NOTICIARIO, the trade unionists of Latin America learn of the day-to-day activities of the work of the American Federation of Labor. Since its inception, it has been one of the greatest mediums of promoting understanding among the workers of the western hemisphere.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1952

Partisan politics moved in and took command of the National Legislative scene early in the Second Session of the Eighty-second Congress. The lawmakers were busy making the record for the 1952 general elections. There were more than the usual number of Presidential candidates from the Senate. In the House, as is usual every two years, every member who planned to stand for reelection, kept an eye on each prospective opponent in his district.

During the First and Second Sessions of the Congress, more than 14,000 bills and resolutions were introduced in both houses. Of these, more than 500 have become law. A large number of the 12,000 measures had a relationship to Labor's interests, directly or indirectly. Our National Legislative Committee presented testimony on many bills before committees during the two sessions and followed through in detail on bills before and after being reported by committees.

A rash of anti-labor proposals set in a few weeks before adjournment of the Congress, and hearings were held on a number of bills brought about as result of several national strikes. Such hearings took place in the House Armed Services, House Education and Labor, Senate Labor and Public Welfare and Senate Banking and Currency Committees. Despite the steady stream of such bills, we succeeded in presenting comprehensive analyses of the legislation in instances where it was deemed appropriate to appear.

The final over-all upshot was that both houses adopted the Byrd proposal to call upon the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley Act in the steel strike.

On the credit side of the ledger, the American Federation of Labor succeeded in warding off numbers of attacks on long-standing labor acts, including the Davis-Bacon Act and others. Also, we were responsible for obtaining beneficial legislation.

Detailed discussions of the measures we supported or opposed during the Second Session of the Eighty-second Congress follow:

Amendment to National Labor Relations Act—S. 1973

After many months of inaction in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, S. 1973 was reported. This bill would amend the National Labor Relations Act to permit execution of collective bargaining agreements, by the Building Trades, prior to the employment of workers. It also would allow labor agreements requiring membership in the contracting unions on or after the seventh day following employment. Three further provisions include allowing such agreements despite other provisions of the act, whether Federal, State or Territorial; requirement that a labor organization executing such contract be in compliance with the financial statement and non-Communist affidavit filing provisions of law; and expediting election in which employees covered by contract could choose another bargaining representative.

S. 1973, in overriding State laws contains the same provision as does Public Law 914, the Railway Union Shop bill. There are sixteen States which have anti-union laws which would be affected by S. 1973.

S. 1973 was approved on the Senate Calendar upon being called soon after being reported.

The House Committee failed to take any action on S. 1973 or on similar bills which affected the Building Trades before it. (H.R. 5255, H.R. 5264, and H.R. 6389).

S. 1973 was sponsored by the Building and Construction Trades Department.

The following bills were also introduced relating to the general subject of amending the National Labor Relations Act, but no Committee or floor action ensued: S. 2056, S. 2503, H.R. 6250, H.R. 6239, H.R. 520, H.R. 544, H.R. 2225, H.R. 5449, H.R. 526 and H.R. 490.

Hearings on the Smith Bill—H.R. 7647, and Other Bills

Four Committees, two Senate and two House, conducted hearings directly or indirectly linked to the national steel, gas and oil strikes.

Beginning with the House Committee on Armed Services, hearings were held on the Howard Smith Bill H.R. 7647.

At the outset, there was little interest either on the part of spectators or Committee members. On the second day, when testimony was given on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, twenty-one Committee members were in their seats at one time, many with questions for the witness.

This bill would have provided "receiverships" for strike-bound companies and for unions declared to be in vital production work. It would not even have been necessary for an industry actually to be struck to be eligible under the Smith Bill for court action. Stoppage or imminent stoppage would have been sufficient for court action. Such action would

have constituted a considerable drain upon the treasuries of unions, whether in strikes or lockouts. This bill would have amended the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 by providing that in times of an emergency declared either by the President or by Congressional concurrent resolution, the Federal District courts might enjoin strike or lockout.

Provision was made for an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act, retaining the Eighty day provision after issuance of an order by a District Court if the parties to the dispute by then had not ended their differences, and for a Board of Inquiry. A receiver then would have taken over the properties, operating them under certain provisions set forth in the Bill. Most important was the distinct intention in the Smith Bill either to curb or prevent strikes.

The Smith Bill was referred to the Committee on Armed Services because of the anticipated difficulty of getting full attention in the Committee on Education and Labor. In the Committee on Armed Services, organized labor could count on only a mere scattering of members who could be viewed either as impartial or sympathetic.

Following the hearings, Chairman Carl Vinson announced he intended to call representatives of the A. F. of L. and other segments of labor together to discuss the Smith Bill informally although the Committee already had heard testimony. He suggested a sugar coating to allow wage increases during the emergency "receiverships" and monthly disclosures of profits by companies.

This, in addition to the financial drag upon union treasuries, would have constituted one of the greatest menaces unions have been confronted with for many years. In addition to the proceedings before the House Committee on Armed Services, the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency entertained legislation curbing the powers of the Wage Stabilization Board, finally resulting in Senatorial confirmation of all WSB members and abolition of powers in cases of disputes.

In the Senate, the Morse Bill S. 2999 was the subject of hearings by a Labor and Public Welfare Sub-committee. Senator Morse would have amended the Taft-Hartley Act in several respects by establishing emergency boards providing for seizure to prevent or enjoin work stoppages. In our statement to the Sub-Committee, we expressed our unalterable opposition to injunctions and also made the point that some of our unions recently have felt the effects of the heavy hand of seizure which has prevented the orderly progress of collective bargaining.

Labor-Management Commission

For several reasons, we objected to and succeeded in defeating S.J.Res. 161 by Senators Moody, Humphrey and Lehman to establish a Commission on Labor-Management Relations. This was one of the last-minute measures brought to the Senate floor.

This resolution would have caused the appointment of four members from each house, one each from five executive departments and agencies and six "distinguished citizens who are not engaged in labor-management relations in behalf of either labor or management." The Commission's duties would have included a complete study and investigation to learn the effects of collective bargaining, the proper role of the federal Government in industrial relations and a final report of findings.

The resolution never came to a vote but was passed over on the call of the consent calendar, which was sufficient to kill it for the year.

Walsh-Healey Act Modified

Senator Fulbright made several attempts to destroy the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act through amendments to the Defense Production Act of 1952. Finally, jointly with the Secretary of Labor, Fulbright managed to have the Contracts Act brought under the Administrative Procedures Act of June 30, 1936. The latter law permits appellants from decisions by Government administrative branches to appeal to the courts for review in such cases where, within 90 days of administrative findings, appellants desire to carry their cases further.

The compromise amendment is not as extreme as Fulbright had sought. His initial attempt was to kill the Walsh-Healey Act outright in cases where the Government was engaging in open market purchases. He would have established separate scales city by city, town by town and village by village in a design to perpetuate low-wage conditions.

One of two viewpoints is permissible now that the Walsh-Healey Act has been reopened for amendment. Fulbright and his supporters can be regarded as having accomplished their primary purpose after which they may renew their campaign in the next Congress. Or, they may consider this revision as sufficient to serve their ends and leave the issue resting at that point.

Emergency Powers Continuation Act

On April 28, 1952, the Treaty of Peace between Japan and the United States went into effect. On the same date, the President issued a proclamation which brought to an end the national emergencies previously proclaimed on September 8, 1939 and May 27, 1941.

These actions had the effect of either instantly terminating or beginning the termination period of approximately 155 laws whose effectiveness depended upon the existence of a state of war for the emergencies referred to above. Immediately following this action, Congress had enacted Public Law 313, as amended, which provided a temporary extension until June 15, 1952, of some of the laws which the executive departments considered essential to the conduct of national affairs in the light of present world conditions.

In the meantime, both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees were making an intensive study and examination of the statutes sought to be continued in effect for the duration of the emergency (plus six months) declared by the President on December 16, 1950, or "until such earlier date or dates as the Congress by concurrent resolution either generally or for a particular statutory provision" may provide. Extensive hearings were held by the House Judiciary Committee on H.J.Res. 386, introduced by Congressman Celler, which provided for the extension of some 60 of the laws requested by the President. These hearings were made available to the Senate Committee where supplemental hearings were held on proposed amendments to the resolution. The resolution contained one Act in which Labor is directly concerned—the power of the President to assume control of transportation systems in time of war.

Under this Act, the President in time of war is empowered, through the Secretary of War, to take possession of and control any transportation system, or any part thereof, and utilize it for such purposes as may be needed or desirable. Experience has shown that such seizures are a complete failure insofar as settling labor-management disputes. Under such seizure orders, the worker's hands are tied while management is given a free hand. Seizure is only a paper transaction and is meaningless.

The American Federation of Labor opposed the continuation of this Act in its present form and was successful in having its extension excluded from the resolution (H.J.Res. 477) which finally passed and became Public Law 450. Only 48 of the 60 powers originally requested are contained in Public Law 450. These powers pertain in most part to military needs of the nation and do not adversely affect Labor.

As part of the general pressure to soften labor provisions in law, the Pickett amendment was introduced in the House Judiciary Committee and intended to become a part of H.J.Res. 432, the legislation on presidential war powers. The Pickett amendment provided, in effect, that there be a freezing of "wages, terms and conditions of employment" in "any plant, facility or other property, possession of which has been taken by or under the direction of the President or any such person, agency or department . . ."

We succeeded in mustering enough votes in Committee to defeat the Pickett amendment. Some members of the Texas delegation have been especially active in recent months in trying to load bills with anti-labor provisions. These members include Representatives Pickett and Lucas and Gossett who recently resigned. Gossett led the resistance to the railroad union shop bill late in 1950 and early 1951.

Veterans Legislation

Korean G.I. Bill

With the increasing number of veterans of the Korean War returning to civilian life, the need for legislation to extend readjustment benefits similar to those received by World War II veterans was called to the attention of Congress

Hearings were held by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs during February and March and H.R. 7656 was passed by the House on June 5. An amended version of the House bill was reported by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and approved by the Senate on June 27. Differences between the bills were resolved in conference and on July 4, H.R. 7656 was passed by both Houses. On July 16, the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 was signed by the President and became Public Law 550.

The American Federation of Labor took an active interest to secure the passage of the Korean G.I. Bill in this session of Congress and submitted statements to both Congressional committees in charge of the legislation. We urged the prompt enactment of education and training benefits, housing benefits, and unemployment compensation for all veterans serving during the Korean campaign, and made certain recommendations to eliminate the re-occurrence of the abuses that arose in the World War II program. We further recommended that the Department of Labor and the state apprenticeship agencies be given authority to approve and supervise all job-training programs, that labor representatives be accorded an advisory position in the training programs under the G.I. Bill, and that certain conflicts between the rulings of the Veterans Administrator and our bona-fide apprentice programs be eliminated.

Although the House Bill ignored the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor, they were included in the Senate bill, and, for the most part, were retained in the conference report approved by Congress.

The Korean G.I. Bill contains two new features of direct interest to labor and which will contribute to the effectiveness of the training programs administered under the Bill.

1. An advisory committee to the Veterans Administrator is established with representatives of labor included on the committee. The Director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the Department of Labor shall be an ex-officio member of the committee, along with the U. S. Commissioner of Education. In addition to advising the Administrator, the committee is authorized to make reports to Congress.

2. In defining full-time apprentice training under the G.I. Bill, the Veterans Administrator shall recognize the standard work-week set for a particular establishment through bona-fide collective bargaining.

Despite the recommendation of the American Federation of Labor that Federal and State apprenticeship agencies be given the sole authority for approval and supervision of job-training programs, the approval of all education and training is vested in the state agencies selected by the governor, or the V. A., if no state agency is designated.

The Korean G.I. Bill grants one and one-half days of education or training for each day of service on or after June 27, 1950, *regardless of where service was performed*, up to a closing date set by the President or Congress, with a maximum of 36 calendar months of education or training that may be received under the Bill. Programs must be initiated before August 20, 1954, or two years after discharge, whichever is later, and must be completed seven years after discharge. Only one change of program is permitted. With certain exemptions, courses must have been in existence two years prior to enrollment of the veteran, and in the case of private schools offering below-college courses, classes must contain fifteen percent non-veterans. Education and training allowance is set at \$110 for veterans in full-time institutional courses without dependents, \$135 with one dependent, and \$160 with more than one dependent. Allowance is to cover tuition, books and subsistence. For apprentice and other on-the-job training, allowances are \$70, \$85 and \$105, which are subject to reductions every four months as the course progresses. An over-all monthly ceiling of \$310 is set on earnings and allowances regardless of number of dependents.

The Act authorizes the same home loan benefits for veterans serving during Korean emergency as were received by World War II veterans, with certain new safeguards added.

Unemployment compensation of \$26 per week for 26 weeks is authorized under agreement with the states, and under the general administration of the Secretary of Labor.

Mustering-out payments of \$100 for less than 60 days of service, \$200 for more than 60 days' service, and \$300 for more than 60 days' service and service overseas are provided.

Employment assistance similar to that received by World War II veterans is also provided.

The provisions of the Korean G.I. Bill represent a decided improvement over the G.I. Bill of World War II. Benefits are generally comparable and opportunities for abuse have been decreased. With the failure of Congress to give the Federal and State apprenticeship agencies a stronger role in the program, labor shall have to rely primarily upon its representation on the advisory committee to safeguard the calibre of vocational training given under the G.I. Bill.

Government Employee Legislation

Federal Government employee legislation in the Second Session of the Eighty-second Congress repeated the process which has taken place

in other sessions. Much of what was accomplished came in the final days of the dying session. This was also true of some of the losses suffered by Government employees.

This session, our Government employe Unions centered upon one main theme—relief for the old folks, a better retirement law. The law was had only by all hands centering upon the Smathers-Duff bill to make sure that no stone remained unturned in pursuit of the legislation. There was no salary legislation this year. That battle had been waged in the First Session of the same Congress.

The same forces opposed to Government employe interests last year were back in there this time with the same old arguments and the same will to defeat our Unions. And, this year, the story was the same as before, our Unions won again. The American Federation of Labor was present at every turn with the same alertness to the needs of Government employes. We worked with and through our Government Employees Council at all times.

In the Eighty-third Congress, the theme again may have to be salaries, according to the situation as it prevails at that time. In working this time for retirement benefits, our Unions turned their hands to a subject which affects the great mass of those in Government employment. In the past, there have been some groups of Government employes not interested in salary because they operate under wage boards. The retirement fight bound all closer together because of the common interest.

It was another year of Whitten and Jensen and Thomas amendments intended to effect legislation through the device of placing riders upon appropriations bills. The story remained the same on unemployment compensation for Government employes, as well as for the Union recognition legislation and for overtime salary.

Nevertheless, some progress was noted in the latter two which are bound to become law. The only question is how long will it take. The fact that both Civil Service Committees' members typically are understanding in their attitude toward Government employes is marred by the distinct and active unfriendliness of the House Committee Chairman who, in his district, has few constituents working for the Government.

Details on the main issues are included as follows:

Thomas Leave Rider

Following passage by the House of the Thomas amendment to the Independent Offices Appropriation bill (H.R. 7072), we waged a vigorous campaign jointly with our Government Employee Unions for its defeat in the Senate. We testified on May 8 before the Senate Appropriations Sub-committee and were assured full support by the Chairman, Senator Maybank, and by Senators Robertson and Thye and others.

The hearing was exhaustive and concluded with the Chairman's request that a comprehensive, inclusive statement be prepared on how the Thomas amendment would be more costly than no amendment. The subject of annual leave, in view of the new leave law which just became effective January 8, 1952, is extremely important to all government employees.

As finally adopted, the bill affects only leave earned after January 1, 1952. Hereafter, leave must be used by June 30 or it is forfeited. This is known as the "use-it-or-lose-it" rider. Even the President condemned the Thomas rider at the time he signed the bill. Congress only a few months before had passed an entirely new annual leave bill whose provisions now are overturned by the Thomas maneuver. We shall continue to work closely in an effort to repeal the rider which has broken faith with government employees.

Union Recognition Bill

For several years, efforts have been made to enact a law which will grant greater recognition to Government Employee Unions. This year, H.R. 554, by Representative Rhodes (Pa.), was advanced to a further stage than previously. It finally was reported from the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service but upon objection by Chairman Tom Murray, it was passed over and expired for the remainder of 1952. Senate hearings were held earlier on S. 563, but without further action.

Representative Withrow (Wisc.) sponsored a similar bill to accord recognition to unions.

The bills would provide active representation by unions of their members without having to recruit a majority in any one agency which previously had been included in the original bill of two years ago. Conferences would be held with officials on occasions on personnel matters in some detail and a stimulus to union strength would have resulted in the opinion on many. A number of agencies including the Civil Service Commission offered the usual weak arguments against the bill. These included (1) the bill was unnecessary because agencies are following enlightened policies already; (2) Congress sets salary scales, so why include pay as an item for administrative discussion, and various others.

Chairman Murray expressed great alarm over what he described as a trend of unions to become "stronger than the Government."

The same type objections were advanced against this bill as were stated 12 years previously at the time Robert Ramspeck was Chairman of the House Committee on Civil Service and agencies "feared" establishment of an appeals system on efficiency ratings. It was said then that no "outside influences" should be allowed to tell the agencies "how to run their affairs."

Representative Rhodes has said he was satisfied at the progress in getting the bill on to the House calendar this year.

Civil Service Retirement

Civil Service Retirement legislation moved exceedingly slowly. Success came in the last hours of the session, though the final bill was a modification of the original measure (S. 2968), now Public Law 555.

The Senate Bill S. 995 gave way to the substitute by Senators Smathers and Duff to provide a graduated scale of benefit payments to those on the retired rolls.

In the House Committee, the Chairman threw up every possible legislative road block against the bill, working in coordination with the sentiments of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commissioner who labeled increased payments to retired persons as "gratuities."

We went all the way in backing up the position of our unions for enactment of S. 2968. The new law will result in benefits of \$36.00 to \$324.00 not to exceed 25 percent of annuities retired persons or survivors received between the date of retirement and October 1, 1952, effective September 1, 1952, provided total benefits do not exceed \$2160.00. This amount is \$160.00 more than the Senate Bill had provided. There are two further limitations on the new law. One is the Act expires automatically three months after the cost of living index falls to the level of April 1, 1948. The Act also expires June 30, 1954, unless appropriation to meet its cost is forthcoming. Public Law 555 is the most important retirement legislation since Public Law 426 of the 80th Congress.

Once more the prospect for integrating the Civil Service Retirement system with others under Social Security was revived as a result of provisions in Public Law 555 establishing a 4-member committee to study all Government sponsored retirement systems. Already there is a survey being made of the Railroad Retirement System as contrasted to others. Those under the Civil Service plan for many years have realized the intention of Social Security officials to consolidate the Government employe fund with that of Social Security. Government employes contribute 6 percent of their pay into the Retirement Account whereas those under Social Security pay much less. Before long it may well be that beating back the campaign of the Social Security Administration once more will be a fight Government employes will have to wage for the preservation of their retirement plan which now has several billion dollars of assets. A sufficient amount to make it attractive for the Social Security Administration really to want to annex it.

Full Payment for Overtime

The Government has consistently failed to give the full rates for overtime service to many groups among Government employees. For this reason, when hearings were held on S. 354 we fully supported the principles of the legislation.

We pointed out that failure to recognize established overtime practices, together with reduction in annual leave, and other poor practices

not only discourages those already in Government service, but sets up a mental barrier to those who might consider coming in, including persons in technical, scientific and professional groups.

Our testimony before the Committees of the Congress on the need for more adequate payment for overtime in Government employ soon was followed by the Senate Committee's reporting the legislation.

The bill was unanimously approved affecting one million employees and providing full overtime pay through \$5,350, or grade GS-9. For years, the top figure on which time-and-one-half has been paid has been \$2,980. Those in our technical, scientific and professional groups have been discriminated against most because of this limitation on overtime rates of pay.

An amendment inserted by the Senate Committee earned the opposition of immigration and customs inspection groups whose overtime payments under a 1911 law would be drastically curtailed. This amendment was inspired by shipping and transportation interests and by the Civil Service Commission. Thus passage of this bill, S. 354, would deprive one group of an established benefit while increasing benefits to another.

Cooperating with our unions in this field, we succeeded in having S. 354 recalled from the Senate calendar for further study by the Committee.

This was done in an effort to separate the two parts of the bill into separate bills in order to have the merits of each weighed without damage to the other.

Inasmuch as we could not agree to advancing the cause of one group at the expense of another, it was desirable to wait until next year when the Senate Committee may have revised its outlook.

Adequate Postal Delivery Restoration

Orders of the Postmaster General curtailing delivery of door to door mail were condemned at the San Francisco Convention.

The continued full support of the American Federation of Labor was accorded our postal unions. This support was pledged by the Convention and the situation later was called to the further attention of the National Legislative Committee by President Green.

The problem was ably outlined by President William C. Doherty, National Association of Letter Carriers, speaking to the 1951 Convention on the confusion and ills which have arisen since the spring of 1950 when the Postmaster General invoked his ukase against proper delivery of mail to the nation's patient postal patrons.

In the resolution referred to the Conventions Committee on Legislation, it was pointed out that the Postmaster General's orders are "not in the best interest of the American public and are destructive of the working conditions and standards of all postal employees as well."

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was called upon in the resolution to "take such steps as may be necessary to cause the early rescinding of these obnoxious orders by either administrative or legislative action."

Continued attention to proposals and plans for taking this action remained our guide on Capitol Hill and elsewhere in accordance with the wishes and purposes of the leaders among our postal unions.

Parcel Size and Weight Adjustment

The Johnston bill, S. 1335, to reduce the size and weight of mailable parcels, became Public Law 199. The result will be to send into the railway express channels the oversize pieces and expand the volume of express shipments, thus saving the jobs of many which had been threatened due to loss of such traffic. This bill meant a great deal to our Railway Clerks.

In addition, a limitation of 20 pounds was imposed beyond the second zone, though overseas parcels were exempted from the law's restrictions.

One of the immediate results of enactment of Public Law 199 was diversion into express channels of many millions of parcels. According to A. L. Hammell, President, Railway Express Agency, as many as 60 million packages at Christmas 1951 went through transport systems other than the Post Office service.

Government Salary Legislation

In the final hours of the First Session of the Eighty-second Congress, legislation to adjust the salaries of postal, classified and District of Columbia Government employees was sent to the White House. The bills became the following laws:

Postal, Public Law No. 204,
Classified, Public Law No. 201,
District of Columbia, Public Law No. 207.

For 11 months, efforts had been made to bring about revision of the postal and classified salary schedules, even before expiration of the Eighty-first Congress. Long drawn-out hearings were held and bills to increase certain postal rates became a part of the general package legislation. The estimated total of combined salary increases is 700 million dollars, of which approximately 250 million will be for postal employees, effective July 1, 1951.

In addition, the Douglas rider reducing all Government employees from 26 days of annual leave to 20 days finally was superseded by later legislation as an amendment to the postal rate bill establishing a graduate scale according to years of service. This means that postal employees who, for many years, have received only 15 days of annual

leave will have the same amount as nonpostal employees, while all employees will continue to receive 26 days of leave provided they have served 15 or more years. For the calendar year 1951, the original 26 days was restored as a substitute for the Douglas 20 days. The graduated plan became effective January 6, 1952.

As usual, we stood side by side with our affiliated Unions in their program for pay legislation. Every step of the way toward enactment was slow. From the beginning, it was evident that Government employees had few allies besides themselves to carry on the pay campaign. The White House showed little interest except to come forward after the campaign was well under way to offer support for small percentage increases which had no basis from a realistic viewpoint. When it became evident that the campaign would succeed, full Administration backing was forthcoming toward the end of the Congressional session, after only a meager percentage increase had been given official sanction.

In the instance of the firemen, policemen and teachers of the District of Columbia Government, they received the same 10 per cent increase, with a minimum of \$300 and a maximum of \$800, as was given the Federal Classified groups. The postal employees were granted a flat \$400 minimum and an \$800 maximum.

A new Postal Classification Act and an amended Retirement Act are in prospect for early attention. As is always true, only the united efforts of the Unions brought about the final results which were far more gratifying than the amount forthcoming, if any, based upon voluntary action from management.

Governmental Reorganization Plans

In the 1952 session, five plans looking toward Federal and District of Columbia government reorganization were submitted by the White House for Congressional attention.

Plan No. 1 was designed to include Internal Revenue Bureau collectors under civil service procedures. This plan was approved by the Congress. Plan No. 2 was presented to provide "gradual elimination of presidential appointment and Senate confirmation of postmasters at post offices of the first, second and third-class." Plan No. 3 would have placed Customs Collectors under civil service. Plan No. 4 would have done likewise with United States marshals. Plan No. 5 was intended to rearrange the governmental structure of the District of Columbia.

We took no adverse position on Plans Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5. On Plan No. 2, we worked unceasingly with our postal unions for adoption of the resolution of disapproval. The plan was decisively defeated. Plans Nos. 3 and 4 likewise were beaten. Plans Nos. 1 and 5 won approval.

Under the leadership of Senators Monroney (Okla.), Moody (Mich.), and Humphrey (Minn.), the supporters of Plan No. 2 attempted to rally support. The vote split party lines. We took the

position that the plan was illegal inasmuch as we were of the view that it failed to adhere to the provisions of the basic reorganization act. Further, we could find no promise in Plan No. 2 that career employes would have any more or even as much opportunity to advance to the job of postmaster as under the present system.

Canal Zone

Union Recognition Bill—H. R. 554

This bill, which would have been applicable to the Canal Zone if enacted, is reported upon elsewhere in this report, as is the retirement law improvement, S. 2968 (Public Law 555).

The Thomas Leave Amendment—H. R. 7072

This amendment is also reported upon elsewhere in this report, but a clause was inserted exempting the Canal Zone employes and other employes stationed overseas from its application. (Public Law 455).

Employees' Right of Appeal—S. 1271

This bill would have permitted appeals to the Civil Service Commission against arbitrary administrative actions except in incidents of reduction of forces on the Canal Zone. This bill was passed by both Houses of Congress but was vetoed by the President.

Police, Firemen and Teachers—(H. R. 7346 and S. 2935)

These bills were pigeon-holed after the Canal Zone Teachers acquired the Washington base for their salaries and after the Canal Zone Police withdrew from the bill pending negotiations with the Government officials on the Zone. A similar bill for the Postal employes on the Canal Zone was also pigeon-holed as they are covered under Public Law 204 definitely and permanently giving them a states base.

25% Differential—S. 2008

This bill providing for greater than 25% for work outside of continental United States in certain instances was intended originally to apply to Alaska, but the Canal Zone Legislative Representative testified in regard to it in order to justify the 25% now paid on the Canal Zone. The bill was not enacted.

McCarran Amendment

This Amendment was again included in the appropriation bills for the Department of Defense (Public Law 488) and Civil Functions (Public Law 504).

Old Timers

The bills providing beneficial amendments to the "Old Timers" Law, Public 319 of the 78th Congress, which would have included additional retired employees under its terms and increased the gratuity paid them, failed of passage.

Civil Rights

Thirty-five bills were introduced in the 82nd Congress covering Fair Employment Practices, Anti-Lynching, Anti-Segregation, and Anti-Poll Tax. None of these measures received consideration, however.

Labor and Federal Security Appropriation

The House of Representatives continued its ax-swinging on the Department of Labor Appropriation bill, H.R. 7151, and seriously reduced the funds for a number of important functions in that Department.

We interceded with the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, of which Senator Chavez was Chairman, in the hope of restoring some of the budgetary requests which previously had been turned down by the House. These included money for the Solicitor's office of the Department, which office is charged with responsibility for a large part of the enforcement of the Davis-Bacon Act, Walsh-Healey and Fair Labor Standards Acts.

The Bureau of Employment Security which forecasts the regions and localities where unemployment is on the upgrade supplies information to the Defense Production Administration. We asked that adequate funds be appropriated for this work.

Among the most important requests was that for the Wage-Hour Division whose appropriation had been brought about by a statement by Representative Curtis of Missouri. Curtis claimed that he had information that the President planned to set aside provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act and that the Congress need not appropriate the full amount until after it was learned if the President intended to take such step, by Executive Order. The House supported his position by a 2 to 1 vote. We recognized this threat as a major danger of an inspection division which already is overloaded with a backlog of cases. The Senate did not restore any of the House cuts. The result is the Bureau has had to distribute the reduction throughout with a crippling of its operations. Of the 650,000 "covered companies," the ten-year average number of inspections was 35,000 to 40,000. The Bureau expects the number of inspections now will be closer to 35,000, many on a complaint basis.

The Labor Standards Bureau work in its Industrial Safety Division has been newly established as result of our efforts in 1951 to obtain an appropriation for safety education in industry. The House reduced the funds for this Bureau by \$60,000. In view of hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on Industrial Safety, we con-

sidered the reduction in funds for this kind of work in the Department of Labor as being even more important.

We continued our interest in support of the Children's Bureau of the Federal Security Agency by asking the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee to appropriate sufficient money to meet the Federal Government's grants-in-aid to the States program. H.R. 7151 is now Public Law 452.

Maritime

Long Range Merchant Marine Bill

S. 241—Amending the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, to further promote the development and maintenance of the American Merchant Marine—Public Law 586.

The closing days of the 82nd Congress resulted in the final enactment of the so-called long range shipping bill which encountered strong opposition in the House of Representatives. The purpose of this law is to implement the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, and thereby to strengthen its effectiveness in order to build up a strong and adequate first-class American Merchant Marine. It is termed as a long range shipping program and contains the following provisions:

1. Authorizes the granting of construction differential subsidies for the construction, reconstruction or reconditioning of a vessel without the requirement that it be operated on an essential trade route or service.

2. Limits liability, in satisfaction of mortgages, on a purchased passenger vessel delivered after March 8, 1946, to repossession of vessel and assignment of insurance claims.

3. Authorizes Maritime Administration to purchase obsolete or inadequate vessels which are operated in domestic as well as foreign trade.

4. Reduces from 17 to 12 years the minimum age limit of obsolete vessels for trade-in purposes.

5. Authorizes use of construction reserve funds for reconstruction or reconditioning of vessels, and liquidation of purchase money indebtedness, in addition to construction or acquisition of vessels.

6. Authorizes Federal Maritime Board to approve use of construction reserve funds for reconstruction, reconditioning or modernization of vessels for exclusive use on the Great Lakes.

7. Extends present 2-year fixed period for commitment of construction reserve fund deposits to 3 years with respect to those made after date of enactment of bill. Limits granting of emergency extensions to not later than September 30, 1953.

8. Authorizes redetermination by Secretary of Treasury and Federal Maritime Board, upon request, of life expectancy of a reconstructed or reconditioned subsidized vessel for purpose of recomputing amount

of depreciation charges required to be deposited in capital reserve fund.

9. Limits interest on overpayment of tax on voluntary deposits in capital or special reserve fund to period following approval by Federal Maritime Board.

10. Repeals present \$25,000 limit on salaries to employees of subsidized lines, but provides that excess of \$25,000 salary will not be included in computation of operating differential subsidy.

In signing this bill, the President issued a statement pointing out certain inadequacies in its provisions, chiefly the failure to develop a basis for a long range relationship between the Government and the maritime industry, and to deal with the problem of tax deferment. In the latter instance, the Chairman of the House Committee on the Merchant Marine and Chairman of the Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee which handled this bill indicated their desire to give this issue further study when Congress reconvenes.

The American Federation of Labor closely cooperated with the Metal Trades Department and our maritime unions in advancing the enactment of this legislation.

Other Maritime Bills of Interest to Labor

S. 2748—Authorizing vessels of Canadian Registry to transport iron ore between United States ports on the Great Lakes during 1952—Public Law 409.

The purpose of this law is to provide that section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, and related Acts, which prohibit the operation of foreign flag vessels in our domestic trades, be waived as to Canadian ore carriers until December 31, 1952 or until such earlier time as the Congress by concurrent resolution or the President by proclamation may designate. Similar laws have been in effect during and at various times since the termination of World War II.

S. 647 and companion bill H.R. 2317 (similar bills—H.R. 3646 and H.R. 3657)—To provide that certain vessels shall be subject to laws relating to steam vessels and for other purposes.

The primary purpose of these bills is to require that certain vessels above 15 gross tons shall be subject to the laws relating to steam vessels.

S. 866 and companion bill H.R. 2316—To extend the requirements for fixing the minimum number of deck officers and licensed engineers on steam vessels to certain additional vessels of the United States and for other purposes.

The purpose of this bill is to extend the requirements for fixing the minimum number of deck officers and engineers on steam vessels to certain additional vessels of the United States above 100 tons.

S. 1286—To amend the Act of June 20, 1936, so as to broaden the application of laws governing the inspection of steam vessels to vessels propelled by internal-combustion engines.

The purpose of this bill is to extend the application of laws governing the inspection of steam vessels to vessels propelled by internal-combustion engines above 300 gross tons.

As reported to the last Convention, extensive hearings were held by the House Merchant Marine Committee on all of these bills (H.R. 2316, H.R. 2317, H.R. 3646 and H.R. 3657), but the Committee failed to take any further action on this legislation. Likewise the Senate bills (S. 647, S. 866 and S. 1286) were referred to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee but no action was taken.

S. 1044—To legalize maritime hiring halls.

This bill amends Section 8 of the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, by legalizing hiring halls in the maritime industry. Extensive hearings were held by the Senate Labor Committee but no further action was taken in this session.

S. 991 and companion bill H.R. 4032—To amend section 41 of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.

The purpose of this bill is to make possible the development of a workable and effective safety program for the workers subject to this Act. It is designed to prevent and reduce accidents among longshoremen and off-shore workers in this industry.

The proposed amendments to Section 41 of the Act contain the basic essentials for carrying on a good safety program. It permits the Secretary of Labor, in addition to the authority he now has, to make rules for the prevention of injuries and to obtain compliance with them. In authorizing the Secretary to develop and issue safety regulations, the bill provides the flexibility needed to take care of changing practices and situations affecting the safety of workers in the industry. It also gives him authority to carry on a promotional program to prevent accidents. In addition, the program authorized by this bill could be administered by the same staff assigned to carry out existing authority with respect to safety (under Section 41 of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Act) without any increase in administrative cost.

As reported at the last Convention, the American Federation of Labor testified before both the House and Senate Labor Committees in support of this legislation. On June 6, 1952, S. 991 was reported favorably out by the Senate Labor Committee by a vote of 12 to 1. Senator Taft filed a dissenting opinion which prevented the bill from being passed on the consent calendar and blocked its passage in the closing days of the 82nd Congress.

The American Federation of Labor is firmly convinced that the establishment of reasonable safety codes and regulations under these amendments applicable to maritime employment will benefit both employers and employees and will continue its efforts in the next session of Congress to advance the enactment of this much needed legislation.

Working Conditions for Seamen

Several years after discussions at Seattle, Washington, of a number of proposed International Labor Organization conferences on employment conditions for seamen, recommendations were submitted to the Congress. These include Conventions Numbered 68, 69, 73 and 74, relating to food and catering for ships crews, certification of ships' cooks, medical examinations and certification of seamen, respectively.

We supported Nos. 68, 69 and 74 but voiced objections to No. 73 on the ground that medical examinations at two-year intervals would constitute hardships upon our seamen who perform an extremely loyal job in manning the vessels transporting the important merchandise to our prospective allies in a world torn apart by dissension and rumors of wars.

Further, we pointed out that both employees and employers have agreed that two-year examinations are unwarranted, while the Government stands alone in attempting to force this condition of retention in active service upon the men who go to the sea in ships.

The Senate ratified the foregoing Conventions.

Federal Civil Defense Funds

Pursuing its policy of heavily slashing Federal Appropriations, the House of Representatives reduced the funds for the Civil Defense Administrative Program to much less than the amount necessary to do an adequate job in cooperation with the States.

The House ignored the fact that although certain portions of the Agency's appropriation had not been expended that nevertheless sizeable amounts had been committed or earmarked and thus were to all intention purposes actually expended. The House Committee on Appropriations recognized the vital need for large segments of the Civil Defense Program, but the House proceeded to reduce the Agency's budget drastically.

Funds for this agency and others were included in the Defense Supplemental Appropriation bill, H.R. 8370, which became Public Law 547.

The House finally approved 37½ million dollars for this defense activity. The Senate more than doubled this amount whereupon the conferees cut the Senate 85 million dollar figure to 43 million dollars or 5½ million dollars more than the House had originally authorized.

The Agency's operating funds for fiscal year 1953 will be 8 million dollars or 3 million dollars less than the preceding year, thus entailing a likely layoff of personnel unless an all-out war ensues meantime, or if the Congress grants deficiency funds for the remainder of the year.

We actively shared in the campaign to raise the House figure and through contact with key members of Congress, including the conferees, were enabled to prevent the operating funds from dropping below 8 million dollars and holding the funds to be matched by the States to 15

million dollars, while the stockpiling item remains at 20 million dollars which is the figure set by the Senate.

Of particular importance is the stockpiling work which includes military as well as civilian stockpiles of blood plasma.

H.J.Res. 341—Making Appropriations for Rehabilitation of Flood Stricken Areas for the Fiscal Year 1952 and for Other Purposes

During the last Convention, Congress was considering H.J.Res. 341, which contained the recommendations of President Truman for an appropriation of \$400,000,000 for the following purposes:

1. To indemnify the flood victims for a portion of their loss of real and personal property
2. To make and guarantee loans on liberal terms for the building of homes and businesses to replace those destroyed
3. To help farmers drain and rehabilitate their land, replace buildings, and restore the productive capacity of their farms, through on-farm assistance and disaster loans
4. To permit loans where necessary to enable State and local government participation in the rehabilitation activities
5. To provide funds to establish a national system of flood disaster insurance, similar to the war damage insurance system of World War II.

In accordance with the action taken at the San Francisco Convention on this subject, the American Federation of Labor strongly urged that careful consideration be given to the possibility of including a provision for indemnification of flood victims with outright grants where mere loans might not be adequate.

Despite the efforts that were made to provide adequate relief for the victims of the recent flood disaster, the type of aid provided for in H.J.Res. 341 as finally passed by both Houses of Congress is primarily in the form of agricultural loans for farmers, and RFC loans for business organizations whose property was damaged by the flood. The complete reliance on long-term loans will have a very serious effect on mortgaging, for many years to come, the income of flood victims to the detriment of the welfare of themselves and their families.

The proposal for indemnification of flood victims with outright grants where mere loans might not be adequate was defeated in both Houses.

On May 9, 1952, Senator Maybank introduced S. 3146, a bill to provide for national flood insurance, and for other purposes.

The purpose of this bill was to promote the national welfare by alleviating the widespread economic distress suffered from time to time within the United States, its Territories and possessions, as a result of floods, and the attendant impairment of the free flow of interstate and foreign trade and commerce, by providing direct governmental insurance against certain flood risks or by making insurance against such risks

available through private insurance companies by means of governmental reinsurance.

The bill was referred to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee but no action was taken in this session.

Recreational Facilities in Our National Forests

H.R. 565—Relating to the disposition of moneys received from the national forest.

The problem of the recreational facilities in our national forests is one of particular interest to the working people of this country. At these forests we have the opportunity to camp, picnic, swim, hunt, fish, ski, or to just enjoy the simple pleasures of Nature. For many of us the national forests provide the only facilities where we may enjoy these sports and pastimes within our financial means.

With the rapid urbanization of the United States over the past decade, the difficulty of finding such facilities—whether for a Sunday outing, a week-end, or a vacation—has increased. Very often they are available only at private clubs or commercial recreational resorts. These places are far above the financial reach for most working people. We must look more and more toward the national forests for an "escape" from the tensions of city life.

Despite the growing importance and the increased use of the national forests' recreational facilities, there has been no effective program since the late 1930's to maintain and expand these facilities. This has resulted in a rapid deterioration of our investment in the national forests and a dangerous over-crowding of existing facilities. In addition, many of the facilities are not properly maintained—to the point of being unsanitary—because of an under-staffed caretaking force. This situation has been brought to the attention of the American Federation of Labor by many of our affiliated bodies, representing a large proportion of the millions of people who visit our national forests.

The reason for this existing condition is the lack of sufficient funds to maintain and develop recreational facilities. Year after year, Congress has failed to appropriate enough money to enable the Forest Service to establish the necessary programs and employ a proper-sized staff.

The annual expenditures on the recreational facilities in our national forests do not even represent, from a business point of view, a minimum maintenance of a capital investment.

In view of the continual failure of Congress to appropriate adequate funds for national forest recreational programs, the American Federation of Labor testified before the House Agricultural Committee in support of H.R. 565, which would make available 10 percent of the total revenue received from national forests for the maintenance and operation of recreational facilities. We believe that H.R. 565 provides an equitable method of applying this revenue, and it would assure the Forest

Service of adequate funds to maintain and operate the recreational facilities in accordance with their needs.

The House Agricultural Committee failed to take any action in this session of Congress. However, the American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts to advance the enactment of appropriate legislation to meet this problem in the next session of Congress.

Forestry Resources Conservation

Our interest in the preservation of forest resources was demonstrated in our statement during the hearings on S. 1149 before the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

This bill is intended to reorganize the Department of Agriculture and to transfer from the Department of the Interior the functions of land management. On several occasions, we told the Committee, the American Federation of Labor has expressed interest in conservation and operations of forestry, logging and lumber activities.

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in 1941 reported upon the findings of the Joint Committee on Forestry which findings were made as result of extensive investigation. At that time, the Executive Council said, in part, "The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly emphasized the need for an aggressive forest program that will restore the productive capacity of our forest areas on a permanent basis, in order that American labor may enjoy the fruits of a permanent and stable source of raw materials."

Our testimony on this legislation was directly in line with that given in support of an appropriation for eradication of the spruce beetle which has done such widespread damage to our western forest resources. A House Appropriations subcommittee visited the stricken regions in Colorado in the Fall of 1951 and saw first-hand the devastation inflicted by the beetle pest. It was found during that visit that our request for funds was fully justified.

The Proposed St. Lawrence Seaway

Once more, in the quarter century effort to have the United States share in construction expense of the St. Lawrence Seaway, the proposal was defeated late in the final days of the Second Session of the Eighty-Second Congress. The Senate adopted the Dirksen amendment calling for "further study" by the Foreign Relations Committee and the measure (S.J.Res. 27) was killed.

As in previous years, we presented our Convention action both to the House Committee on Public Works and to the Senate Committee.

In the Eighty-Second Congress, the campaign to get endorsement and money from the United States to build the St. Lawrence Seaway became more intense than at any time in recent years.

The National Administration caused a number of changes to be made in the membership of the House Committee in an attempt to get favorable action on one or another of the several pending bills to authorize our participation in the international project. Even these shifts in Committee makeup were insufficient to move the bill to the House calendar during the entire First Session.

The Canadian Prime Minister visited Washington and met with the President who announced he intended to do everything possible to get the bill through the Congress. Failing in this, he said he planned to do his utmost in encouraging the Canadians to proceed with construction.

In the final days of the First Session, H.J.Res. 337, by Representative Blatnik of Minnesota, was made the basis for brief hearings by the Committee.

Because of the unusual fiscal proposals included in the resolution, it was not necessary to repeat our previous arguments against the legislation. Instead, we pointed out that no specific sums were mentioned in the resolution, that construction work could have started without any limitation on the amounts to be expended by the United States Government, and that it would be necessary to increase the funded national debt in order to float the financing necessary to get the project underway.

Some of the newer members of the Committee, who were less informed on the A. F. of L.'s long-standing views on the Seaway, gave considerable weight to our opposition. Our testimony became an important part of the Committee's discussion. The resolution continued to remain in the House Committee pigeonhole, despite all efforts by the proponents to move it.

The Government of Canada later gave some indication of giving parliamentary approval for starting the Seaway as a Canadian undertaking only.

Armed Forces Reserves and Manpower

We succeeded in having included in the 1952 Armed Forces Reserve Act some proposals we had presented to the Senate Subcommittee on the subject of civilian manpower. Under provisions of the act, now Public Law No. 476, the law calls upon the Defense Department to consider the situation created by calling up reserves by units without regard to the peculiar skills of men who will be needed more at their benches or machines than in doing chores less vital in uniform.

In the form in which the bill became law, the Defense Department will be obliged to examine such details and make periodic reports to the Congress on the extent and progress covered by such reports. We made the following points in our description of the national necessity for giving proper regard to the screening of reserves individually accord-

ing to the value of their skills to the production line. Some of these so listed were:

Aircraft and engine mechanic, commercial airplane navigator and pilot, blacksmith and hammersmith, boilermaker, die setter, glassblower, machinist, locksmith, millwright, molder and coremaker, pattern maker, iron and steel roller, tool and die maker and others.

Conferees of both House and Senate were disturbed about the involuntary recall of Standby and Ready Reservists alike and, therefore, wrote two provisions into the bill. The first deals with the involuntary recall of Ready Reservists and has for its intent the protection of all persons in this category and particularly those Ready Reservists who have served in Korea. The provision establishes a *policy of Congress* because of the hardship situations developed by the Korean hostilities so that *attention shall be given to the duration and nature of previous service, to family responsibilities, and to employment found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety or interest.* Furthermore, the Secretary of Defense must promulgate policies and procedures as may be required to carry out congressional intent and, from time to time, and at least annually, report to the Committee on Armed Services of the Congress respecting same.

Finally, the conferees decided that limitation should be placed on the Ready Reserve. The problem was to place a ceiling which would not be too high so that appropriated funds for training of the Ready Reserve would be spread so thin as to lose effect, nor to make the number so small as to render the striking force of the Ready Reserve ineffective. Consequently, the conferees set a ceiling, on the Ready Reserve, at 1,500,000 authorized personnel strength. It must be remembered that this includes the entire National Guard and Air National Guard and also will include all persons serving on active duty. Furthermore, the authorized strength set herein is a ceiling and can be lowered by administrative discretion.

Citing the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952, Section 233(b) (2), this language is the direct result of our activities:

It is the policy of the Congress in view of hardship situations developed by the Korean hostilities that in the interest of fair treatment as between members in the Ready Reserve involuntarily recalled for duty, attention shall be given to the duration and nature of previous service, with the objective of assuring such sharing of hazardous exposure as the national security and the military requirement will reasonably permit, to family responsibilities, and to employment found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest. The Secretary of Defense shall promulgate such policies and establish such procedures as may be required in his opinion to carry out our intent here declared, and shall from time to time, and at least annually, report to the Committees on Armed Services of the Congress respecting the same.

Immigration and Naturalization

Congressional activity in the immigration and nationality field was centered during this session upon the McCarran and Walter Omnibus Immigration and Nationality bills S. 2550 and H.R. 5678, which became Public Law No. 414, 82nd Congress, and the Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt Bills (S. 2842 and H.R. 7032). These bills completely revised and codified all of the existing immigration and naturalization laws.

As reported to the last Convention, the McCarran and Walter bills (S. 2550 and H.R. 5678) are the result of approximately four years of intensive and exhaustive study of our immigration and naturalization system. First, by a Senate Sub-committee, and later by a joint Senate and House committee, which included 12 days of public hearings before the bills were drafted and reported favorably out of the Senate and House Judiciary Committee. Both bills were the same in most respects and contained many significant changes in the immigration and nationality laws, but in general, all such changes adhered closely to the existing immigration and naturalization policies.

The American Federation of Labor testified before the committee in support of many of the proposed revisions, which in our opinion would strengthen the existing laws; however, there were some to which we offered objections.

On the other hand, the Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt substitute bills (S. 2842 and H.R. 7032) were identical in all respects and contained several major changes affecting the basic provisions of our protective immigration system. For example:

1. The substitute bills would provide for the use of the 1950 census as a basis for calculating quotas rather than basing quotas on the 1920 census as would the McCarran and Walter bills and the existing law. This change would increase immigration 70,000 annually;
2. It would authorize the pooling and utilization of the unused portions of the quotas now in effect, which would increase immigration into this country another 60 to 70,000 annually and
3. It would allow immigration to the United States of approximately 600,000 Orientals who are natives of non-quota countries of the Western Hemisphere subject to regulations governing other natives of the Western Hemisphere, including Peruvian Indians, Yucatan Aborigines and Haitian Negroes.

In addition, the substitute bills also contained numerous other proposed changes which clearly departed from the principles of our present long standing immigration and naturalization policies.

Major controversies developed in Congress when the McCarran and Walter Omnibus bill (S. 2550 and H.R. 5678) was being considered by both Houses of Congress. Fundamentally, the issue was whether this country should retain its tight limitations and regulations on immigration and naturalization.

This issue was discussed at great length and despite strong opposition the Walter Omnibus bill, H.R. 5678, passed the House with minor amendments on April 25, 1952, by an overwhelming majority vote of 206 to 68 and the Senate on May 22, 1952, by voice vote.

The Humphrey-Lehman and Roosevelt bills (S. 2842 and H.R. 7032) were not offered as a substitute in either House as originally planned, but in substance all of the major provisions were considered in the form of amendments to the Walter bill (H.R. 5678). These amendments were defeated.

The House and Senate version of H.R. 5678 differed in several respects and a conference was agreed to by both Houses on May 28, 1952. A conference report was filed on June 9, 1952 and was immediately approved by both Houses.

On June 25 the President vetoed H.R. 5678 on the basis that it was restrictive in many of its features. It passed the House and the Senate over the Presidential veto on June 27, 1952 and became Public Law No. 414.

In brief, the basic changes contained in the new law are as follows:

1. Eliminates race as a bar to immigration and naturalization, but fixed limitations are provided to prevent an influx of Orientals.
2. Eliminates the discrimination between sexes.
3. Introduces a system of selective immigration by giving a preference to skilled aliens urgently needed in this country.
4. Provides for a more thorough screening of aliens, especially of security risks and subversives.
5. Broadens the grounds for exclusion and deportation of criminal aliens.
6. Safeguards judicial review and provides some changes in the present administrative practice and procedure.
7. Implements the underlying intention of our immigration law regarding the preservation of a family unit.
8. Transfers from Congress to the president of the United States the right to suspend immigration at any time.

Whether this new Public Law (414) meets the world population problem is a question that is bound to be debated for a long time to come.

Other Bills Pertaining To Immigration And Naturalization

S. 1851—To assist in preventing aliens from entering or remaining in the United States illegally.

Passed the House and Senate March 13, 1952.

Approved by the President March 20, 1952 (Public Law 283). The purpose of this law is to overcome a deficiency in the present law by making it an offense to harbor or conceal aliens who have entered this country illegally and to strengthen the law generally in preventing aliens from entering or remaining in the United States illegally.

H.R. 400—To provide for the expeditious naturalization of former citizens of the United States who have lost United States citizenship through voting in a political election or in a plebiscite held in Italy.

Passed by the House and Senate August 8, 1951.

Approved by the President August 16, 1951 (Public Law 114). The purpose of this law is to enable those persons who lost their United States citizenship by reason of voting in a political election or plebiscite held in Italy on June 2, 1946, or on April 18, 1949, to regain their citizenship.

S. 2549—To provide relief for the sheep-raising industry by making special immigration visas available to certain alien sheepherders.

Passed the House and the Senate March 31, 1952.

Approved by the President April 9, 1952 (Public Law 307). This law is an emergency measure to alleviate the acute shortage of sheepherders who are regarded as essential to the survival of the sheep raising industry in the United States.

Bills and Resolutions on Which No Action Has Been Taken

H.J.Res. 411—To authorize completion and termination of the issuance of immigration visas authorized under the Act of June 25, 1948, as amended.

This resolution was designed to afford to eligible displaced persons and other immigrants defined in section 3 of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, as amended, the opportunity to use the total number of immigration visas authorized to be issued under the said Act.

Authorizing Additional Immigrants into the United States

H.R. 3359—To implement and augment existing statutes, so as to increase the prevailing immigration quota for Greece.

The bill was designed to increase the quota for Greece by sixty thousand during the next three fiscal years—fifty thousand for the first year and five thousand for each of the other two fiscal years.

H.R. 5313—To authorize the admission into the United States of selective immigrants possessing skills beneficial to the United States.

This bill would authorize the admission of five hundred thousand immigrants from Europe on a selective basis. It limits the issuance of visas to those immigrants possessing special skills.

H.R. 5648, H.R. 5969 and H.R. 5939—to admit fifty thousand immigrants, natives and citizens of Italy.

These bills authorize the issuance of 10,000 immigrant visas without regard to quota limitations each year for the next five years, to natives and citizens of Italy seeking to enter the United States as immigrants.

In other words, the bill would increase the annual quota for Italy from 3,845 to 13,845 for the next five years.

The American Federation of Labor is cognizant of the fact that Europe today is greatly over-populated and while there may be an urgent need for some type of relief to meet this problem, we should give full consideration to other North Atlantic nations in Europe who are also over-populated and faced with the same problem.

On March 24, 1952, the President sent a special message to the Congress (H.R.Doc. No. 400), requesting legislation to authorize the admission of an additional 300,000 immigrants into the United States over a three-year period. The President asked Congress to authorize a program that will—

1. Provide aid for the unfortunate victims of oppression, who are escaping from Communist tyranny behind the iron curtain;
2. Continue our participation in the international effort now being made to assist in the migration and resettlement throughout the world of a substantial number of persons from over-populated areas of Western Europe; and
3. Authorize additional immigration into this country, on a limited basis, to aid in alleviating the problems created by Communist tyranny and over-population in Western Europe.

The President stated that the solution of these problems cannot, and should not, be the responsibility of any one nation. It is an international responsibility—an integral part of the world crisis which the free nations must meet together. It demands the cooperative efforts of all international countries. But a real solution can be found only if the United States does its part.

To meet the present emergency, the President asked the Congress to authorize the admission of some 300,000 additional persons over a 3-year period. This would include, on an annual basis—

1. Seven thousand religious and political refugees from Communism in Eastern Europe;
2. Seven thousand five hundred Greek Nationals from Greece;
3. Seven thousand five hundred Dutch from the Netherlands;
4. Thirty-nine thousand Italians from Italy and Trieste; and
5. Thirty-nine thousand Germans and persons of German ethnic origin.

In addition to this emergency 3-year program, the President recommended that steps be taken to alleviate an unfortunate situation arising under the operation of the Displaced Persons Act. Although all visas authorized for displaced persons were issued, some 7,500 of them were lost because the persons to whom they were granted did not actually come to the United States. On the other hand, a number of persons who were seeking admission under the Act and whose applications were under consideration, were unable to obtain visas prior to the time the authority to issue such visas expired on December 31, 1951.

In essence, the President pointed out that the programs recommended are designed to meet the challenge and the responsibility. It is up to the Congress to give them prompt and favorable consideration.

On April 3, 1952, Congressman Celler introduced a bill to implement the President's message—

H.R. 7376—To authorize the issuance of three hundred thousand special non-quota immigration visas to certain refugees, persons of German ethnic origin, and natives of Italy, Greece and the Netherlands, and for other purposes.

The bill contained, in general, all of the President's recommendations and was referred to the House Judiciary Committee.

In accordance with the action taken by the Executive Council at its recent Boston meeting, the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor testified before Congress in support of this legislation. We believe that such legislation is in the best interests of the nation at the present time.

Subversive Activities

S. 1975—To permit the discharge by employers of persons who are members of organizations designated as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States, and to decertify labor organizations represented by or having officers who are members of such organizations.

This bill, introduced by Senator McCarran on August 9, 1951, would make it unlawful, and therefore a criminal offense, for any person who is a member of a Communist or Communist Front organization to be or act as an officer or representative of a labor organization and would revoke Labor Board certification of any labor organization having such an individual as an officer or representative. In addition, it would permit an employer to discharge, without liability, any employee who is listed on the records of the Federal Government or any State Government as a member of any organization declared to be subversive by the Attorney General of the United States.

While the purpose of the measure may be essentially to protect the internal security from Communist infiltration into labor unions, it is believed the proposed bill is ineffective for such purpose and goes beyond that purpose by penalizing, without reason or justice, labor organizations and their loyal and patriotic members. If it is desired that subversive officers and representatives of labor organizations be removed from unions, the simple way to effect such object would be to empower labor organizations to exclude them from membership without liability and without the handicaps of the Taft-Hartley Act.

It is perfectly clear that the enactment of this legislation in its present form would increase Government control over labor unions—an experience which has proved most troublesome under the Taft-Hartley Act. It also would permit the officers and members of our trade union movement to be harassed and humiliated by bureaucrats in Government.

The American Federation of Labor strongly opposed the enactment of this legislation and no action was taken by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Universal Military Training—H.R. 5904

In 1951, the Universal Military Training and Service Act, Public Law 51, was enacted. This law authorized creation of the military training program but left details and effective date to be determined subsequently.

This year, hearings were held in both Armed Services Committees before which the American Federation of Labor presented testimony explaining that while we endorsed the legislation in principle, that we insisted upon certain safeguards as set forth by our Executive Council and by our 1951 Convention. The measure, H.R. 5904, was decisively defeated by the House.

Chairman Vinson of the House Committee, following recommittal of the bill, H.R. 5904, insisted he planned to produce a new UMT bill which he said was intended to meet the objections of the A. F. of L. However, no further bill was offered but in the Eighty-third Congress new legislation will be proposed.

In addition, the House struck out the seventy-five thousand dollar appropriation item intended to meet the budget for the National Security Training Commission. This Commission was to have been the coordinating agency for UMT.

We recommend reaffirmation of the decision reached in the 1951 Convention, which is as follows:

In view of the present war emergency, the Executive Council favors limited universal military training; however, that it shall end with the emergency, that it shall not become part of our educational system and that it shall in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production and distribution, or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of labor individually and/or collectively.

Customs Simplification Bill

In the latter part of the last session of Congress the so-called Customs Simplification Bill offered by the Treasury Department came up for a hearing before the Ways and Means Committee of the House.

Examination of the bill disclosed that it would have abolished the American selling price as a basis of valuation for duty assessment. Such action would have exposed our workers in the rubber footwear industry as well as workers in chemical plants making coal tar products to the inroads of destructive foreign competition from low-priced imports.

Analysis also revealed that the bill contained a number of provisions that bore no relation to simplification of custom procedure. They were designed, rather, to give legislative approval to certain provisions of

the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which conflict with our existing laws, by changing our statutes accordingly.

President Green, in a letter to members of the Committee, offered his objections to several provisions of the bill. He pointed out that if such legislative endorsement of GATT is to be sought, it should be proposed as a separate measure in its own name so that all interested parties would be put on notice. Also, that it is a matter of sufficient weight and controversy to justify a separate bill, and it would be more appropriate and straightforward to seek ratification on its own merits.

The bill was reported to the House with most of the objectionable provisions eliminated, including the section that would have dropped the American selling price as a basis of import valuation. Some of the other features were also eliminated and a proviso inserted which says that passage of the bill is not to be interpreted as either endorsement or rejection of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The bill (H.R. 5505) passed the House on October 15, 1951, but no action was taken by the Senate.

Physically Handicapped

From the very inception of the American Federation of Labor down to the present day, Labor has taken the lead to establish and generally improve public programs for our millions of physically handicapped.

State factory inspection laws protecting workers from incurring handicapping injuries, workmen's compensation, vocational rehabilitation, continual efforts to improve medical care, education and retraining, and many other benefits are chiefly due to labor's unrelenting zeal.

Today it is essential that we address ourselves to establishing adequate Second Injury laws and, if possible, this coming year we shall launch a campaign designed to develop a basic law applicable universally in all states, as well as the various territorial possessions that will be at least a starting point for a definite program in this direction.

As a matter of policy, Labor is opposed to applicants for employment signing waivers of claims for disability because, in the lack of a proper Second Injury Statute, signing of such waiver may well be a means of the individual, in the event of incurring further disability on the job, having no recourse at all. It is understood that such applicants, of course, are already physically handicapped and it is contended by some well-meaning but uninformed persons and groups that we should advocate such applicants for employment signing such waivers as a means of promoting employment of handicapped people. But, pending development of an adequate and fair Second Injury Program, Labor is unalterably opposed to workers signing waivers as a prerequisite to employment.

The number of handicapped today is variously estimated by different authorities, but on the best available information at least 30 million citizens are in some degree physically handicapped. Of these, approximately 7,000,000 are severely handicapped. Yet, with proper rehabilitation, many of them can be restored to usefulness and, with proper placement, can satisfactorily fill a wide range of jobs.

There can be no question but that the various Federal-State programs are doing as well as their limited means, facilities and personnel permit, but the sum total of their activities is grossly inadequate to meet the real need.

National Employed Physically Handicapped Week

Congress set aside the first full week in October of each year as a period in which to enlist public interest in, and support for, employment of the physically handicapped. This year's observance will be from October 5 through 11.

Operations stemming from the "Week" have been the means of placing through the Federal-State employment systems during the past seven years 190,146 handicapped persons, of whom 97,849 were disabled veterans, and the over-all placements of the handicapped over the past ten years have been more than 2,400,000.

The American Federation of Labor has cooperated fully in this movement and again urges all constituent national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions, to participate to the fullest extent possible in this program and to establish permanent committees within their organizations on affairs of the handicapped in an effort to bring about a permanent year-round program.

Following is a list of the bills on this subject supported by Labor in this session of Congress:

Services for the Physically Handicapped

H.R. 3559—To establish the Federal agency for the Handicapped, to define its duties, and for other purposes.

The bill, if enacted, would establish an independent agency, placed for housekeeping purposes in the United States Department of Labor. Such agency would administer a comprehensive over-all program to aid the physically handicapped.

There were approximately twenty bills introduced on this subject during the 82nd Congress. However, no action was taken by Congress.

The proposal is supported by the American Federation of Labor and we recommend continued support by all American Federation of Labor affiliates when it is introduced in the 83rd Congress.

National Leprosy Act

S. 1874 (companion bill H.R. 4051)—To amend the Public Health

Service Act to improve the leprosy situation in the United States and for other purposes.

As previously stated, the real purpose of these bills is to stamp out leprosy in the United States and it is evident that the disease is more widespread than the public knows, as approximately 40 states are represented by patients being treated for Hansen's disease (leprosy) at the Carville, Louisiana, U. S. Public Health Hospital.

War veterans with service in the Far Pacific and others who have contracted the disease, together with their families, would be aided by the enactment of this legislation which has the full support of the American Federation of Labor.

National Income Tax Exemptions for Certain Handicapped

H.R. 4748 (companion bill S. 2652) To grant additional income tax exemptions and deductions to taxpayers who are permanently disabled and to allow additional income tax exemptions to taxpayers supporting dependents who are permanently disabled.

These bills are designed to provide relief from income tax up to \$600 a year, to cover transportation costs of the handicapped, on crutches or in wheelchairs who cannot use ordinary methods of transportation such as streetcars, trains, buses, etc., but are forced to use individual taxis or other private and expensive means of going to and from work.

Additional exemptions are provided of \$600 for each dependent who is blind and those who are permanently incapacitated by illness or physical defect. This legislation has considerable merit and it is only reasonable that such relief should be afforded taxpayers under these circumstances.

The American Federation of Labor shall continue its efforts to aid the physically handicapped and shall do everything possible to advance the enactment of appropriate legislation in this direction in the next session of Congress.

Health Care for Dependents of Servicemen

S. 2337—To provide for the national defense by enabling the States to make provision for maternity and infant care for wives and infants, and hospital care for dependents, of enlisted members of the Armed Forces during the present emergency, and for other purposes.

This proposal concerns the American GI—the enlisted man in the Armed Forces of the United States.

To servicemen whose wives become expectant mothers, nothing is more important than the assurance of proper medical facilities to see the mother and the child safely through. Yet, the great majority of them are confronted with an enormous economic obstacle: inability to

meet the heavy financial burden of proper prenatal medical care, of maternity hospitalization and of proper medical care of both the mother and the infant.

S. 2337 was designed to meet this phase of the acute problem. Hearings were held by the Senate subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on March 10 to 14 inclusive and April 10, 1952.

The American Federation of Labor testified before the Committee in support of S. 2337 and urged its adoption with a few perfecting changes. However, the Committee failed to take any further action in this session.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts in the next session of Congress to advance the enactment of this most needed legislation.

Central Arizona Project

S. 75—Authorizing the construction, operation and maintenance of a dam and incidental works in the main stream of the Colorado River at Bridge Canyon, together with certain appurtenant dams and canals.

The primary purposes of this project are to provide irrigation water for more than 725,000 acres in Arizona and New Mexico; and to furnish an installed capacity of approximately 770,100 kilowatts of power needed for domestic, commercial, and pumping purposes.

In 1950 the Senate passed S. 75 which authorized the construction of this project, but the House failed to take any action on this legislation.

S. 75 was again reintroduced in the first session of the 82nd Congress, and passed the Senate June 5, 1951. It was referred to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, where it encountered strong opposition from the Republicans and California representatives of the Committee, and no action was taken.

Select Committee on Consumer Interests

In the light of the dominant role of consumer expenditures in our economic life, Senator Gillette introduced S. Res. 169—"To establish a Senate Select Committee on Consumer Interests."

The establishment of this committee would, for the first time, give the consumer a national forum for discussion of his problems and interests. There already exist in Congress committees concerned with the problems and interests of all the other important groups in our economic life including farmers, business, transportation and communications, finance, small business and labor. The one outstanding gap is the lack of any committee charged with the responsibility for bringing to the fore the problems and welfare of consumers.

Our economy has become so complex that it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the ultimate expenditures of consumers are the real foundation of almost all economic activity. Investment expenditures are made in order to increase the efficiency of our economic activities but they are directed in the final analysis towards increasing the quantity and quality of the goods which are purchased by consumers. In fact, just about the only phase of our economic life which does not have either the direct or indirect purpose of providing consumer goods and services is activity for military purposes. Even this type of activity produces money incomes which influence the amount and pattern of consumer expenditures.

Labor is particularly interested in this problem because all too often the charge is made that prices are too high because workers' wages are too high, despite the fact that most workers are unable to provide for themselves and their families even the very modest standard of living suggested by the Labor Department in its City Worker's Family Budget.

We believe that this committee could make a careful investigation of the price structure for various types of products—not just farm products but other products which play an important role in consumer expenditures—to determine the responsibility of the various economic groups for the final price which the consumer pays.

The members of the American Federation of Labor, together with their dependents, constitute one of the largest groups of consumers in the nation. Our organization, therefore, has a direct interest in any proposal aimed at safeguarding the welfare of consumers. We testified before the Senate Rules Committee in support of the enactment of this legislation but the committee deferred action to the next session of Congress.

Puerto Rico

Before adjournment the Congress took their last step in granting full self-government to the island of Puerto Rico when it adopted a Joint Resolution (H.J.Res. 430) approving a Constitution which had been drafted by an elected Constitutional Convention in the island, and ratified by the people in a popular vote.

Puerto Rico now assumes a new status as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico with full local self-government and a Constitution. The new Constitution was the result of an arrangement in the nature of a compact between the Government of the United States and the people of Puerto Rico. The organization of the constitutional government by the people of Puerto Rico was authorized by Public Law 600, 81st Congress, which stated that "fully recognizing the principle of government by consent, this act is now adopted in the nature of a compact so that the people of Puerto Rico may organize a government pursuant to a Constitution of their own adoption." This authorizing legislation estab-

lished four standards for the new Constitution. It required that it provide a government republican in form, that it include a Bill of Rights, that it conform with the applicable provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and that it conform with the applicable provisions of the authorizing legislation.

In accordance with the principle of the compact, the people of Puerto Rico voted in a popular referendum to accept the legislation authorizing the organization of the constitutional government. The Constitutional Convention of Puerto Rico was authorized, and after four months the Constitution of Puerto Rico was agreed upon by a vote of 88 for, and 3 against, out of a total of 92 delegates and one absent. These delegates had been elected to the Constitutional Convention by the people of Puerto Rico through the democratic process of the ballot. On March 3, 1952, in a tremendous turn-out of electors, the people of Puerto Rico overwhelmingly voted in favor of accepting the Constitution by a vote of four to one. The Constitution was then submitted to the Congress of the United States for approval through the President, who found that it conformed with the provisions of the authorizing legislation and with the applicable provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Approval by the Congress was subjected to the same legislative procedures as any bill. A resolution providing for congressional approval was introduced in the House by Resident Commissioner A. Fernos-Isern, and in the Senate by Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming. The Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of both the House and the Senate held hearings, the latter received testimony from Luis Munoz Marin, Governor of Puerto Rico. The Senate and House Committees reported the resolution without approving Section 20 of Article II of the Constitution, which recognized the existence of certain human rights, such as the right of every person to obtain work, the right of every person to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, the right of every person to social protection in the event of unemployment, sickness, old age, or disability, and the right of motherhood and childhood to special care and assistance. These human rights had been included in the Constitution as aspirations to become achieved rather than as judicially enforceable rights. Nevertheless, the Senate and House Committees felt that it would be inadvisable to approve Section 20 because it was "confusing, not self-enforcing," and "it does not establish clear rights, duties, and bounds for legislative implementation."

The Senate and House Committees also omitted from their approval Section 5 of the Bill of Rights pertaining to the right to an education which stated "instruction in the elementary and secondary schools shall be free and compulsory to the extent permitted by the facilities of the State." The members of the Committees were of the opinion that this language might be construed to prohibit private and sectarian schools.

When the resolution was under debate in the Senate, Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, who vigorously opposed approval of the Puerto Rico Constitution from the outset, succeeded in amending the resolution to the effect that no future amendments to the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico would become effective until approved by Congress. A compromise on this feature was reached in Conference by the following language: "Any amendment or revision of this Constitution shall be consistent with the Resolution enacted by the Congress of the United States approving this Constitution, with the applicable provisions of the Constitution of the United States, with the Puerto Rican Federal Relations Act, and with Public Law 600, 81st Congress, adopted in the nature of a compact." This language remained in the Resolution as it was finally approved. Also in final form, Section 5 of the Bill of Rights was to have no force and effect until amended by the people of Puerto Rico by adding "Compulsory attendance to elementary public schools to the extent permitted by the facilities of the state as herein provided shall not be construed as applicable to those who receive elementary education in schools established under non-governmental auspices," thus insuring the right of children to attend non-governmental schools. Section 20 of the Bill of Rights was eliminated from congressional approval.

The Resolution of approval was signed by the President on July 3, and the congressional conditions of approval were accepted by the Constitutional Convention of Puerto Rico, which had been reconvened by its Chairman, Dr. A. Fernos-Isern, Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico.

The Governor proclaimed the Constitution in effect on July 25, which was the 54th anniversary of the occupation of Puerto Rico by American troops.

The Constitution will govern local self-rule and the Puerto Rican Federal Relations Act will prevail as a federal statute as to affairs concerning Puerto Rico of a federal character. Puerto Rico assumes a position similar to that of a state but, nevertheless, it does not become a member of the federation of states. It is in the nature of an "associated state."

The people of Puerto Rico and the Congress of the United States have thus worked out a new formula for dependent areas, which is not statehood, not independence, but a status in between the two.

Under the new arrangement, Puerto Rico will enjoy full local self-government for the first time, and the United States demonstrates to the world that it advocates and practices the principle of government by consent for all people. The last vestiges of colonialism are removed from Puerto Rico.

The American Federation of Labor extended its full support to the enactment of this legislation.

Extension of Federal Aid to Education in Puerto Rico

Despite the significant advances made during the last half century, Puerto Rico still has over 300,000 children of school age now out of school. In the urban areas there are 112,369, and in the rural zones, 205,605. In addition, 63 out of every 100 enrollees in urban areas receive instructions in half-day sessions; in rural areas, however, this ratio was 80 per 100.

The situation these figures reveal is appalling, to say the least, but it is a fact that the Government of Puerto Rico has done more, relative to its resources, in behalf of education during the last fifty years than any state of the union. In the last seven years they have expanded their school system to educate 100,000 more children.

Under a six year plan covering the years 1950 to 1956 they intend to build 2,899 new school rooms at a total cost of \$17,397,200. Operating costs for this program will amount to over \$2,000,000 per year, that is, \$2,000,000 for the first year, \$4,000,000 for the second year, \$6,000,000 for the third year, etc. To carry this proposed program to a successful completion, Puerto Rico will need 5,000 additional teachers whose salaries would total \$17,885,000 annually, if paid in accordance with the present unusual low salary scale.

For the secondary school level (ages 13 to 18) an expanded vocational program is needed in addition to the existing school opportunities. Remarkable progress has already been made in this field.

The Government of Puerto Rico needs money to meet this problem and has appealed to Congress for Federal aid. It is estimated that it would require no less than \$13,000,000 annually, over above present appropriations, to expand the system and its functions, without fundamental changes in patterns and practices now in use.

There were over thirty bills pending before the Congress when it adjourned providing some form of federal aid for education. Most of these bills included Puerto Rico on the same basis as the states which is in accord with the action taken at our last convention. However, the subject of Federal aid for education has become one of the most controversial issues before Congress and no action was taken.

The American Federation of Labor will continue its efforts to advance the enactment of appropriate legislation to meet the educational needs of Puerto Rico.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska

The bill (S. 50) granting Alaskan statehood was defeated in the Senate by a single vote, with the Chairman of the G.O.P. Policy Committee, Senator Taft, voting against the proposal. Senator Smith of New Jersey, who had proclaimed his support for the bill, was absent when the vote was taken but announced his intention to try for reconsideration. The Senate did not rescind its negative action.

The House previously in the same Congress had voted overwhelmingly to grant statehood to Alaska by enacting H.R. 5328.

The Hawaiian statehood bill (S. 49) was reported favorably to the Senate but also failed to be enacted. A similar House bill (H.R. 49) was pigeonholed in the House Committee.

A bloc of Southern Senators professed great alarm over fear of being outvoted by Senators from new states. They conducted an active campaign to prevent favorable action.

Twelve-Year Liquor Storage

Representative Eberharter, Pa., member of the Ways and Means Committee offered H.R. 7651 authorizing the warehousing of liquor from the present eight years to twelve years, the tax not to be paid on the stocks until removed from storage.

Our Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union opposed H.R. 7651 on the grounds that those employed in the smaller units of the distilling industry would be at a disadvantage, because the larger companies had larger facilities for warehousing.

H.R. 7651 was reported in the final days of the Eighty-second Congress but failed to be acted upon by either House. It can be expected this bill will be revised in the Eighty-third Congress.

Importation of Seafood Products

Last year the House passed overwhelmingly the bill to regulate importation of tuna and related products from Japan, Peru and elsewhere under tariff rates.

Since early this year the Senate Finance Committee had before it the House Bill, H.R. 5693. There were numbers of delays in disposing of this legislation, largely because of absenteeism in the Committee and because Senator Milliken, of Colorado, ranking minority member, is regarded as the authority on tariffs.

The Administration not only failed to support H.R. 5693, but actively through the State Department and other means fought the bill on the Senate floor from beginning to end. There was considerable discussion on claims that this Nation having just completed a Peace Treaty with Japan now must demonstrate its friendliness toward that Nation by allowing imports to continue to flow into the United States.

The bill was defeated by a vote of 32 to 43. The Finance Committee later reported to authorize a study by the U. S. Tariff Commission of the tuna industry which can become the basis for future consideration by the Congress.

Our fishing fleets are being laid up rapidly or are operating only on a part-time basis while last year eleven million pounds of tuna and tuna-like fish were brought into the United States on a cheap wage basis.

Tullahoma, Tennessee Wind Tunnel

The Air Engineering Metal Trades Council, Chattanooga, Tennessee, has enjoyed splendid relations in the construction of the world's largest wind tunnel at Tullahoma, Tennessee.

Because of a political upheaval in the State this year, efforts were made in the House of Representatives to cancel the contract of Arnold Engineering Development Center. The Federal Government has spent more than 3½ million dollars for operations at this Center, which investment would have been completely wiped out had the project then been taken from private hands and put into Government employment channels.

We were successful in obtaining an extension of time for the Development Center to continue operations through March 31, 1953. We had the excellent assistance of Senator O'Mahoney, Subcommittee Chairman, in bringing about success for our enterprise.

This bill, H.R. 7391, became Public Law No. 488. We cooperated with our Metal Trades Department in this matter.

Plattsburg Cantonment

We worked closely with our affiliated Central Body at Plattsburg, New York, obtaining legislation for construction of troop housing facilities, administrative and community facilities, utilities, land acquisition, medical facilities, storage facilities and shops for use by the Strategic Air Command for the United State Air Force.

This appropriation was contained in H.R. 8120, Public Law No. 534. The legislation will mean a great deal to the entire community in and near Plattsburg.

We also worked closely with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, Local Union No. 648 on this 36 million dollar project.

Federal Construction Lease-Purchase

Both House and Senate passed H.R. 6839 to authorize lease-purchase agreements between the Government and private property owners to extend the Federal acquisition of public buildings for use by the Post Office Department upon payment of rents after ten years.

The House also passed H.R. 4323, a general lease-purchase agreement bill for acquisition of buildings for general utilization aside from Post Office use. In the Senate objection was raised at the call of the calendar to consider H.R. 4323, thus leaving H.R. 6839 as the one bill on which action was completed.

Our interest in this legislation was limited to having it preserve the present labor standards provision which neither bill contained at the outset. We succeeded in having a restatement of labor principles in both bills. Section 7(b) of H.R. 6839 included the provision we wanted.

We worked closely with our Building and Construction Trades De-

partment on this legislation in warding off the latest attack on long-standing labor laws. The bill was vetoed on the ground that the Smith (Miss.) amendment would have given congressional "committees power over executive functions authorized by the Congress to be carried out by executive agencies."

Migratory Labor

Senate hearings were held on four Committee print bills dealing with migratory labor problems including abuses by employment agencies, lack of adequate and proper housing, wage fixing, and other phases of migratory labor.

The Committee on Labor and Public Welfare reported a migratory labor bill in the final days of the session setting up an independent committee on migratory labor, which will not be an "operating Committee" but rather a "coordinating committee" intended to bring together the efforts of existing agencies having to do with migratory problems. No further action was taken on the measure.

The several other Committee print bills on which hearings had been held at the same time remained unacted upon and will become the subject of further attention by the Committee in 1953.

We gave our wholehearted support to this legislation in the hope that worthwhile results could be achieved. Testimony before the Subcommittee was preponderantly in favor of results. We maintained that an over supply of labor increased by the importation of alien labor in direct competition with our own farm organization's membership could only serve to continue low wage rates.

Much of the results sought through these bills could be had administratively. This fact has been pointed out to the Committee's Chairman, Senator Humphrey, who has pointed out that some good results have been achieved from the hearings even though the bills have not traveled far.

Ice Harbor Dam

In 1946, the Congress authorized building Ice Harbor Dam on the lower Snake River in Idaho as the southernmost of a series of four multiple purpose projects. The dams were planned for development of the Snake River Basin, not far removed from the Hanford works of the Atomic Energy Commission. This year, five million dollars was sought to start the Ice Harbor job.

The funds were sought as part of the Civil Functions Appropriation bill (H.R. 7268). The Bonneville Power Administration, the marketing agency for the federal power program in the Pacific Northwest area, is responsible for supplying the needs of its customers, one of the most important of which is the AEC.

Not only as a defense undertaking, but as a general development

enterprise for the citizens of the vast area involved, we assisted in the task of attempting to get the needed money. Opponents to the budget item used the argument that salmon could not or would not use the tremendously high "ladders" which would have to be constructed to preserve the fish species. This objection carried great weight with House Appropriations Committeemen. Assurances that the fish would use them because they use "ladders" just as high in Sweden came rather late, too late to be of much benefit in the campaign to get the appropriation.

Even down to the last hours of the session, this appropriation of \$5,000,000 was contended for. Finally, assurance came from Senate Appropriations Chairman McKellar that he and Senator Maybank will include the request in the first supplemental bill to come along early in the next Congress. This promise has given renewed hope that the dam still can be built in time to take its place in the string of units on the Snake River to keep the heavy flow of energy needed for the atomic plant flowing without interruption.

Delaware River Port Authority

Coordinating with our affiliated Central Bodies in eastern Pennsylvania and western New Jersey, we shared in laying the legislative ground work for creation of the Delaware River Port Authority, with Philadelphia, Camden, and Chester as the hub of activity.

H.R. 8315 and H.R. 8316 have become Public Law No. 573 and Public Law No. 574 respectively. These laws extend and supplement the compact between New Jersey and Philadelphia for further bridging over and tunneling beneath the Delaware River.

In addition, the Port Authority will be enabled to create port facilities, docks, warehouses and related utilities. These new public works will mean a great deal to the combined communities and to the east in general, including south and southeastern New Jersey.

New tonnage figures for Delaware River traffic due to construction of the U. S. Steel Plant at Morrisville, just north of Philadelphia, has added greatly to the importance of port expansion.

The National Steel Company in Gloucester County, New Jersey, and many other enlargements are creating demand for methods for handling the shipment into and out of this vital industrial belt and economic gateway.

Philadelphia and metropolitan environs now have one-seventh of the nation's total population, and 18% of the nation's supply of power.

Our affiliated unions in this region have expressed their consciousness in the movement to give their territory its rightful place in the sun.

Dry Bill Again Defeated

We succeeded once more, this time by a margin of one vote, 6 to 7, in pigeon-holing in the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Commit-

tee the prohibition bill, S. 2444, sponsored by Senator Ed Johnson, of Colorado.

There was no activity on this legislation in the House Committee. The Senate bill remained dead for the remainder of the Congress, but the prohibitionists can be counted upon to continue their crusade as frequently as possible.

The Drys seized upon the opportunity later before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to peddle their wares during the hearing on an inquiry into radio and television material which might be classed as "immoral." Nothing further came to this hearing though we were watchful in our readiness to move in should occasion demand.

Industrial and Mine Safety

S. 1310, by Neely, West Virginia, provides for Federal regulation of safety measures in coal mines to prevent disasters. This bill has become Public Law No. 552 which represents a modification of the original draft of the legislation and is the best possible compromise available in view of the House Committee opposition to the Senate version.

The American Federation of Labor wholeheartedly supported the legislation, presenting testimony before both Committees and following through on detailed contacts with members of the Committees and members generally. Representatives Kelley and McConnell, both of Pennsylvania, took the lead in Committee in steering the safety bill.

Efforts to obtain Federal Mine Safety legislation have continued unceasingly since 1865, the year the first such bill was introduced. Federal authorities have been authorized to make inspections and report dangerous conditions, but the power to close mines has been held till now only by State Officials under the assumption that such "police powers" shall be reserved under the constitution solely to the States. Tests of the new law in the courts may be expected on constitutional grounds, after which, if necessary, any indicated revisions in the legislation will be made. The law represents the best possible legislation available under the circumstances and considering the opposition especially by southern operators.

Legislation (S. 2714 & S. 2325) to promote safety in industry generally was the subject of hearings by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The American Federation of Labor supported S. 2714, Murray, Montana, as the bill more likely to obtain approval both by the Congress and the President. Senator Humphrey, Minnesota, sponsored S. 2325 which would have mandatory safety provisions at the Federal level. S. 2714 would have promoted a Federally sponsored education program centered in the Department of Labor and administered in large measure in the respective States.

This bill was opposed by certain influences not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor and by a few States.

We had the active cooperation of the vast majority of State Labor Commissions or Departments in advancing the general cause of industrial safety.

In view of the temper of the Congress at this time and considering the modified form in which it finally passed the mine safety legislation, it was evident that no general industrial safety bill other than S. 2714 could be approved.

In view of the conflict, in methods included in S. 2325 and S. 2714, the Senate Committee failed to act on either bill and the House Committee having given its full attention to the Mine Safety bill, failed to reach the Industrial Safety bill.

Youthful Offenders Law Extended

In the 81st Congress we worked for the passage of the Federal Youth Correction Act, Public Law 865. However, this law did not include the District of Columbia because of questions regarding financial problems it would present to the District.

In the 82nd Congress a bill, S. 1184, to extend the Youth Correction Act to the District of Columbia, was approved and became Public Law 300.

The purpose of the legislation is to permit the courts to deal with youthful offenders regarding rehabilitation.

Traveling Library Service

At one of the infrequent hearings in the House Committee on Education and Labor we presented our views in support of the Library Services bill, H.R. 5195—to develop a public library service in rural areas.

Japanese Prison Survivors

We testified for and actively worked for enactment of S. 513, the bill to study malnutrition, its causes and effects as result of imprisonment by the enemy during World War II.

The organization known as the Workers of Wake, Guam and Cavite includes many members of A. F. of L. Unions. For this reason, we explained to members of the Labor Committees in the Congress, we felt an especial urge to bring about enactment of the legislation. Prospects were for early approval of the bill.

In the second session of the 82d Congress we caused to be introduced S. 2678, S. 2834, H.R. 7292 and H.R. 7293, to provide lump-sum death benefits to survivors of certain employees of contractors in World War II, and extension of detention benefits under the War Claims Act of 1948.

Failure of several Federal Agencies to submit complete recommendations on the bills contributed toward delay in final disposition of the legislation which got caught up in the closing days of confusion in the Eighty-second Congress.

State Labor Legislative Conference

As has been our custom, we were represented at the Eighteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation called by the Secretary of Labor. We brought our State Federation of Labor and City Central Body delegates up to date on what had occurred on the Capitol Hill scene since the preceding conference. Further, we assisted in preparing pertinent resolutions which later were approved unanimously by the Conference.

One such resolution was directly related to work we had done in the halls of the Conference on industrial safety and health, and the appropriation for which we were directly responsible for having obtained. The resolution, in the name of the respective states and Federations of Labor of the states, requested the U. S. Department of Labor to prepare a model industrial safety and health code. In addition, at the Nineteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation, the delegates would be asked to report upon progress made by the states in this vital field of manpower safety.

In the past, few states have shown outstanding records in saving life and limb in industry because of lack of adequate laws and proper and enlightened inspection methods.

Further, it was explained to the Conference in another pending resolution dealing with national labor legislative proposals that reference to equal pay for like work for both sexes traditionally has been no subject for legislation so far as the A. F. of L. was concerned. Rather, this subject has been left for labor contracts, though we have always stood firmly for a minimum floor under wages to be assured by legislation. The conference also eliminated reference to "equal pay for equal work" and substituted "equal pay for comparable work." It was explained that under today's complex system of production and the great increase in varieties of jobs that only slight changes need be made in duties in order to provide some difference in jobs though essentially the jobs may still be comparable for purposes of wages.

Legislative Booklet in Demand

Revised reprints of "Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor" were in such great demand during 1951 and 1952 that calls for this booklet were received at the rate of more than one thousand a month. Much of the demand came from our International Unions, many of which found ready use for them in organizing campaigns. Other correspondence came from research students and libraries and organizations, all wanting to know more of the A. F. of L.'s legislative achievements starting with 1905.

The pamphlet was brought up to date again late in 1951 between the First and Second Sessions of the Eighty-second Congress to meet the continuous requests for copies. This issue included the following

notable victories for our Unions in the First Session among a long list:

Improvement and extension of the Railroad Retirement Act (Public Law 234). Delay in effective date of federal income taxes in the Panama Canal Zone by one year (Public Law 82). Pay increases for postal employes, classified federal employes, Panama Canal Zone and District of Columbia teachers, firefighters and policemen (Public Laws 201, 204, 207). Copper tariff restriction removed (Public Law 38). Appropriations for industrial manpower safety programs and apprenticeship training plans (Public Law 253).

Included on the list of proposed legislative measures defeated as adverse to the best interests of Labor were:

The Lucas amendment which would have admitted company unions to the discussions by the Wage Stabilization Board. Preservation of the wage differential for Government employes in Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone and others.

In conformity with custom, "The Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor" will be revised and extended to include the entire Eighty-second Congress and will be available for distribution early in 1953. Requests for this bulletin should be directed to the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

"The Lobbyists" and Legislation

Publication of a recent book titled "The Lobbyists" provided some sharp comparisons between the tremendously large sums spent by some organizations on Capitol Hill and the extremely modest budget on which we operate our National Legislative Committee.

A book review included by the Workers Education Bureau in its monthly news medium pointed out that the A. F. of L. spends slightly in excess of \$52,000 a year for legislative activities. In marked contrast, some organizations spend upward of one million dollars in twelve months for the same purpose. The review further commented that the American Federation of Labor spends scarcely one cent of each dollar of income to present our views and to follow through on legislative proposals in the halls of the Congress.

Considering the consistent year-after-year results in Congress in carrying out our legislative program, it is appropriate to remark, in line with the statements in the book review, upon the high return received from each dollar spent for such purposes.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

As far as state labor legislation was concerned 1952 was a year of inaction. Little progress was effected and there was no significant backsliding although serious attempts in both directions were made.

Fourteen state legislatures met in regular session (Arizona, California, Colorado, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michi-

gan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Virginia). We can chalk up as advances the increase in the statutory minimum wage in Massachusetts from 65 cents to 75 cents an hour, increased workmen's compensation benefits for several states, and occupational disease coverage in two states. Bills to create State Labor Departments, to give labor departments rule-making authority, to improve industrial relations, to establish wage and hour laws, to restrict child labor, to further improve workmen's compensation legislation failed of passage.

Fortunately we can also record that measures to repeal the workmen's compensation law of Mississippi; to eliminate occupational disease coverage in George; to restrict union activity in Kentucky, Maryland, and Louisiana; and to turn over labor department functions in the field of industrial health and safety to the health department in Arizona were defeated. Vigilance and prompt and vigorous action by organized labor in these states was essential to prevent the passage of these reactionary measures.

A few details as to the legislation introduced and enacted follow:

Industrial relations.

In Virginia, the law relating to mediation and arbitration in public utilities, and authorizing seizure of such utilities by the governor under certain conditions, was amended. The Department of Labor and Industry was authorized to mediate and conciliate labor disputes. The governor still has power to seize public utilities, but under the new law, such seizure is authorized only when necessary to prevent interruption of such services that would threaten public health, safety, or welfare. Formerly he could do so merely upon receiving notice of a proposed lockout, work stoppage, or strike. The provisions of the old law prohibiting lockouts, and prohibiting strikes until the expiration of a 5-week notice period, were repealed. In disputes to which federal legislation does not apply, a 30-day notice of intention to modify or terminate a collective bargaining agreement is required.

The anti-picketing law of Virginia was amended to make it conform to a Virginia court decision. The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals had declared unconstitutional the provision forbidding any person not a bona fide employee of the business or industry being picketed to participate in any picketing activity "with respect to such business or industry." As amended, when a strike or lockout is in progress, picketing is prohibited for non-employees with respect to such strike or lockout.

A dangerous catch-all provision was also added, permitting any court of general equity jurisdiction to enjoin any picketing, whether or not otherwise permitted by law, "when necessary to prevent disorder, restrain, coercion, protect life and property, or promote the general welfare."

A proposed amendment to the Virginia anti-closed shop law which would have permitted union shop agreements was defeated as was a bill for a Wagner-type state labor relations act in New Jersey. This bill was favorably reported from committee but never came to a vote.

Industrial health and safety.

For the first time in years no legislation was enacted in the field of industrial health and safety. A number of bills were introduced but failed of passage. Among these were bills to create state Labor Departments with rule-making authority in Arizona and Mississippi and a bill giving the State Labor Department of Michigan rule-making authority.

Workmen's compensation.

General increases in benefits were provided in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Michigan, and Virginia. Pennsylvania increased its maximum benefits from \$25 to \$30 a week for temporary disability. The same maximum was set for total disability under both the workmen's compensation and the occupational disease laws, and a \$22.50 weekly maximum was established under both laws for a widow with one child. Michigan raised maximum disability benefits for accidents and diseases from \$34 to \$38, and death benefits from \$32 to \$36. Kentucky brought its weekly maximum benefits up to \$26 for death, \$24 for partial disability, and \$27 for total disability. An amendment to the Virginia law, which covers both accidents and occupational diseases, raised its maximum benefits for death or disability to \$25. Virginia also changed from schedule coverage to full coverage of occupational diseases.

In Louisiana, maximum medical benefits were raised from \$500 to \$1,000 and occupational diseases were covered for the first time. One of the most important measures introduced was a complete revision of the law which would have created a workmen's compensation commission to take the place of the present cumbersome court administration system, and would have raised benefits and made other improvements. This bill was reported unfavorably and withdrawn. However, a law was enacted to set up a special commission to investigate the workmen's compensation law and recommend needed legislation to the 1954 session.

An attempt in Mississippi to repeal the workmen's compensation law outright was defeated when the committee reported the bill unfavorably. In Georgia, a proposal to repeal the occupational disease provisions died without any action being taken.

Physical examinations.

Two states—New Jersey and Virginia—adopted statutes forbidding an employer to require an employee or applicant to pay the cost of a medical examination required as a condition of employment.

Child labor and school attendance.

Few changes were made this year in child-labor and school-attendance laws. Kentucky extended its minimum school term from 7 to 9 months, with certain exceptions for the 1951-52 school year to avoid reducing teachers' salaries. Another Kentucky law permitted a child between 14 and 16 years of age to be employed in non-manufacturing or non-mechanical establishments during regular school hours if the school authorities have arranged for him to attend school at other hours. In Massachusetts, the authority of the Commissioner of Labor and Industry to relax laws regulating the employment of children and women, in emergency, was extended to July 1, 1953.

Several important bills, some of which would have raised and some lowered, child labor standards, were defeated or did not come to a vote. Among these was a New York bill which would have set a maximum 40-hour week for children under 16, and extended the maximum hour standard to children employed in agriculture. A South Carolina bill would have set a 40-hour week for minors under 16, required proof of age for minors under 18, and authorized the Labor Commissioner to designate hazardous occupations for minors under 18. A proposal in Mississippi to increase the minimum school terms from 80 to 120 days and to make the compulsory school attendance law applicable to children between the ages of 7 and 18 died in committee.

A Maryland bill to lower standards by setting the minimum age for employment in bowling alleys at 14 rather than 16, was defeated. In New York, the governor vetoed a bill sponsored by the New York State Publishers Association which, among other things, would have made newspaper carrier boys "independent contractors." In his veto message the governor pointed out that this would eliminate the possibility of workmen's compensation protection for such newsboys.

Protection of women workers.

The only protection afforded working women this year was the equal pay bill enacted in New Jersey.

Wages and hours.

Massachusetts raised its statutory minimum wage from 65 cents to 75 cents an hour, making two states with a statutory minimum wage as high as that set by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. Connecticut last year established a statutory minimum of 75 cents an hour.

Wage and hour bills similar to the Federal Act were introduced in Michigan, New Jersey, and New York, but all failed of passage.

State progress in labor legislation.

Again and again in our annual reports on state labor legislation the Executive Council has called attention to the great gaps in the pro-

tection of workers. We have challenged the state officials who loudly proclaim their rights to handle all labor questions to the wage earners in their States. This year when practically no legislative progress is recorded we may well take a new look at the State picture. Today there are still 5 states without labor departments, the first essential in the protection of workers through legislation. A number of others have labor departments with such limited functions and appropriations that they are hardly worthy of the name. In only 5 states are all important labor functions combined in one department. In others they are scattered among various agencies thus nullifying much of their effectiveness.

Industrial accidents are a blot on the American picture of efficient production. Over 2 million workers were injured, 16,000 killed, and 91,000 permanently injured in 1951. Year after year this toll goes on. As in the past nine years, the American Federation of Labor in 1952 sponsored legislation providing federal aid to the states for the promotion of industrial health and safety (Murray Bill, S. 2714). We have done this because we have felt that if the states had more adequate facilities they could do a good job in cutting down the waste of human lives and limbs. Strange as it may seem, we have found little active support from state Labor Commissioners for our efforts to assist them in improving their facilities, particularly when we note that another legislative year has passed and not a single state has improved its safety and health legislation. Twelve states have no rule-making authority—the only effective method for keeping accident prevention program up-to-date. Relatively few of those that have authority have issued a substantial number of codes and have kept them current. Ten states do not have a single full-time safety inspector. This situation cannot be tolerated long. Either the states must do a better job of accident prevention or the federal government will be called upon to do it for them.

Now let us take a look at the workmen's compensation picture. For the workers who are injured or killed in industry what provision is made for their care and that of their families? The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that it takes \$80.12 a week to keep a family of four on a modest standard of living, and yet 36 states have maximum benefits of less than \$35 a week to provide for the injured worker and his dependents during his period of total disability. Although in theory injured workers should receive at least two-thirds of their wages the maximums set in various states bring this down to a good deal less than 50 percent of wages. Death benefits and medical benefits are shockingly inadequate and vary widely from state to state. A great deal needs to be done to bring these benefits in conformity with accepted standards.

Inadequate as these benefits are they are not available to large numbers of workers who are excluded from coverage by exemptions

for small employers and for workers employed in domestic service and agriculture.

Employers in 26 states can still choose whether or not they want to have their employees covered by workmen's compensation laws.

Private casualty insurance companies still write all or most of the insurance in 42 states. Only six states have exclusive funds although experience has demonstrated the effectiveness of this method of securing prompt and full payment for injury without excessive litigation.

Five states still hang on to the long tricky process of court administration of workmen's compensation laws.

Four States make no provision for occupational disease coverage and 18 States have only partial coverage.

Twenty-five states still permit children of 14 and 15 to work in stores and factories during school hours and few have any regulation of employment in agriculture. Of the 1,630,000 working children under 16 in 1950, 55 percent worked in agriculture.

Twenty-two states are without minimum wage laws for women and children and in some of the states where such laws are on the statute books they are not enforced or kept up-to-date with the rising cost of living. Only 5 states have applied their minimum wages to men and two of these have set statutory minimums of 75 cents.

Twenty states have no anti-injunction laws to supplement the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Turning from this record of state inaction in the protection of the health, safety, and industrial well-being of their citizens, we note the continuing effort in these states to cripple trade unionism by all sorts of devices—licensing of officers, prohibition or restriction of peaceful picketing, secondary boycotts, and other recognized legal economic pressures, interference with the internal affairs of unions, and outlawing or regulating closed or union shop.

LABOR'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

In accordance with the action taken at the time of the last convention, Labor's League for Political Education has been established as a formal part of the American Federation of Labor.

The educational activities of the League are now financed out of the American Federation of Labor per capita tax funds. Prior to last year these activities were financed by a special assessment paid by the cooperating national and international unions.

The activities of the League which are strictly political in nature must be financed out of voluntary contributions. The Taft-Hartley Act specifically states that union funds may not be used in behalf of candidates running for national office. Therefore, the League launched a campaign in January of this year to encourage American Federation

of Labor members to voluntarily contribute one dollar apiece to LLPE. Membership cards were given to all contributors. A promotion program including detailed instructions, leaflets, bulletin board placards, and all types of labor newspaper promotion material was launched in January and has been continued through each succeeding month.

The cooperation of the national and international unions in this fund-raising drive has been most encouraging. Of the 92 national affiliates which could legally join in this drive and which are not affiliated with the Railway Laborers' Political League, a total of 85 are at present soliciting contributions. These 85 unions represent 22,208 local unions throughout the country.

Unfortunately, the voluntary contribution campaign has not been as successful as expected. Similar campaigns carried on in 1948 and in 1950 brought in approximately a half million dollars each.

The League has continued to carry out its political education program. However, as an integral part of the American Federation of Labor, it was decided to eliminate the LLPE semi-monthly newspaper, the LEAGUE REPORTER, and publish a weekly eight-page AFL newspaper, the AFL NEWS-REPORTER which commenced publication in December of last year. The former editor of the LEAGUE REPORTER now prepares political education material for publication in the AFL NEWS-REPORTER. The LEAGUE REPORTER cartoonist was also retained by the new paper.

The Radio Department of the League has continued to render technical and financial service to candidates running for office and to produce political education programs the year round.

Research services and individual analyses of the records of incumbent Congressmen have been provided by the League.

Women's literature designed to attract the support of the housewives and mothers in American Federation of Labor trade union homes has been disseminated.

The Director and his staff have traveled into every corner of the country speaking before meetings, organizing local LLPE units and giving advice and counsel where needed.

At the Miami Administrative Committee meeting in January the question of whether the League would endorse a candidate for President was resolved in this manner. It was decided that this was a question which should be left until after the party nominating conventions and until the American Federation of Labor Convention could consider the matter in September on the highest possible level.

Primary elections have produced both disappointments and gratifying successes. There is no way to forecast with accuracy the outcome of the November election. However, since the formation of the League five years ago, there has been a complete reversal of the previous wave

of anti-Labor laws passed at the state and national level. There still remain on the statute books many laws which should be repealed or modified.

In order to repeal harmful laws and prevent the passage of further harmful laws, it is necessary to maintain constant vigilance in the political arena. In the shifting tides of politics, Labor's friends will not always win every election. However, as the American Federation of Labor, through LLPE, carries out its trade union responsibility to educate its members and to encourage them to vote for proven friends of Labor year after year, eventually professional politicians will acquire respect for working people and will eventually enact basic laws designed to protect their rights.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

In accordance with the provisions of Section 9 of the General Rules Governing Departments of the American Federation of Labor please be advised that the Building and Construction Trades Department has during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952 fully conformed to the laws, procedures and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect this Department.

A report of the Department's activities during the year ending June 30, 1952 is herewith submitted:

MEMBERSHIP of affiliated national and international unions has continued to increase during the year. Charters were issued to five newly organized local building and construction trades councils and one newly organized state council. There are now 576 local councils and 19 state councils. Several highly successful sectional conferences of local and state councils were held throughout the year.

EMPLOYMENT during the year has been relatively high. Signs of serious unemployment appeared during the third and fourth quarters of 1951 in certain non-defense areas due to severe cut backs in allocations of building materials under the Government's Controlled Material Plan. This problem is being overcome by a more realistic approach on the part of the Government in the allocation of materials.

WAGES—Building tradesmen's wages have not kept pace with the increased cost of living. However, it is expected that the new 15 cent across the board formula and the 7½ cents welfare benefit allowance announced by the Construction Industry Stabilization Commission on March 13, 1952 will prove to be helpful in bringing about long overdue justifiable increases for all building tradesmen.

BULLETIN—The Department has continued to publish its monthly Bulletin which has been very well received.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES—The National Joint Board for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes in the building trades has

continued to function throughout the year. No new national agreements covering recurring disputes have been executed nor have any Hearing Panels been established by the Board to bring about settlement of such recurring disputes.

We continue to seek ways and means to improve and expedite the Board's operations. While the Department is not satisfied with the Joint Board set-up for many reasons, particularly the delays in getting job decisions to the field, it must be recognized that the Board has been effective in keeping our jurisdictional problems out of the hands of the National Labor Relations Board.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING—The apprenticeship training program for building tradesmen sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor has been very well received by many of our local councils, their affiliated trades and contractors groups throughout the country. While many new joint labor-employer programs have been inaugurated during the past year it appears that the number of young apprentices who will graduate to journeymen status in the coming year will fall far short of fulfilling the need for skilled craftsmen in our expanding defense construction program.

HOUSING—Defense housing program during the past year has fared miserably to come anywhere near meeting the needs of workmen in defense areas—this is particularly true of the need for housing of construction workers employed on defense plants in isolated areas.

Military and servicemen's housing program appears to have made a creditable start toward housing servicemen and their families on or near military reservations in the United States. Here again the program has been slow in getting started and falls far short of fulfilling the demand.

Middle income rental housing has made little or no headway during the year toward meeting the tremendous demands for such units.

Public Low-Rent Housing program which was limited to 50,000 units during the year has made perhaps its best progress since the enactment of the Housing Act of 1949. Prospects for the coming year are dim indeed—the House again voted 5,000 units which was upped by the Senate to 45,000 units. The outcome will probably be a compromise of 35,000 units which is far short of the 135,000 units per year needed and as specified in the Housing Act of 1949.

Slum Clearance and Redevelopment Program appears to finally have made a very limited start toward carrying out the provisions of the 1949 Housing Act. Progress has been slow and limited which is probably due to site acquisition problems, the scarcity of building materials and the lack of proper low rental housing for the replaced slum dwellers.

Credit restrictions under Regulation X have recently been eased and may be removed entirely in the months ahead. Regulation X with

its high down payment requirements has deterred many from purchasing lower priced homes—this has also retarded home construction in many areas.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—For many years this Department has been most concerned over the emasculation of the functions of the Department of Labor. During the past year we have time and time again seen the urgent necessity for placing in the Labor Department the responsibility for enforcement of such federal laws as the Davis-Bacon Act.

Reorganization Plan 14 permits an investigation to be made by the Labor Department but leaves enforcement up to individual governmental agencies. The Army Engineers, Navy, Air Force, and other Departments have continued to use maintenance crews and service men on new construction. The practice of using apprentices to do journeymen's work is not uncommon and outright violations of payment of prevailing wages under Davis-Bacon are also prevalent not only by military contractors but also by contractors whose home building projects are financed through F.H.A. guaranteed loans.

These problems are not new and will no doubt continue in the coming year and the years ahead until full enforcement is placed in the Labor Department.

Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin is deserving of high praise for his cooperation with this Department. He is considerably restricted by the few functions which now remain in his Department. Even these few functions which are mostly statistical will have to be further curtailed in the coming year due to the drastic cuts in the appropriations for his Department.

Taft-Hartley

The experiences of the Department as regards Taft-Hartley during the past year are believed to be most significant. It is our sincere hope that they will merit the full and careful consideration of the entire Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The Department's efforts to obtain relief for building trades unions from the impossible representation election requirements of the Act have to date proved fruitless.

Department sponsored Senate Bill 1973 was introduced jointly by Senators Humphrey, Taft, Nixon and Cain on Aug. 9, 1951. Public hearings were held from Aug. 29 thru Sept. 4, 1951. Finally nine months after conclusion of public hearings the Senate Labor and Education Committee on May 5, 1952 favorably reported the bill with minor clarifying amendments to the Senate. On May 12, 1952 the bill was called up for a vote and passed the Senate without a single objection.

After S. 1973 passed the Senate it was sent to the House of Rep-

representatives where it was referred to the House Education and Labor Committee. Chairman Barden, Democrat of North Carolina, has to date refused to take any action on the Senate-passed Bill. Chairman Barden has also continually refused to take any steps to hold hearings on House Bills H.R. 5255, H.R. 5264 and H.R. 6389 which are companion bills to the original S. 1973. All three House bills were referred to the Barden Committee last September, over ten months ago, and to date no action.

Senate Bill 1973 is quite simple in form. It would merely permit the execution of union security contracts in the building industry prior to employment of any workmen and without the necessity of a NLRB conducted representation election. Also the bill provides that state laws restricting the use of union security contracts would not apply to such contracts in the building industry.

The Senate Labor Committee's report very ably sums up the need and justification for this amendment and is required reading for all those interested in Taft-Hartley.

To further belabor the merits and needs of S. 1973 in this report seems unnecessary. Rather it is hoped that all segments of our great American Federation of Labor will profit from the lessons we have learned in our unsuccessful, ceaseless and untiring efforts to secure relief under Taft-Hartley.

We have conferred during the past year with many senators and representatives, both Democrats and Republicans, regarding S. 1973. Some were very sympathetic, others were non-committal, while many including friendly labor senators and congressmen were skeptical of amending Taft-Hartley in any way, shape or form. Some stood firm for outright repeal or nothing. The net result is utter confusion on the Taft-Hartley issue. Needless to say this state of affairs is most pleasing to all anti-Labor senators and congressmen. Our few friends in Congress appear confused on the issue of Amendments vs. Repeal. Like many segments of our great American Federation of Labor our few friends in Congress are divided on this all important issue.

This serious situation cries out for clarification by the American Federation of Labor.

The present confused state of affairs on Repeal vs. Amendments is but adding fuel to the fires set by anti-Labor senators and congressmen to engulf and destroy all organized labor by creating dissension and jealousies in our ranks.

Daily we hear of the many injustices of Taft-Hartley as it is being applied to organized labor. One day it's a court decision requiring one union to ignore another union's picket line—next it's either a NLRB ruling or a court decision declaring a union who strikes a non-union subcontractor to be in violation of the secondary boycott prohibitions of the Act—next it's use of the injunction powers of the Act—next

we learn of the NLRB penalizing both unions and their employers for carrying out union security provisions of their mutually agreed upon contracts while at the same time the NLRB admittedly finds it impossible, because of the intermittent nature of the work, to conduct representation elections which would make legal the very acts for which these unions are penalized. From many quarters come reports that the NLRB in its administration of the Act has assumed the dictatorial position of telling unions and employers what is and what is not the proper subject matter for collective bargaining. From still other quarters come reports of crippling damage actions against unions for violations of the Act.

And so it goes *Ad infinitum*.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Complying with the provisions of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor under which the Metal Trades Department was chartered, and also following the precedent of a great many years, we submit the following report:

The affiliated and cooperating international unions comprising the Metal Trades Department during the past year have engaged in many organizing campaigns. These organizing campaigns have generally been under the auspices of local Metal Trades Councils, with which Metal Trades Councils the local unions in a plant or area have been affiliated.

There has been a relaxing of the rigid rule of the Metal Trades Department confining affiliates of local councils to those international unions affiliated with the Department. This policy has been made necessary so that all employees in a plant or operation may go into their respective unions and, through those unions, be affiliated with the Metal Trades Council.

The procedure which has been followed and which has proven most successful has been the overall ballot covering all employees in the plant, including all the members of the respective unions. In this way it has been possible to present a united organization on the ballot without the necessity of splitting the group into separate unions. Bargaining with employers following elections is then carried on by the Metal Trades Council, whose bargaining representatives generally are chosen, one from each union affiliated. This system has proven eminently successful.

The Metal Trades Department strongly urges upon the entire American Federation of Labor that the pursuing of a policy of this kind can result in far greater organization than has been attained up to the present time.

This program could not have been successful without the full cooperation of the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor, which has given unstintingly of its time and rendered assistance through

its respective organizers. The international unions have also cooperated to the fullest extent in making organizers available. As a result of this extended organizing campaign, many additional Metal Trades Councils have been chartered.

The American Federation of Labor, through this activity, is now foremost in the representation of employees in the atomic energy field. There is only one major atomic energy plant in the United States today which is not represented by some organization affiliated with the A. F. of L.

We cannot be too emphatic about drawing the attention of the American Federation of Labor to this great industrial development, one which might well become the largest industrial operation in the United States. Within less than a decade more money has been spent in the development of atomic energy and its resultant phases than has ever been spent on any industrial development in the United States in its entire history. There can be no question that atomic energy will supplant our present accepted power elements. Atomic powered ships and submarines are a reality. It is believed that air planes are in the same category. It is but a short step to the time when other means of transportation will be powered by atomic energy. Our power plants, even heating elements in buildings will use atomic energy in years to come.

This development presents the greatest challenge to the craft unions within the American Federation of Labor of anything which has happened since organization first started. It has been demonstrated that these plants can be organized under traditional A. F. of L. policies with a preservation of the craft union. The combined efforts of everyone will be needed. If we are to survive we cannot permit the employees of these plants to become organized by some group whose ideals are contrary to those of the American Federation of Labor. The President's Report to the Convention of the Metal Trades Department will deal in more detail with this activity.

For many years the Metal Trades Department has called upon the government to make possible a merchant marine consistent with the position of the United States among other nations of the world. The first step toward this program has become a reality through the enactment of a ship operating and shipbuilding act.

The American Federation of Labor and the Metal Trades Department have believed that at no time should the United States be dependent upon any nation or group of nations to carry its commerce during normal times, or its troops and supplies during time of war. We should be self-sufficient. It is our sincere belief that by the expansion of the now enacted legislation, and the application of its provisions, a permanent merchant marine will become a reality.

Employment in the metal trades industries has continued at a high level. There has been some increase in shipbuilding and considerable

increase in employment in the navy yards. American Federation of Labor unions, through Metal Trades Councils, are represented in all of the naval shipyards of the country and in the majority of the private shipyards.

Some sections of our nation have been neglected in the building of ships and the awarding of contracts. One of the objectives of the Metal Trades Department is to seek equalization of distribution of shipbuilding to the end that shipyards be maintained on all coastal fronts.

The organizations affiliated and cooperating with the Metal Trades Department have felt keenly the injustices and unfairness of much of the Taft-Hartley Act. We have examined with care the report of President Gray of the Building and Construction Trades Department on the effect of this law and substantially agree with his conclusions. We can find only one way to effectively combat this act, and that is by constantly striving to organize the unorganized workers into their proper unions under the American Federation of Labor.

We are of the firm conviction that if the production industries are permitted to be organized by others than American Federation of Labor unions they will slowly strangle A. F. of L. organizations dependent upon their products. There can be only one answer to this, and that is the policy being followed by the Metal Trades Department of organization into their proper craft unions of every worker possible.

There has been constant improvement in wages and working conditions where there have been agreements either with Metal Trades Councils or affiliated unions of the Department. These agreements have come about as a result of collective bargaining with a very minimum of government edict or domination.

We propose, if permitted to do so, to continue this program of expansion and organization and feel that with the continued assistance of the affiliated and cooperating International Unions and the organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor we can and will be successful in the year to come.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor takes pleasure in reporting that its intensified campaign during the past year has proven most successful in promoting the fundamental principles of union-label, shop card and union button patronage throughout the nation. It has remained the basic policy of this Department to utilize every available media and explore every possible avenue in an attempt to keep increasing the demand for the high-quality products made, and the excellent services rendered, by members of all A. F. of L. national and international unions.

The Department is constantly in search of new techniques and ideas which may be used in publicizing the union label, shop card and union

button not only to members of the American Federation of Labor and their families, but also to manufacturers and employers in service establishments. This type of promotion is carried on every week of the year and is highlighted by the Union Industries Show which is held annually. In this brief report only a summary of the activities of the Department can be given, with a condensed description of each activity listed in its respective category.

Acknowledgements

The Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department is most appreciative of the valuable advice and assistance rendered during the past year by President William Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany of the American Federation of Labor. Their outstanding contributions to the Department's campaign to promote union labels, shop cards and union buttons are typical of the spirit of cooperation shown by all A. F. of L. affiliates, Union Label Councils, local unions and women's auxiliaries.

Director of Organization, Harry E. O'Reilly, and his staff of A. F. of L. organizers played an important role in assisting with many Department activities, with special emphasis on the last Union Industries Show in Boston.

The Department expresses its thanks to A. F. of L. Publicity Director Phil Pearl and his associates for the liberal space given to union label activities in the new and highly successful AFL News-Reporter, and to Bernard Tassler, Managing Editor of The American Federationist, for the colorful pictorial displays and articles dealing with the activities of the Union Label Trades Department.

This appreciation also extends to Frank Edwards and his daily AFL News Broadcast and the publishers and editors of weekly and monthly labor newspapers, journals and other periodicals which have so liberally supported the union label, shop card and union button publicity campaign.

Union Label Week

Established to create better public relations and to promote good will for all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, Union Label Week this year was an outstanding success. From September 1 thru 7 special celebrations and promotions were staged throughout the nation to promote the sale of union label goods and the use of union services.

Local merchandisers made up special window displays of union label goods, ran advertisements in local papers and ran spot announcements on radio and TV. Labor organizations held picnics, rallies, banquets and carnivals to observe the annual occasion.

Governors and mayors of various cities issued proclamations declaring that the seven-day period be set aside for union label celebrations.

The Union Label Trades Department issued special posters and press releases in addition to filling requests for pamphlets and brochures about union labels, shop cards and union buttons.

The tremendous interest and cooperation shown in this project is proof of the important role that Union Label Week is playing in the overall activities of this Department.

Union Label Councils

The Union Label Trades Department has instituted an intensive campaign to organize throughout the Nation new Union Label Councils (formerly designated as Union Label Leagues) and to bolster the activities of the already-existing Label organizations, re-establishing Councils which have become inactive and withdrawing charters from some defunct Leagues which cannot feasibly be reorganized.

To implement this program, a Label Councils Division has been established within the Union Label Trades Department. This Division has as its primary function the responsibility of heading up this organizing campaign and carrying out national union label programs through the facilities of these Union Label Councils.

Since the Department's last convention, more than fifty new Union Label Councils have been chartered and many inactive ones have been revitalized and brought into good standing. Active organizational campaigns have been launched in 28 states with representatives of the Union Label Trades Department appearing at 86 central labor union meetings and urging the formation of Union Label Councils. Regular correspondence is being carried on with each of the state federations and central bodies throughout the nation, outlining plans for union label promotion and furnishing suggestions and advice in connection with union label campaigns.

A Union Label Council is, in fact, a local branch office of the Union Label Trades Department, having as its principal objective the bringing about of a greater demand for union label products and for services identified by the shop card and union button. The Department's union label program has been strongly supported by the various national and international unions and it is urged that this splendid cooperation be continued in ever-increasing measure in order that the ultimate goal of "a Union Label Council in every city in the United States" be accomplished.

Press Relations

The Public Relations Division of the Union Label Trades Department is constantly engaged in the dissemination of news relative to

the union label, shop card and union button. News releases, special features, editorials, cartoons, posters, pamphlets and photo layouts are sent regularly to weekly labor newspapers, monthly labor journals and labor news services. In addition, a constant touch is kept with labor editors of daily newspapers in the nation's principal cities.

Included in the overall "Press Relations" program is a special service of supplying upon request from editors special articles and mats of the union labels of all affiliates.

As a newly-added service, a special convention "team," consisting of a news writer and photographer, is available for covering press relations at conventions of unions affiliated with the Department. The only expense to the organization requesting this service is that of transportation to and from Washington, D. C.

Women's Auxiliaries

Steady and substantial progress is being made by the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. During the past year several state federation and city central women's auxiliaries as well as numerous local women's auxiliaries have been added to the rolls of affiliates.

Women's auxiliaries are actively engaged in economic, political and social fields. They are especially helpful in all campaigns for union labels, shop cards and buttons. In the average household women spend almost all of the union-earned dollar for the necessities of life.

Realizing the vital importance of women as consumers the Union Label Trades Department at its regular convention in 1936 adopted a resolution for the purpose of forming an "American federation" of women's auxiliaries affiliated with their respective national and international unions of the American Federation of Labor. Since that time the Department has received and now enjoys the full cooperation not only of longer established auxiliaries but also many new local auxiliaries which are affiliated directly with the A.F.W.A.L.

The high potential of A.F.W.A.L. membership among the millions of women members of American Federation of Labor trade unionists' families is receiving encouraging consideration by officials of American Federation of Labor unions which have no women's auxiliaries now. A.F.W.A.L. members serve on boards and committees of civic, state and federal government agencies as well as welfare and charitable associations.

Thus, union label-conscious and union-minded women joining in a great auxiliary movement are helping to bring about a new era of security, happiness and greater material as well as spiritual life for all Americans.

Be Union—Buy Label

This slogan is rapidly becoming the "buy" word throughout the nation. Through the use of the highly successful billboard posters, innovated last year, the Department has been able to carry its message to hundreds of union meeting halls across the country. With a new five-color poster inserted into these billboards each month, the same theme is repeated graphically twelve times a year to thousands of members of American Federation of Labor local, national and international unions.

Together with periodical radio broadcasts dealing with union label buying and the annual Union Industries Show, these billboards are doing yeoman service in increasing the demand for union label goods and union services.

AFL Union Industries Show

Breaking all previous attendance records for cities of comparable size, 644,297 New Englanders visited the 1952 Union Industries Show in Boston from May 17 thru 24. It was the first time this "World's Greatest Labor-Management Exhibition" was held in the northeastern part of the United States and it was, by far, the greatest exhibition of any type ever to be staged in New England. There was a greater variety of colorful and educational displays, with a total value of \$20 million.

The A. F. of L. Union Industries Show is an outstanding example of good public relations. With the huge display of the American Federation of Labor occupying a prominent position on the stage of the huge auditorium, the public immediately absorbed the fact that this was an exhibition of the skill and craftsmanship of members of the greatest labor organization in the world . . . the American Federation of Labor.

Everywhere throughout the entire three-floor auditorium banners carrying the American Federation of Labor insignia were hung. On opening day, thousands of spectators were on hand to see President William Green of the American Federation of Labor cut the ceremonial ribbon in front of Mechanics Building. Flanking President Green were Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, members of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and top officials of affiliated national and international unions.

In this brief report it is impossible to describe in detail all the amazing displays and the numerous special events. A complete description of the 1952 A. F. of L. exhibition will be given in the annual report of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department to its 44th Convention in New York.

Union Industries Shows were begun before World War II and have continued to grow each year in size, stature and effectiveness. With

such acceptance by both our own American Federation of Labor members and the general public as has been shown in this great exhibition, the Union Label Trades Department cordially invites, and strongly urges, that all A. F. of L. national and international unions participate in this undertaking by climbing aboard the A. F. of L. bandwagon of goodwill and exhibiting their union-made wares or demonstrating their union-manned services. The 8th Union Industries Show will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, during the period of April 18-25, 1953.

Future Program

Although the Union Label Trades Department has made steady progress since its last convention in San Francisco, much remains to be done if the Department is to keep abreast of the times. New techniques of publicity, advertising and promotion are constantly being developed to further increase the demand for the union label, shop card and union button. The long-range plans of the Department are to utilize these new techniques to the highest degree in an effort to make not only the millions of members of the A. F. of L., but the general consuming public, conscious of the high quality of union label goods and the superiority of union services.

In this ambitious undertaking the Department will need, and most urgently requests, the fullest possible cooperation of its affiliates, plus the wholehearted support of all other national and international unions and branches of the American Federation of Labor.

In the report of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department to its own convention, the future plans of the Department will be more fully outlined. It is sincerely urged that all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor take an active interest in the work of this Department, as it is through this type of promotion that benefits are realized not only by affiliates of the Union Label Trades Department, but by all of organized labor.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations have continued to seek improvements in the wages and working conditions of their membership in the railroad industry. The major activity of the past year has been the national movement to secure a union shop agreement including the check-off of dues. A movement has also been inaugurated to secure an improvement factor under the terms of the National Wage Agreement of March 1, 1951. In Canada, a national movement is likewise under way to secure an increase in railway wages and the union shop. The most important gain, however, was the amendment of the Railroad Retirement and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts to provide for increased annuities and higher unemployment Insurance Acts to provide for increased annuities

and higher unemployment insurance and sickness benefits for railroad workers.

Union Shop Movement

In our previous report, we indicated that a national movement had been inaugurated by the seventeen non-operating Standard Railway Labor Organizations, including those affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, to secure a union shop agreement in the railroad industry. Owing to the adamant attitude of the railway managements, however, a settlement of that dispute has not yet been reached.

Uniform notices were served on the carriers on February 5, 1951 and in keeping with the usual procedure followed by the railways and organizations over the past twenty years, the carriers were also requested to form National Conference Committees to deal with this dispute in the event an agreement was not reached in local conferences on each property.

As required by the Railway Labor Act, conferences were conducted between the representatives of the organizations and the management on each carrier without reaching a settlement. The carriers also declined to form conference committees so on May 23, 1951, the organizations invoked the services of the National Mediation Board concurrently on all carriers involved in the dispute.

While waiting for the Board to act on this request, negotiations were resumed with the Great Northern Railroad, and the first union shop agreement with a major carrier was signed on July 10, 1951.

In order to expedite the mediation proceedings, the Board also requested the carriers to form conference committees but without success. At the suggestion of the Board, the organizations then agreed to negotiate with nine carriers individually as follows: the New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroads in the East; the Southern Pacific, Union Pacific and Santa Fe Railroads in the West and the Southern, Seaboard Air Line and Chesapeake & Ohio Railroads in the Southeast.

An agreement was reached on August 3, 1951 with the New York Central Railroad and a number of the subsidiaries, including the Grand Central Terminal, Boston & Albany Railroad, Michigan Central Railroad, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad, and the Cleveland Union Terminal. Later negotiations were begun with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad and on August 28, 1951 an agreement was signed with that carrier as well as the Baltimore & Ohio Chicago Terminal and the State Island Rapid Transit Company. Conferences were then begun with the Pennsylvania Railroad, but negotiations broke down and the Board advised all parties to the dispute that concurrent mediation would begin in Washington on October 3, 1951.

A majority of the carriers were represented at the mediation pro-

ceedings which continued for two days, but no progress was made because the carrier representatives protested that the Board was without jurisdiction. The Board, reaffirming its previous ruling made when the case was docketed, that the dispute was properly before it, recessed the proceedings until October 23 and again urged the carriers to form conference committees to handle the dispute. When mediation proceedings were resumed, the carriers had not only failed to form conference committees, but it soon became apparent that no settlement could be reached, whereupon, the Board terminated its services on November 6, 1951.

Meanwhile, union shop agreements were signed with a number of additional individual carriers, including the Chicago River & Indiana-Chicago Junction Railroad, Detroit Terminal Railway, Indiana Harbor Belt Line, Lakefront Dock & Terminal Company, Lehigh Valley Railroad, Monongahela Railway, Monongahela Connecting Railway, Pittsburgh & Lake Erie Railroad, Tennessee Railroad, and the Toledo Terminal. Later agreements were signed with other carriers including a number of steel roads: Duluth Superior Bridge Co., Merchants Dispatch Transportation Corporation, Northern Refrigerator Line, Inc., Patapsco & Back Rivers Railroad, Philadelphia, Bethlehem & New England Railroad, Railway Express Agency, Inc., and South Buffalo Ry.

Following termination of mediation proceedings by the National Mediation Board, an Emergency Board was appointed by the President on November 15, 1951, consisting of David L. Cole, Chairman, George E. Osborne and Aaron Horvitz to investigate the dispute.

Hearings were begun by the Board in Washington, D. C. on December 11, 1951. The employees completed presentation of their case on December 17 and adjournment was taken for the holidays. On January 8, 1952, the hearings were resumed at which time the carriers began presentation of their case. In the absence of conference committees, various carriers in each region were represented in the proceeding by counsel. The hearings were concluded on January 29 and on February 14, 1952 the Board made its report to the President.

In its report, the Board not only recommended that the carriers enter into a union shop agreement with the seventeen organizations involved but also that the negotiations be conducted on a national basis. The findings and recommendations of the Board follow:

A. We find that:

1. The union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act of January 10, 1951 (sec. 2, eleventh) eliminated the former prohibition against compulsory union membership and check-off and is a congressional determination that the union shop and check-off are not contrary to public policy, nor inconsistent with the dominant purposes and principles of said act, and that reasonable safeguards have been

established to protect the freedom and job security of the nonunion minority of employees.

2. The Congressional policy, as revealed by the language of the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act and the legislative history thereof, is an unalterable fact; it is beyond the scope and authority of this Board to undertake to express any judgment as to such policy.
3. The purposes and procedures of the Railway Labor Act, as amended by the 1951 union shop amendment, make it perfectly clear that this Board should investigate fully all the merits of a dispute over a request for a union shop and check-off, to the same extent as any other dispute which may threaten substantially to interrupt interstate commerce, and to make its report thereon to the President.
4. The emergency board makes no direct orders or binding decisions; it merely recommends what it believes to be a fair basis for agreement between the parties.
5. In stressing the difference between a recommendation by a Government-appointed board and a voluntary agreement between Management and Labor, providing for a union shop, the employees overlook the essential fact that the non-union employee has no opportunity to express his wishes when the employer elects to make the agreement; no evidence was offered to show that the decisions of the employers in the railroad industry who have already elected to enter into such agreements have been dictated by the preferences of the non-union minority of employees rather than by the business interests of the employer.
6. The requests of the 17 non-operating employees' labor organizations for agreements providing for the union shop and check-off on some 390 railroads follow closely the statutory provisions related thereto, as set forth in the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act.
7. On the merits of the proposal before us, viewed in fair perspective and in light of the national policies determined by Congress, we find no sound or substantial basis for withholding the union shop and check-off from these 17 organizations any longer; we believe that in the framework of the dispute before us the arguments in favor far outweigh those in opposition to the proposal before us, for these reasons:
 - (a) Railroad employees have by law been denied the right to have these benefits since 1934.
 - (b) Congress has indicated that there is no public policy against the union shop and check-off.
 - (c) The union shop has been substantially adopted by American

industry, and the trend is still in that direction; in a recent study of some 2,600 labor agreements made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it was found that 59 percent of the agreements and 72 percent of the 5.5 million employees in the industries in question now have the union shop.

- (d) The air transportation industry, also governed by the Railway Labor Act, has made several such agreements since the 1951 amendment.
- (e) Before compulsory union membership was prohibited by the Railway Labor Act in 1934, numerous carriers maintained company unions in which membership was compulsory and in which their dues were check off.
- (f) The facts that these labor organizations are now well established and responsible, and that they have made considerable progress without resorting to a strike in over 25 years are arguments for rather than against their right to have the union shop; such unions are most deserving of being entrusted with the union shop.
- (g) The fact that these unions are now secure does not preclude their right to the union shop; such security may, as it has in the past, prove ephemeral. In 1920, with the encouragement and assistance of the Director General of Railroads during federal control, they had grown to great strength, yet within 3 years thereafter they suffered a serious decline and loss of representation rights on many of the railroads.
- (h) No evidence was offered to indicate that union membership of railroad employees has impaired their loyalty to their employer; we believe that since the Railway Labor Act gives to the unions the right and the duty to represent all employees within their respective crafts or classes, it is desirable that such employees participate, through membership activity in the unions, in helping to formulate sound policies and courses of action, consistent with the duty imposed upon them by the Railway Labor Act and with their duties to their employers and to the public; to refrain from participating because they disapprove such policies or courses, is to put complete control into the hands of those who may be advocating unwise or undesirable policies or courses, and is a denial of the strength of the democratic process.
- (i) Solemn assurances having been given on the record that these labor organizations will not take advantage of the union shop to raise their charges to members beyond the point necessary to maintain normal union functions, and that they will not permit their locals or lodges to do so, it would be a breach of faith to violate such assurances.

- (j) Employees who have remained out of the unions but are willing to take the benefits of collective bargaining without assuming their share of the cost or responsibility are known as the "free-riders." This group as a consequence has been unjustly enriched.
 - (k) The railroad industry has not hesitated to treat freely with these unions in all matters concerning the employees, including the occasions when the industry desired to have wage reductions; the carriers also enlist and receive the aid of these labor organizations in legislative programs considered helpful to the industry. Thus, these organizations serve as a responsible and integral part of the industry.
 - (l) The fears expressed by the carriers that compulsory union membership would drive valuable trained employees out of the industry are not borne out by the experience of a number of railroads which have already made union shop agreements; when union shops were established on several of the country's leading carriers it was found that the prevailing experience was that not over one employee per thousand terminated his employment.
 - (m) The Carriers themselves recognized the contribution toward stability and effectiveness which may be made by compulsory membership in the company unions maintained before 1934.
 - (n) At least 7 of these 17 unions represent employees in other industries and their agreements in such industries very generally include the union shop.
 - (o) Some 40 Carriers, including several who are disputing the request of these labor organizations, have recently made union shop agreements with other unions; these carriers with one or more union shop agreements on their properties employ over one-third of all the railroad employees and among them are some of the country's leading rail carriers (the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Northern Pacific, the Illinois Central, the Denver and Rio Grande, the Lackawanna, the New Haven and the Pullman Company.)
 - (p) Railroads employing over 215,000 employees have made union shop agreements with these 17 labor organizations in 1951; these include the New York Central, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Great Northern and the Lehigh Valley.
8. After examining carefully into them, we have concluded that no substantial legal objections have been raised upon the basis of which we may say that we should not recommend the making of agreements providing for the union shop and check-off; we find that there is not substantial legal doubt that:
- (a) The agreement proposed by the 17 labor organizations is now

authorized by the Railway Labor Act, as amended on January 10, 1951.

- (b) The proposed agreement would not violate state laws, forbidding or restricting the union shop, since Congress explicitly overrode such laws.
 - (c) The union shop amendment appears to be Constitutional. In any event, it would not be for this Board to question the constitutionality of any part of the Railway Labor Act by virtue of which it was created.
 - (d) Possible discriminatory practices by some of these unions would not disqualify them from having the union shop, since Congress has protected the job rights of minorities against whom discrimination may be practiced. It is appropriate in this connection that racial discrimination has been almost completely eradicated from the laws of these unions, and assurances were given by their top executives on the record that action would be taken at coming conventions to eliminate whatever traces remain.
 - (e) The possession of the railroads taken by the government, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10155 on August 27, 1950, does not affect the normal functions of an emergency board.
9. For almost 20 years all major changes in wages, hours and working conditions in the railroad industry have been made effective with respect to the employees who are covered by the scope rules of the collective bargaining agreement between each carrier and labor organization; the scope rules have variations predicated on collective bargaining considerations and are subject to being changed in accordance with the procedures of the Railway Labor Act; this Board is not qualified to undertake to undo and remake such scope rules which have evolved and been adhered to over a period of years in all collective bargaining between the parties, nor to undertake to adopt a new measure of the employees to be covered by the new union shop rule, except to the extent conceded by the organizations on the record.¹
10. There are several procedural and substantive problems concerned with the reasonable protection of all parties affected by a union shop, for which provisions should be made in a union shop agreement.
11. The check-off is generally prevalent in American industry. The above mentioned study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that some 78 percent of the employees covered by collective bargaining agreements have the check-off. In addition it is provided for in agreements with many railroads. We therefore find that a check-off should be instituted.

¹ One member of this Board disagrees. See sec. E,1, of this report.

It is exceedingly rare for unions to be required to pay the expense entailed in the deduction of dues. On the railroads this expense would be offset in part at least by not having the time and attention of employees diverted by dues collections, and the carrier would also have the benefit of knowing whether employees are meeting their financial obligations to their union and would thereby avoid needless disputes. It is our conclusion that the carriers should not be compensated for making these deductions.

It is apparent, however, that a number of details remain to be worked out by the parties, and the procedures with respect thereto, set forth in the agreements of these Labor organizations with the New York Central and the Baltimore & Ohio, furnish a good general pattern to be followed by these organizations and the carriers.

12. Movements initiated in the past 20 years, by either the carriers or the labor organizations for changes in wages, hours or working conditions have been handled on a joint national basis. No sound or convincing reasons were advanced for handling this dispute in any other manner. The National Mediation Board has undertaken to process this dispute substantially along the customary lines, and if required to mediate this dispute as a separate one between each carrier and each organization, it would have to find the manpower for over 6,000 separate disputes, which would be a practical impossibility, and such a course would lead to long, unwarranted and disturbing delays in working out settlements. We conclude that this dispute should be handled on the customary national basis.

B. We recommend that:

1. The parties enter into a joint national agreement, through their duly designated representatives, in accordance with their usual custom, providing for a union shop agreement as proposed by the organizations in their notices of February 5, 1951, to the several carriers parties to this dispute, in the form substantially as used in the union shop agreements with the New York Central System Lines, except that:
 - (a) From the positions covered by said agreement, in accordance with the respective scope rules in the agreements between each carrier and organization, there shall be excluded all positions not represented by the organization, all fully excepted positions, and all positions covered only in a nominal or token manner, which means covered only to the extent of the retention of seniority rights, the right to a hearing or trial before being discharged by the carrier, and/or the right to have handled any question arising out of the transfer from one seniority district to another.
 - (b) The procedures to be followed in dealing with contested cases

or requests to discharge shall in general follow those provided for in the New York Central agreement of August 3, 1951, and shall also include substantially those set forth in paragraph E of the letter agreement of August 28, 1951, between the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co. and the organizations.

- (c) In stipulating that no claims against the carrier shall arise or begin to accrue in favor of a discharged employee or any other employee or the union, prior to final determination of the dispute, it shall be understood that the period free of all liability shall also include the time during which action by the carrier is stayed by any court.
 - (d) In describing the circumstances under which no claims shall arise or begin to accrue in favor of the discharged employee or any other employee or the union, the language used in section 12 of the union shop agreement between the Southern Railway Co. and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of September 1, 1951, shall be used.
 - (e) Provisions for indemnifying the carriers against certain types of losses which may be incurred by them under the union shop agreement shall be made in accordance with the suggestions set forth in section E, 2, *ante*.
 - (f) Additional protective provisions as suggested by the Board in section E, 2, *ante*, under the sub-head "Miscellaneous Protective Clauses," shall be included in the union shop agreement.
2. The aforementioned joint national agreement provides for the deduction of dues, initiation fees and assessments, that the details be worked out in substantially the same manner as is provided for in the agreement of August 3, 1951, between the New York Central Railroad System Lines and these organizations, modified as suggested in section E, 2, *ante*.

The organizations advised the President of their acceptance of the Board's report and also requested the carriers to appoint conference committees to consider the dispute as recommended by the Board.

After some delay, the Eastern Carriers appointed a Conference Committee and negotiations were begun on May 6, 1952. While conferences with the Eastern Carrier were in progress, the Western Carriers advised on May 15 that they had appointed a Conference Committee. Joint meetings with the two committees were held from May 19 to 23 but it developed that the Western Carriers had not yet received powers of attorney from any substantial number of carriers. The conferences were therefore recessed to permit them to get such authorities.

Negotiations were resumed with the Eastern and Western Conference Committees on June 30 and are in progress as this is written, but the Southeastern Carriers have not yet indicated whether they intend to appoint a conference committee to participate in these negotiations.

Our efforts to secure a union shop agreement have been met by the most determined opposition on the part of the carriers we have ever experienced in a national movement. While we have made agreements with a substantial number of individual carriers, the bulk of the industry is still reluctant to grant the union shop, but as the result of our discussions, there is reason to hope that a settlement can be reached. In any event, with the full support of our membership behind us, we are determined to bring this movement to a successful conclusion.

National Wage Movements

On March 1, 1951, a National Wage Agreement was signed by fifteen cooperating railway labor organizations, including those affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department, providing for an increase in wage rates of 12½ cents an hour effective February 1, 1951 and an escalator clause under which an additional 12 cents per hour is being paid to the employees represented by these organizations. The agreement also contains a reopening clause, providing for the negotiation of an improvement factor on or after July 1, 1952 as follows:

After the date of this agreement no proposals for changes in rates of pay will be initiated by the employees against any carrier or by any carrier against its employees, parties hereto, prior to October 1, 1953. Provided, however, that if government wage stabilization policy permits so-called annual improvement wage increases, the parties may meet with the President of the United States, or such other person as he may designate, on or after July 1, 1952, to discuss whether or not further wage adjustments for employees covered by this agreement are justified, in addition to increases received under the cost-of-living formula. At the request of either party for such a meeting, the President or his representative shall fix the time and place for such meeting. The President or his representative and the parties may secure information from the wage stabilization authorities or other government agencies. If the parties are unable to agree at such conferences whether or not further wage adjustments are justified they shall ask the President of the United States to appoint a referee who shall sit with them and consider all pertinent information, and decide promptly whether further wage increases are justified and, if so, what such increases should be, and the effective date thereof. The carrier representatives shall have one vote, the employee representatives shall have one vote and the referee shall have one vote.

Pursuant to the foregoing, a letter was addressed to the President of the United States on June 26, 1952 calling attention to the agreement and requesting that a meeting be arranged with the Carriers' Conference Committees to discuss whether or not a further wage adjustment for the employees covered was justified, in addition to the increases received under the cost of living formula.

We also appeared before the Wage Stabilization Board and urged that their regulations with respect to productivity increases be clarified so that there would be no obstacle to the negotiation of such an increase.

Meanwhile, another national movement was begun by these organizations on the Canadian Railways to secure an increase in wage rates of 45 cents an hour, an escalator clause and the union shop with check-off of dues.

On July 3, 1952, uniform notices were served on the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways and their subsidiaries, the Toronto Hamilton and Buffalo and Ontario Northland Railways, requesting that these changes be made effective on September 1, 1952, when the present wage agreement signed last year expires.

Conferences are scheduled to begin with the carriers on July 7, 1952, in Montreal.

We are pressing for an early settlement of these issues in both countries.

Amendment of Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts

We have made our most important gains during the past year in the legislative field. Both the Railroad Retirement and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts have been amended to provide for increased benefits for railroad workers.

In our previous report we outlined the revisions which we sought in the Railroad Retirement Act. Nearly all of them were adopted in the amendments which were passed by the Congress and approved by the President on October 30, 1951. These are the first extensive revisions which have been made since the law was amended in 1946.

Under the law as amended, most retirement annuities are increased by (1) a higher benefit formula, (2) a new wife's benefit, (3) crediting service after age 65 and (4) a new minimum guarantee. The new provisions became effective on November 1, 1951.

The new benefit formula increased annuities by 15 per cent. The annuity factor, that is, the amount of annuity per year of service, is the sum of 2.76 per cent of the first \$50 of the monthly compensation, 2.07 per cent of the next \$100 and 1.38 per cent of the remainder up to \$300. Minimum annuities were likewise increased by 15 per cent and are now \$4.14 time the number of years of service, \$69 or the monthly compensation whichever is the lesser. The maximum annuity payable is increased from \$144 to \$165.60 per month although eventually, annuities in excess of \$200 a month will be possible.

A new benefit was added for the wife or dependent husband of an employee over age 65 receiving retirement benefits, payable when the wife or husband is also over age 65. The same benefit is payable to the wife if she is under age 65 and has an unmarried child under 18 in her care. This benefit is equal to one-half of the employee's annuity, up to a maximum of \$40. The maximum annuity payable to a retired employee

and his wife now becomes \$205.60 a month, but eventually, combined benefits of \$250 or more will be possible.

There is no longer a restriction against crediting service after age 65 toward retirement benefits, although the maximum creditable when service before 1937 is included remains at 30 years. This change will mean higher annuities for employees who work past age 65, if they have less than 30 years of service at the time. In the future, when it will not be necessary to use prior service, more than 30 years of service can be used in the calculation of an annuity, thus increasing the maximum payable which has been noted.

Some retirement benefits are further increased by a new minimum guarantee. This guarantee assures every railroad employee that the total of his retirement benefits, including any social security benefits, cannot be less than he would get under the Social Security Act, if his railroad service had been credited under the Act.

If the employee has a wife who is entitled to benefits, or a child who would be entitled to benefits under the Social Security Act, the guarantee likewise applies to the total family benefits. Under the new law, survivor benefits were increased by 33 1/3 per cent and the insurance lump sum benefit 25 per cent.

There was one other important change made which affects the granting of annuities. Employees who have less than ten years of railroad service can no longer qualify for benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act. They are for the most part employees who work only briefly in the railroad industry and spend the greater part of their working life in outside employment. When they are ready to retire, their railroad credits will be transferred to the Social Security Administration. Benefits which were awarded before October 30, 1951, however, will continue to be paid by the Railroad Retirement Board. The new law also places a limited restriction on the receipt of retirement benefits by persons with railroad service before 1937 who also qualify for old age benefits under the Social Security law.

It is important to note that these changes, providing for increased benefits for railroad workers, were secured without increasing retirement taxes.

The Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act was also amended to provide for higher benefits for railroad workers when they become sick or unemployed. These amendments, which were approved on May 15, 1952 became effective on July 1, 1952.

Under the new law, benefits will average about 40 per cent higher than before. The maximum daily benefit rate is raised from \$5 to \$7.50, and the minimum from \$1.75 to \$3. Another important change made is that an employee must earn at least \$300 in railroad employment in the "base year" in order to qualify for benefits instead of \$150 as provided

under the old law. Also the new schedule of benefit rates is set up with ten benefit classes instead of nine as follows:

<i>Annual earnings</i>	<i>Daily benefit rate</i>
\$300-\$474	\$3.00
\$475-\$749	\$3.50
\$750-\$999	\$4.00
\$1,000-\$1,299	\$4.50
\$1,300-\$1,599	\$5.00
\$1,600-\$1,999	\$5.50
\$2,000-\$2,499	\$6.00
\$2,500-\$2,999	\$6.50
\$3,000-\$3,499	\$7.00
\$3,500 and over	\$7.50

The higher benefits provided under both the Railroad Retirement and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts will contribute materially towards helping railroad workers who retire or become sick or unemployed to meet the increased cost of living.

Need for Political Action

We wish to comment on one other matter which is of paramount importance at this time.

We have made a great deal of progress over the past twenty years, perhaps the greatest in our history, and one of the factors which has contributed to our success on the economic front is the fact that we have elected to public office candidates who have been friendly to Labor.

There need be no illusion concerning our future progress should there be an unfriendly administration elected to run our government.

The reactionaries are consolidating their strength as never before and they are going all out to win. It is no secret that if they do, our future as labor organizations and the welfare of the workers we represent will be in jeopardy.

Organized labor faces the greatest danger since the "back to normalcy" era of the early twenties and all of our strength must be mustered to meet that challenge.

Through Railway Labor's Political League, railway workers are being informed of the qualifications of candidates for office and they are being urged to register and vote in the coming election.

We are confident that they are aware of the dangers that lie ahead and that they will vote solidly to "elect our friends and defeat our enemies."

MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT

Since the last American Federation of Labor Convention, the Maritime Trades Department has made considerable progress in vitalizing

the Department itself and its various port councils throughout the nation. Several new ports have been issued charters and machinery in the ports where charters have already existed has been strengthened to achieve the program outlined by the Department for the coming years.

Organizational Meeting

A meeting was held in Chicago on March 24-25 of this year and was attended by 40 delegates representing the various unions whose members are engaged in the maritime transportation industry in the United States, its territories and Canada. The purpose of the meeting held in Chicago was to adopt a constitution, to elect officers and an executive board and to otherwise lay the foundation for setting up the Maritime Trades Department as an active, permanently functioning department within the framework of the American Federation of Labor.

The delegates represented approximately 200,000 workers in the maritime transportation industry, including engineers, unlicensed seamen, tugboatmen, licensed deck and engine officers, radio officers, fishing and marine allied workers on all coasts and inland ports of the United States, its territories and Canada. The international unions present were the International Union of Operating Engineers, Masters, Mates and Pilots, International Longshoremen's Association, Seafarers International Union and Commercial Telegraphers Union. The meeting was opened by Harry O'Reilly, AFL Director of Organization, who had been assigned to work with the Maritime Trades Department in formalizing its structure and setting it up on a permanent basis.

The delegates adopted a constitution which had been drafted by a constitutional committee, aided by Brother O'Reilly.

The delegates elected the following as officers to serve until the next convention, scheduled to coincide with the national convention of the American Federation of Labor:

President—Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association; Vice-President—Captain Charles May, the then National President of the Masters, Mates and Pilots; Executive Secretary—Lloyd Gardner, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of the Seafarers International Union, Atlantic and Gulf District.

Elected to the executive board, which, according to the Maritime Trades Department constitution, shall consist of one representative from each of the national and international member unions of the Maritime Trades Department, were:

Harry Lundeberg, President of the Seafarers International Union; Patrick Connolly, Executive Vice-President of the International Longshoremen's Association, and Captain John Bishop, National Secretary, Masters, Mates and Pilots. The Operating Engineers and the Radio

Officers Union, which is the seagoing section of the Commercial Telegraphers Union, will designate their representatives on the executive board shortly.

Brother Cliff W. Fredericks, a representative of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, was present during the meeting as an observer. A place on the executive board of the Maritime Trades Department has been left open for a representative of those locals of the Brotherhood of Teamsters whose members are engaged in the maritime transportation industry, should the teamsters decide to affiliate.

Brother O'Reilly installed the new officers of the Maritime Trades Department.

Jurisdiction and Autonomy

Under the terms of the newly adopted Maritime Trades Department constitution, the jurisdiction of the Department shall embrace all seaports and inland ports of the United States, its territories, possessions and Canada.

The Department recognizes the fullest autonomy of every affiliated organization in the government of their internal affairs. The Maritime Trades Department shall not undertake to settle jurisdictional disputes between member organizations but shall be at the service of the organizations involved in such disputes in an effort to bring them together for satisfactory adjustment.

The Maritime Trades Department shall also be at the service of any member organization involved in a dispute or strike to assist in bringing about a satisfactory settlement to the organization involved in any such dispute or strike.

All of the organizations affiliated with the Maritime Trades Department have been paying their per capita tax and are paid up to date.

The Department has been active in a number of disputes on port levels involving member organizations. On the basis of the achievements in this respect there is clearly indicated a need for the Maritime Trades Department as a permanent structure with a definite usefulness in the trade union movement.

Conclusion

It is essential that a strong, active Maritime Trades Department and its subsidiary port councils be functioning in all ports to carry out the purposes of mutual aid, not only on the economic front but also to deal with the problem of dual and hostile organizations. Since the meeting in Chicago, the executive secretary has issued new charters to several port councils, and cooperation has been forthcoming from these new councils and from the older, reactivated councils in achieving the objectives that are being sought.

Further steps are already under way to implement the program laid down by the delegates to the Maritime Trades Department meeting in Chicago. All member unions of the Maritime Trades Department have proclaimed as their sincere purpose the building of the Department into a strong and powerful force that can be of substantial value to the workers directly involved and to the entire American Federation of Labor.

CONCLUSION

Our convention will have met to decide its year's work in advance of the national election which will determine the administration for the next following four years. We must therefore plan in somewhat general terms while stipulating fundamental principles to guide decisions on concrete proposals.

We urge the spirit and practice of unity in dealing with general proposals in the common interests of organized workers. We hope that governmental intervention in management-labor relations will be minimized by repeal of the Taft-Hartley law interfering with freedom of contract and the enactment of a new Labor-Management law fair to all.

Fraternally submitted,
WILLIAM GREEN,

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
First Vice President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
Second Vice President.

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Third Vice President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Fourth Vice President.

HARRY C. BATES,
Fifth Vice President.

W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
Sixth Vice President.

W. C. DOHERTY,
Seventh Vice President.

DAVID DUBINSKY,
Eighth Vice President

CHARLES J. MacGOWAN,
Ninth Vice President

HERMAN WINTER,
Tenth Vice President.

D. W. TRACY,
Eleventh Vice President.

WILLIAM L. McFETRIDGE,
Twelfth Vice President.

JAMES C. PETRILLO,
Thirteenth Vice President.

GEORGE MEANY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SUMMARY of EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Introduction

In the opening of our annual report, your Executive Council directs attention to the fact that the basic objective of the American Federation of Labor has been to secure a fair and equitable share for the workers of our land of the things which they produce. The only change which has come with the intervening years since 1881 has been perhaps in the method of attainment of our principal objectives. Your Executive Council points out that in facing the problems of the future we must do so with the full realization that the ballot box is the most important weapon which the workers have in their fight for the continued forward march of our American nation.

Secretary-Treasurer Meany's Report

Under this general heading, and those immediately following, there is submitted an accounting of the receipts and expenses of the Federation during the past year; the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions; a special section on charters issued, suspended or locals disbanded, and membership figures for the year.

In this section of the report there is included a graph showing membership trends through the years, and a table of voting strength of our affiliated organizations in the convention. There follows then an accounting of the Gompers Memorial Fund; the reports of the Trustees of the A. F. of L. Building, and the trustees of the A. F. of L. Employees Retirement Fund.

Changes of Title

Three of the affiliated national and international unions of the American Federation of Labor requested official approval of changes of title without any change in their respective jurisdictions. These requests of the National Farm Labor Union, Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America, and the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters were approved.

Selection of Fraternal Delegates

The Executive Council responded to the invitations of the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. President Richard F. Walsh of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators, and First Vice-President John R. Stevenson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, were designated as Fraternal Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades

Union Congress; and First Vice-President John J. Hauck of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association was chosen to represent the Federation at the annual meeting of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Samuel Gompers Memorial—City of Hope

This section of the report of the Executive Council presents the proposal of the City of Hope, a sanitarium located at Duarte, California, conducted for the treatment of tubercular and cancer patients, that the American Federation of Labor form a committee and sponsor a campaign to raise money for the establishment of a memorial to Samuel Gompers. The form which the memorial will ultimately take will depend entirely upon the amount of money raised for the purpose. While sympathetic to the proposal, the Executive Council recommends that the convention consider this matter and make final decision.

Pension Pamphlet

A handy source-book for union officials entitled "Pension Plans Under Collective Bargaining" has been prepared under the direction of a special committee of the Executive Council. This booklet is now ready for distribution for those interested in the establishment and operation of negotiated pension plans. The booklet is recommended as a useful addition to the trade union reference shelf.

Issuance of Charters to Persons Outside of Trade Jurisdiction

Under this heading your Council calls attention to the fact that several international unions had issued local charters to persons with no previous connections with the trade or calling covered by the international union concerned.

In response to complaints registered with the Executive Council a committee was designated to investigate the charges with a view to correcting the situation. As a result of the investigation of this committee, two of the international unions in question revoked the charters referred to. Action by the third international union under investigation was prevented by an injunction and this matter is still the subject of litigation. At the time of preparation of this section of the report, the committee was awaiting a conference with the fourth international union concerned, and report on this conference will be submitted at a later date.

World Affairs

Your Executive Council is fully mindful of the gravity of the entire world situation and in the light of the importance which we attach to developments on the inter-

national scene we submit for your consideration and information a comprehensive report under the general title of **WORLD AFFAIRS**, with its several sub-headings.

In this section of our report, your Executive Council faces facts as we see them on both the political and economic levels in world problems. We point out in the very beginning of this important part of our report that since our last convention the world crisis has become gravely aggravated. Soviet imperialism and its auxiliaries and satellites have continued their mad drive for world domination. The Kremlin has been unrelenting in its conspiracy to enslave all free peoples and secure world domination.

We call particular attention to the fact that in its persistent effort to undermine international peace, the Russian dictatorship has concentrated its heaviest fire on our own country. Thus far, however, the increasing readiness and capacity of the American people to fulfill their responsibilities of leadership in world democracy have proved a source of disappointment to the Soviet leaders. We are gratified to report that slowly but surely there has been developing a genuine determination among the peoples outside the Iron Curtain to repel Soviet expansion and totalitarian Communist tyranny.

In one sub-section of the report we warn against a "Creeping World War" as the lines of demarcation between the "cold war" and total war grows thinner and thinner. Substantiating evidence of this statement will be found under this sub-heading which is commended to your serious thought.

In the section headed "After the Marshall Plan", with its several sub-sections, we attest to the economic achievements of the Marshall Plan, but at the same time we sound a warning that the free nations of the world must apply increasingly the principle of mutual aid in all their political and economic as well as military relations. "Collective security (against Soviet aggrandizement) is the need of the hour" and can be attained only on the basis of mutual aid among the peace-seeking countries.

Your Executive Council commends the Schumann Plan while at the same time submitting that there is room for much improvement in the project as at present administered. All steps toward removing the various obstacles to a united free Europe should be encouraged and supported.

Under the sub-title "Crux of the Crisis" your Council points out that the present grave international crisis should not be viewed and should not be understood merely on the basis of past experience for it is of an entirely different character than past crises.

In the sub-section "Rearming The Free World", we briefly set forth the vital importance of making sure that in the process of increasing the strength of the democratic nations, we must make sure that the economy of the free world operates as smoothly as possible and avoid

the dislocations which inflict avoidable hardships on the populations concerned. We believe that it is vitally necessary to continue the economic aid features of our government's program of assistance to the non-captive nations of Europe for without such American aid these countries are not yet able to maintain stable and growing economies.

Your Executive Council expresses regret that the laudable Point 4 Program has not yet been developed sufficiently to become—in the eyes of the people of the industrially under-developed countries—a major factor for technical advancement and economic improvement.

We further point out that these countries are a crucial area in conflict between democracy and totalitarianism.

There is no simple formula for or easy solution of the problems and burdens of rearmament nor any magic short-cut to the blessings of social progress. We further state that the international free labor movement must share in the complicated and difficult task of combining the unavoidable and absolutely urgent disarmament effort with the indispensable preservation of social progress. To this end the free labor movement must insist on adequate voice and representation in the defense effort. There must also be an equitable sharing of the burdens of the costly rearmament program. We warn, however, that we must vigorously reject all reactionary moves to use the rearmament effort as a pretext for opposing further social progress or as an excuse for weakening or wiping out the benefits of labor legislation and social security already attained.

Under the sub-heading "Problems of Collective Security" there is presented for your information and consideration the results which would obtain from short-sighted economic practices on the part of some of our captains of industry. We call attention to the economic plight of Great Britain and France as a warning of the dangers which we face unless we solidify and strengthen the ranks of the democracies. This entails among other things the full support of the working people which can be assured and mobilized only by equitable distribution of arms burdens and by respecting the rights, needs, and dignity of Labor.

Under the third main sub-division of our report on World Affairs we submit a section titled "The European Defense Community". We point out that in the last analysis the German people themselves must be the ones to provide an adequate and appropriate German contribution to the collective security of democratic Europe. The free nations of the world realize the importance of the role of Germany in world affairs. The Soviets are equally conscious of this. We must act accordingly.

Under the sub-head "The Role of Free Germany" we continue our discussion of the importance of Germany in world affairs. We point out the grave dangers inherent in any Soviet attempts to influence the German people.

In Section IV of our report (Vital Role of Underdeveloped Areas) there is presented a concise but informative report on the political situation in the Near and Middle East where events are posing very dangerous possibilities for the future of peace and freedom. We have incorporated in this section of the report the resolution adopted by the Executive Council on February 2, 1952 on "The Crisis in Asia and Africa."

Another sub-section of the report under "World Affairs" covers the situation both politically and economically in Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia and other Latin American countries. We submit that this vitally important area of the New World urgently needs prompt and major attention and assistance in order to turn the tide away from poverty and dictatorship toward economic improvement and solid democracy.

Under Section V of the report on World Affairs, there is submitted for your information and guidance a section on World Communism—Enemy of Free World. In this important part of the report of your Executive Council we expose the role of so-called "neutralists" in the struggle of the world against the steady encroachment of Communism. We direct attention to the fact that the fight of the A. F. of L. against Communism is a continuing and vital phase of its energetic efforts to help the free countries of the world become strong enough to deter and defeat Communist aggression. We of the A. F. of L. have but one aim—to discourage aggression and preserve peace.

In Sub-Section VI of this portion of our report, there is submitted a report on the free labor movement of the world (the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—ICFTU), with a statement covering differences which arose between representatives of the A. F. of L. and the officials of the ICFTU. A conference was held in Washington between the representatives of the two organizations and we trust that a satisfactory adjustment of the issues involved will be realized.

Sub-section VII sets forth the role of the American Federation of Labor in international affairs. We have taken a constantly increasing interest in our government's foreign policy. Through the ICFTU and its regional organization O.R.I.T., through representatives stationed in a number of other countries, through the International Labor Organization and publications in several languages, the A. F. of L. has sought to do its part in support of world freedom, better conditions of life and work, and lasting peace.

We point out, however, that Labor cannot make its full contribution to international affairs unless it plays a completely independent and distinct role, apart from government. We do not, at the same time, exclude cooperation with and help to our government and its various agencies in furtherance of specific policies or objectives with which we are in agreement.

The Korean war is given a special sub-heading in the report on World Affairs and because this is close to the hearts of

all Americans we commend this portion of our report to your special attention.

We have included in the report on World Affairs sub-sections on the Chinese and Japanese political situations, on efforts to establish a free and united Germany; a report on tension in the Moslem World; and another on the Spanish political situation.

In line with established policy, the American Federation of Labor has vigorously continued its fight in support of democracy and the rights of bona fide free trade unionism in Latin America. Our activities in this important arena of activity are covered in several sub-sections under the headings "A. F. of L. Activities in Latin America", and Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

The activities of the American Federation of Labor in Germany and Austria are outlined in special sub-sections. This applies also to our activities in Europe and North Africa.

The work of the Free Trade Union Committee under the guidance of the Executive Council and the International Labor Relations Committee of the A. F. of L. is set forth in a special sub-section. It will be noted that the field of activity of this committee extends into many areas in the Far East, in the West Indies, and some African countries.

In sub-section VIII there is submitted an informative report on the administration of labor policies in the Mutual Security Agency. In discussing our regret that the productivity program under M.S.A. has not yet fully developed, we point out that no small part of the delay has been due to the reluctance of those in responsible administrative posts in Europe to accept Labor as full partners in this important undertaking. The shortcomings in administration to which we direct attention, however, do not in any degree lessen or modify our full support for the objectives of the program. At the same time we point out further that if the weaknesses of administration are permitted to continue the M.S.A. program cannot but fail to fall short of objectives to win the support of the working people in both our own country and abroad.

Under sub-section IX, there is presented a chronological report of the activities of the International Labor Organization for the period from August 1, 1951 through July 31, 1952.

Sub-titles X, XI and XII, submit accountings of the work of A. F. of L. representatives in the U. S. Department of Labor, Free Trade Union Advisory Committee, and in the United Nations. Reports are also submitted of our activities in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Report of the General Counsel

Under this general heading there is included an accounting of the activities of the office of our General Counsel during

the past year. Because of the importance to all workers of the cases covered in this report, it is commended to your careful attention.

Developments Under the Taft-Hartley Act

Because of the vital importance to Labor of the operation and administration of the Taft-Hartley Act, and its impact upon the activities of the trade unions of our country, a special section of our report is devoted to developments under Taft-Hartley. This section of the report is especially commended to your thoughtful attention and consideration.

Wage Developments

There is perhaps no subject of more concern to the wage earners than that of wages. For this reason we have incorporated in our report a comprehensive section on the work of the Wage Stabilization Board. Special attention is called to three important policies established by the Board, directed at particular problems of wage stabilization. These dealt with health and welfare plans; the problems of commission methods of payment for services; and pension plans.

A special sub-section is devoted to an accounting of the stabilization policy adopted which concerned the building and construction industry. Another deals with the productivity policy of the Board. The disputes function of the Wage Stabilization Board is dealt with, as well as amendments to the Defense Production Act (1952).

In the conclusion to this important section of the report of your Executive Council, we submit that the wage stabilization program of the past year demonstrates beyond question that it has acted as an effective brake upon wage increases and improvements in working conditions. If we had an effective price control program, Labor was prepared to pay the obviously parallel price. However, the facts on record reveal unmistakably that the Congress of the United States has foisted upon the wage earners an ineffectual price control program. We are forced to the conclusion therefore, that unless there is a substantial change in the attitude of the elected representatives of the American people in the very near future, the continuation of the wage stabilization program will not only be useless but it will be a cruel injustice to the wage earners of America.

Productivity

Under this title your Executive Council points out that as early as 1925 the American Federation of Labor established the policy of advancing workers purchasing power proportionately with increases in industrial productivity. As

a result of this policy, the practice of increasing wages and shortening hours as improved efficiency made such changes possible, has been recognized and accepted in collective bargaining throughout American industry. As a result, the worker's average real weekly income today (even after high taxes) is almost double that of 1900, while his hours of work are shorter by almost one-third.

Over the long term, the hourly increase in production per manhour for the American economy as a whole has been estimated at over 2 per cent per year. There is good reason to believe, however, that this figure under-estimates our actual productive potential, for in certain periods it has been possible to increase our national productivity at a rate at least double this amount, or even more.

We point out that the current rapid increase in productivity has been attributed to: improved technology; new machinery; greater efficiency of management and labor; shift in production to the heavy industries with their higher average value per manhour of work; operation of industry at levels close to capacity. It is essential that our country realize its full productive potential and that we do everything possible to increase our productivity and assure equitable distribution of its benefits.

In the concluding paragraph of this section of the report, your Executive Council points out that while representatives of our country urge foreign nations to improve the living standards of their workers as an essential part of their productivity program, here in the United States the living standard of our workers is reduced when they are denied wage increases commensurate with their growing productivity. To achieve full workers' cooperation, this situation must be corrected.

Defense Production Act

Under this title there is submitted an accounting of the administration of the National Defense Production Act. We point out that the original law (1950) fell far short of the objectives called for by organized labor by permitting relatively weak handling of price controls while requiring relatively rigid control of wages. This approach became even more unbalanced by the series of 1951 amendments designed to safeguard special business interests.

A brief outline of the 1952 Defense Production Act is submitted for your information. It will be seen that the action of the 82nd Congress not only brought Labor face to face with the immediate threat of further inflation but also brought the whole country closer to the danger of an unchecked inflation and a subsequent depression.

Atomic Energy

Under this heading, we report on a

large-scale production program to provide additional facilities for production and storage of fissionable products vital to our national defense program in the field of atomic energy. This project made up a large part of the program of industrial plant expansion. An advisory panel was appointed to advise and consult with the General Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission on which the American Federation of Labor is represented.

Your Executive Council commends the step taken by the General Committee on Atomic Energy in appointing a public panel with labor representation and we urge that in addition qualified men, selected from the ranks of labor be chosen to serve on the Atomic Energy Commission and in appropriate posts within its organization.

Council of Economic Advisors

The A. F. of L. Advisory Committee to the Council of Economic Advisors held periodic meetings with the Council and has submitted for the consideration of the Council factual information on the status of workers in the economy as well as economic policy recommendations. Through its regular reports, the Council of Economic Advisors has made a real contribution toward the development of sound and balanced economic policies of the government.

Outlook for Materials

The President's Materials Policy Commission rendered a report on June 2, 1952, of far-reaching significance at the conclusion of 1½ years of intensive study. The Commission's evaluation of the long-range outlook for the supply and requirements of materials has alerted us to the need for a new outlook and new policies which would help safeguard our future growth.

In our report on this subject, your Executive Council points out that Labor must not only undertake a continuous study of our nation's future supply of materials for production but also develop policies and programs which would translate the use of these materials into stable employment and higher living standards. It is suggested that an economic study be made evaluating the report of the President's Commission and preparing recommendations on its significance to future stability and growth, and that such study be submitted to the Executive Council.

Defense Manpower Program

Under this heading there is presented for your information and thought a relatively concise statement of the problems which have arisen in providing manpower for our national defense program. We are pleased to report that wherever our membership was affected in manpower short-

age areas, our affiliates have taken effective action to help overcome such shortages.

On the other hand, in a number of areas unemployment reached serious proportions. These were attributable to a number of varying causes as pointed out in the report.

To deal with all aspects of the manpower problem on a voluntary basis a network of labor-management manpower committees on the national level area, and regional bases was drafted. Full participation by organized labor at the policy-making level was provided through a 14-man National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee. This committee has proved a useful instrument for bringing labor and management viewpoints to bear upon manpower policies and has made the program more practical and effective in enlisting the support of organized labor and management.

Apprentice Training

Under this title we submit a brief section dealing with the important problem of training skilled workers for our great American industrial machine. Mainly due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor there was established in the U. S. Department of Labor a Bureau of Apprenticeship Training which has proved of invaluable aid in meeting the problems of apprenticeship training despite handicaps of inadequate staff. We feel, therefore, that steps should be taken at once to provide an adequate staff to carry on its functions efficiently.

Housing

The American Federation of Labor has been in the forefront of those engaged in the fight to preserve the essentials of the program set up through the Housing Act of 1949. Your Council points out that the task has not been easy due to the lobbies of interests hostile to the program.

We call attention to the well-known fact that housing needs of far too many workers are not being met. Some of the contributing causes for this regrettable situation are outlined in the section of our report under this title.

Under an appropriate sub-title there is submitted a section on "Defense Housing" which outlines some of the housing problems of workers who have taken jobs in areas of expanding defense activity.

The several sub-headings under the general title of HOUSING are submitted for your information and guidance. These include sections on Public Housing, Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, and Rent Control.

With a view to ultimately providing a good home for every American family, we submit a program for the future. We recognize the need for intensifying our activities to provide better housing and in bringing about closer and more active

participation in the work of the A. F. of L. Committee on Housing by all of our affiliates. The program we outline is commended to your thoughtful consideration.

Developments in Social Security

Under this general title your Executive Council submits a comprehensive report on the activity of the American Federation of Labor in the broad field of social security administration. We call attention to the fact that while our technology has moved forward at rapid pace, programs to safeguard the economic security of our people have lagged far behind. Our national security program is far from adequate and far from complete. We direct attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor is dedicated to the principle that in our modern industrial society social insurance is the means of providing security against the hazards of old age, death of the family bread winner, unemployment, and sickness.

These several phases of our national social security program and our recommendations thereon are covered in separate sub-headings under the general title.

Attention is directed to the ruthless attack made by organized employers against our unemployment insurance system. The problems posed by this serious campaign are of grave concern to the wage earners. Labor must therefore make plans to combat these attacks in the state legislatures in the coming year.

Under the sub-heading "The Hazard of Ill Health" we take occasion to direct attention to the vitally important question of meeting the emergencies caused by ill health and the steadily rising cost of medical care. We recognize the fact that the task of helping the American wage earners and their families meet the hazard of ill health very largely falls on the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and members. It is up to us, therefore, to develop programs, policies and organization equal to that task.

Public assistance is another vital part of our national social security system and is reported on in a special sub-heading under appropriate title. We point out therein that Labor should stand watchful guard to make sure that the essential public assistance programs are adequate, that they are soundly administered so that the welfare of those in need is properly safeguarded.

Taxation

Under this heading there is submitted a report of the work of the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation during the past year. In the sub-section under this general heading, "Current Problems" are dealt with. This section of our report points out the several important phases of the tax problem most vitally concerning the wage earners and those on low or fixed incomes. These groups have suffered declines in their living standards by a combination of high prices and steadily rising taxes. The

ever increasing tendency of state and local governments to throw a disproportionate share of the burden of government support on low income taxpayers increases the serious nature of the entire problem.

We point out the necessity for rationalizing the relationship between local, state and federal revenue systems. This deserves the continued attention of labor representatives. Local central bodies and state federations are urged to become more active in promoting constructive tax programs at the local and state levels. Such programs are urgently needed because of the fact that local and state tax systems are inadequate in providing sufficient revenue for necessary services in many parts of the country.

Education

During the past year the A. F. of L. Committee on Education continued activity to obtain federal aid for education. Despite legislative setbacks during the past year we have not retreated from our position and we reaffirm our support of the major projects to be developed under the Federal Aid to Education program.

In several sub-headings under the general title of Education, we present reports on legislative attacks on public education in several forms, i. e.: on the cost of public education, on methods of teaching, on curriculum and textbook content, and on the integrity and fitness of teachers. These attacks must be met by the American Federation of Labor. Steps already taken in this direction are briefly set forth.

Another sub-head deals with vocational education, which is of serious concern to the workers. Specific recommendations for a satisfactory vocational education program are submitted.

The annual accounting of the Workers Education Bureau is included in this section of the report of your Executive Council.

Organizing Activities

Under this general heading there is presented a brief report of the organizing activities of the A. F. of L. during the past year. Your Executive Council urges that all of our affiliated organizations continue to extend their cooperation to the general organizing program of the Federation so that we can enjoy continued success in extending the benefits and protection of trade unionism to the unorganized wage earners of America.

Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions

In conformity with our custom for a number of years, we present a tabulation setting forth the benefit services extended to their membership by our affiliated national and international unions. The tabulation covers only those organizations which responded to our request for information on this subject. A number of

our affiliates did not respond, and still others explained that their membership enjoys benefits extended by local unions. Such local benefits are not reflected in the tabulation. However, from information furnished by those organizations responding, \$84,396,611.02 was paid out during the past year as benefits in the several categories covered.

Women Workers

Under this title there is submitted a brief but informative section dealing with women workers. In view of the steadily increasing number of women workers especially in fields formerly employing only men workers, we submit a program for the coming year looking toward organization of women workers in trade unions.

Wage and Hour Administration

Under the subheading of this section titled, "Fair Labor Standards Act," we point out that though almost three years have elapsed since the amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act established a 75 cent minimum wage (which the Federation even then knew was inadequate), there has been no further increase in this minimum. This is especially regrettable in view of the steadily diminishing purchasing power of wages due to inflation and generally higher prices.

We regret to state that though we have had to face no major legislative or administrative issues during the past year dealing with the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act, a number of issues considered at hearings last year are still unresolved.

Experience has clearly proved that there are widespread violations and evasions of the Fair Labor Standards Act by employers. It is, therefore, essential that the Federal Department of Labor be given additional funds to permit effective and equitable enforcement of the minimum standards required by the law.

Under the sub-title, "Labor Standards on Government Contracts," we point out that during the past year the major attack on labor standards has been directed against the Walsh-Healey Act. These attacks reached their peak when the 1952 amendments to the Defense Production Act were being considered in Congress. The Federation strongly opposed adoption of the proposals submitted to weaken the Walsh-Healey Act, and the amendments were defeated.

Due to limited funds, the Department of Labor has been greatly handicapped in carrying out its duties under the law. Because of the importance to Labor of this important statute, it is hoped that additional funds will be made available to the Department of Labor for the administration and expansion of the desired program under this law.

Public Relations

The public relations program of the American Federation of Labor was carried forward during the past year with encouraging results. Even against great handicaps the Federation has succeeded in gaining steadily increasing recognition of its great contribution to the American way of life, and wider acceptance of its point of view on national and international issues.

The several subheadings under this general title contain brief reports on the various media of public relations conducted by the Federation.

The American Federationist

This section briefly covers the aims and attainments of the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Your Executive Council feels that the *FEDERATIONIST* has rendered a most worthwhile service to the members of the American Federation of Labor in securing and publishing articles of real substance on the important labor aspects of the struggle being carried on in other countries between the forces of freedom and those of slavery.

Your Executive Council takes this opportunity to express appreciation to the officers of international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies who have contributed to the *FEDERATIONIST* during the past year, and who have assisted in widening its circulation.

Research Report

This publication is designed to help keep union officials and organizers advised as to the actions and decisions of executive and judicial branches of the government in the administration of legislation affecting trade unions; trends and developments in the field of collective bargaining; and general economic trends.

Response to the Research Report indicates that union officials have found it of considerable practical value and that there is continuing need of its service.

North American Labor News (Noticiero Obrero Norte- Americano)

This Spanish-language newspaper has continued to grow in influence and circulation throughout Latin America. Through its pages the American Federation of Labor aids and supports the free trade union activities of the workers of Latin America. Since its inception this newspaper has been one of the greatest mediums of promoting understanding among the workers of the Western Hemisphere.

Labor Legislation

Under this general heading, with its various subheadings, there is presented a comprehensive report of the work of the American Federation of Labor in the national legislative field during the past year. It will be noted that during the first and second sessions of the 82nd Congress more than 14 thousand bills and resolutions were introduced in both Houses of Congress. A large number of these measures directly or indirectly affected Labor. Representatives of the A. F. of L. presented testimony on many of the pending bills before committees during the two sessions.

Attention is directed to the fact that in conformity with our custom the pamphlet, "Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor," will be revised to include the 82nd Congress and will be made available for distribution early in 1953.

State Labor Legislation

Under this title there is submitted for your information a brief report on state labor legislation during the past year. At the outset it is explained that in the field of desirable labor legislation the year was one of relative inaction. In contrast with that, we point to the continuing effort made in a number of states to cripple trade unionism by all sorts of legislative devices.

Labor's League for Political Education

In conformity with the action of the 1951 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Labor's League for Political Education has been established as a formal part of the American Federation of Labor. The educational activities of the League are now financed out of the per capita tax funds of the American Federation of Labor. The activities of the League which are strictly political in nature are financed through voluntary contributions in order to meet the requirements of the Taft-Hartley Law.

The activities of the League are reported briefly under this title in the report of your Executive Council.

Departmental Reports

Under their respective titles there are included in your Council's Report the annual accountings of the Building and Construction Trades Department, the Metal Trades Department, Railway Employees Department, Union Label Trades Department, and the Maritime Trades Department.

Conclusion

In concluding the annual report of our stewardship, your Executive Council urges a spirit and practice of unity in dealing

with general proposals in the common interests of organized workers. We express the hope that government intervention in labor-management relations will be minimized by repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and the enactment of a new labor-management law fair to all.

Assignment of Subjects of Executive Council's Report

Introduction—Resolutions.

Change of Title of International Unions—

Executive Council's Report.

National Farm Labor Union.

Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America.

National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

Selection of Fraternal Delegates—Executive Council's Report.

Samuel Gompers' Memorial—City of Hope—Resolutions.

Pension Pamphlet—Executive Council's Report.

Issuance of Local Union Charters to Persons Outside of Trade Jurisdiction—Resolutions.

World Affairs—International Labor Relations.

1—The Critical International Situation. A Creeping World War.

2—After the Marshall Plan.

3—The European Defense Community.

4—Vital Role of Underdeveloped Areas.

5—World Communism—Enemy of Free World.

6—A. F. of L. and World Free Labor.

7—A. F. of L. in International Affairs.

8—Administration of Labor Policies in M.S.A.

9—International Labor Organization.

10—U. S. Department of Labor Trade Union Advisory Committees.

11—Labor Representation in the United Nations.

12—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Report of General Counsel—Resolutions.

Developments Under the Taft-Hartley Act—Resolutions.

Wage Developments—Resolutions.

Productivity—Resolutions.

Defense Production Act—Resolutions.

Atomic Energy—Resolutions.

Council of Economic Advisers—Resolutions.

Outlook for Materials—Resolutions.

Defense Manpower Program—Resolutions.

Apprentice Training—Resolutions.

Housing—Building Trades.

Defense Housing.

- Public Housing.
- Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment.
- Rent Control.
- Programs for the Future.
- Developments in Social Security—Resolutions.
- 1—The Hazard of Old Age.
- 2—The Hazard of Unemployment.
- 3—The Hazard of Ill Health.
- 4—Public Assistance.
- Taxation—Resolutions.
- Education—Education.
- Federal Aid for Education.
- Attacks on Public Education.
- Vocational Education.
- Workers Education Bureau.
- Organizing Activities—Organization.
- Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions for 1951—Executive Council's Report.
- Women Workers—Resolutions.
- Wage and Hour Administration—Resolutions.
- Fair Labor Standards Act.
- Labor Standards on Government Contracts.
- Public Relations—Resolutions.
- AFL News-Reporter.
- Labor Press.
- Radio News Program.
- Free Time Radio.
- The American Federationist—Resolutions.
- Research Report—Resolutions.
- Noticiero Obrero Norteamericano (North American Labor News)—Resolutions.
- Labor Legislation in 1952—Legislation.
- Amendment to National Labor Relations Act—S. 1973—Legislation.
- Hearings on the Smith Bill—HR. 7647, and other bills—Legislation.
- Labor-Management Commission—Legislation.
- Walsh-Healy Act Modified—Legislation.
- Emergency Powers Continuation Act—Resolutions.
- Veterans Legislation—Resolutions.
- Government Employee Legislation—Legislation.
- Thomas Leave Rider—Legislation.
- Civil Service Retirement—Resolutions.
- Union Recognition Bill—Legislation.
- Full Payment for Overtime—Legislation.
- Adequate Postal Delivery Restoration—Legislation.
- Parcel Size and Weight Adjustment—Resolutions.
- Government Salary Legislation—Resolutions.
- Governmental Reorganization Plans—Legislation.
- Canal Zone—Legislation.
- Union Recognition Bill—HR. 554.
- The Thomas Leave Amendment—HR. 7072.
- Employees' Right of Appeal—S. 1271.
- Police, Firemen and Teachers—HR. 7346 and S. 2935.
- 25% Differential—S. 2008.
- McCarran Amendment.
- Old Timers.
- Civil Rights—Legislation.
- Labor and Federal Security Appropriation—Resolutions.
- Maritime—Legislation.
- Federal Civil Defense Funds—Resolutions.
- H.J. Res. 341—Making Appropriations for Rehabilitation of Flood Stricken Areas for the Fiscal Year 1952 and for other purposes—Legislation.
- Recreational Facilities in our National Forests—Legislation.
- Forestry Resources Conservation—Legislation.
- The Proposed St. Lawrence Seaway—Resolutions.
- Armed Forces Reserves and Manpower—Resolutions.
- Immigration and Naturalization—Resolutions.
- Subversive Activities—Resolutions.
- Universal Military Training—H.R. 5904—Legislation.
- Customs Simplification Bill—Legislation.
- Physically Handicapped—Legislation.
- Health Care for Dependents of Servicemen—Legislation.
- Central Arizona Project—Legislation.
- Select Committee on Consumer Interests—Legislation.
- Puerto Rico—Resolutions.
- Extension of Federal Aid to Education in Puerto Rico—Legislation.
- Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska—Legislation.
- Twelve-Year Liquor Storage—Legislation.
- Importation of Seafood Products—Legislation.
- Tullahoma, Tennessee Wind Tunnel—Resolutions.
- Plattsburg Cantonment—Resolutions.
- Federal Construction Lease-Purchase—Legislation.
- Migratory Labor—Legislation.
- Ice Harbor Dam—Legislation.
- Delaware River Port Authority—Resolutions.
- Dry Bill Again Defeated—Legislation.
- Industrial and Mine Safety—Legislation.
- Youthful Offenders Law Extended—Resolutions.
- State Labor Legislative Conference—Resolutions.

Legislative Booklet in Demand—Resolutions.
 Traveling Library Service—Legislation.
 Japanese Prison Survivors—Legislation.
 "The Lobbyists" and Legislation—Legislation.
 State Labor Legislation—Legislation.
 Labor's League for Political Education—Resolutions.
 Building and Construction Trades Department—Building Trades.
 Metal Trades Department — Executive Council's Report.
 Union Label Trades Department—Labels.
 Railway Employees' Department—Executive Council's Report.
 Maritime Trades Department—Executive Council's Report.
 Conclusion—Resolutions.

Sections of the Executive Council's Report Referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report

Change of Title of International Unions
 National Farm Labor Union
 Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America
 National Brotherhood of Operative Pottery
 Selection of Fraternal Delegates
 Pension Pamphlet
 Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions for 1951
 Metal Trades Department
 Railway Employees' Department
 Maritime Trades Department

Sections of the Executive Council's Report Referred to the Committee on Resolutions

Introduction
 Samuel Gompers Memorial—City of Hope
 Issuance of local union Charters to persons outside of Trade Jurisdiction
 Report of the General Counsel
 Developments under the Taft-Hartley Act
 Wage Developments
 Productivity
 Defense Production Act
 Atomic Energy
 Council of Economic Advisers
 Outlook for Materials
 Defense Manpower Program
 Apprentice Training
 Developments in Social Security
 Taxation
 Women Workers

Wage and Hour Administration
 Public Relations
 A. F. of L. News-Reporter
 Labor Press
 Radio News Program
 Free Time Radio
 American Federationist
 Research Report
 North American Labor News
 Labor Legislation in 1952
 Emergency Powers Continuation Act
 Korean G. I. Bill
 Civil Service Retirement
 Parcel Size and Weight Adjustment
 Government Salary Legislation
 Labor and Federal Security Appropriation
 Federal Civil Defense Funds
 Proposed St. Lawrence Seaway
 Armed Forces Reserves and Manpower
 Immigration and Naturalization
 Subversive Activities
 Puerto Rico Constitution
 Tullahoma, Tennessee, Wind Tunnel
 Plattsburg Cantonment
 Delaware River Port Authority
 Youthful Offenders Law Extended
 State Labor Legislative Conference
 Legislative Booklet in Demand
 Labor's League for Political Education
 Conclusion.

Sections of the Executive Council's Report Referred to the Committee on Organization

Organizing Activities

Sections of the Executive Council's Report Referred to the Committee on Labels

Union Label Trades Department

Sections of the Executive Council's Report Referred to the Committee on Education

Education
 Federal Aid for Education
 Attacks on Public Education
 Vocational Education
 Workers Education Bureau

**Sections of the Executive Council's
Report Referred to the
Committee on Building
Trades**

Housing
Building and Construction Trades Department

**Sections of the Executive Council's
Report Referred to the
Committee on Legislation**

Labor Legislation in 1952
Amendment to National Labor Relations Act-S. 1973
Hearings on the Smith Bill-H.R. 7647, and other bills
Labor-Management Commission
Walsh-Healy Act Modified
Government Employee Legislation
Thomas Leave Rider
Union Recognition Bill
Full Payment for Overtime
Adequate Postal Delivery Restoration
Governmental Reorganization Plans
Canal Zone
Union Recognition Bill-H.R. 554
The Thomas Leave Amendment HR. 7072
Employees' Right of Appeal—S. 1271
Police, Firemen and Teachers HR. 7346 and S. 2935
25% Differential S. 2008
McCarran Amendment
Old Timers
Civil Rights
Maritime
H.J. Res. 341—Making Appropriations for Rehabilitation of Flood Stricken Areas for the Fiscal Year 1952 and for other purposes
Recreational Facilities in our National Forests
Forestry Resources Conservation
Universal Military Training H.R. 5904
Customs Simplification Bill
Physically Handicapped
Health Care for Dependents of Servicemen
Central Arizona Project
Select Committee on Consumer Interests
Extension of Federal Aid to Education in Puerto Rico
Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska
Twelve-Year Liquor Storage
Importation of Seafood Products
Federal Construction Lease-Purchase
Migratory Labor
Ice Harbor Dam
Dry Bill Again Defeated

Industrial and Mine Safety
Traveling Library Service
Japanese Prison Survivors
"The Lobbyists" and Legislation
State Labor Legislation

**Sections of the Executive Council's
Report Referred to the Inter-
national Labor Relations
Committee**

World Affairs
The Critical International Situation
A Creeping World War
After the Marshall Plan
The European Defense Community
Vital Role of Underdeveloped Areas
World Communism—Enemy of Free World
A. F. of L. and World Free Labor
A. F. of L. in International Affairs
Administration of Labor Policies in M.S.A.
International Labor Organization
U. S. Department of Labor Trade Union Advisory Committees
Labor Representation in the United Nations
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Honorable Secretary of Labor will attend and address the convention for a short time this morning, and I desire to appoint a committee to meet and escort him to the hall:

**Committee to Escort Secretary of
Labor Maurice J. Tobin**

Martin Durkin, Plumbers; Harry P. Grages, Boston Central Labor Union, and John J. Mara, Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now presents to you Brother Robinson, Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, who will submit his report.

**Report of Committee on Rules and
Order of Business**

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: The Committee on Rules and Order of Business is now ready to report. The report will be read by Secretary Joseph Clark, of the committee.

Committee Secretary Joseph Clark submitted the following report:

Mr. President and Delegates, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is now ready to report.

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m., and remain in session until 12 noon, reconvening at 2 p.m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of this week. Next week the convention will convene at the same hours on Monday and Tuesday, and if necessary on succeeding days until the business of the convention is concluded.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of the unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question or order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 per cent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or intro-

ducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the committee's report.

Respectfully submitted,

John B. Robinson, Chairman
Joseph P. Clark, Secretary
W. R. Brooks
R. J. Petree
John C. MacDonald
William Harding
Charles Aquadro
Frank B. Field
Joseph Lewis
Mike J. Minaden
Daniel J. McNamara
George W. Berger
George Edgerton
George Nolan
Al J. Cleland
Robert Morgan
Norman Zukowsky
Robert Soule
J. A. Huneault
R. Emmett Kelly
Oliver W. Nicoll

Joseph Jacobs
William E. Carter
Committee on Rules and Order
of Business

On motion of Committee Secretary Clark, seconded by Chairman Robinson, the report of the committee was adopted.

Introduction of Fraternal Delegate Roberts

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to take advantage of this opportunity to introduce the one fraternal delegate from Great Britain who has arrived in the United States and who is here at this convention. We are always pleased to become acquainted with them quickly, so that when we come in contact with them we will know just who they are.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother Alf Roberts, one of the fraternal delegates from Great Britain.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair will now present to you the representative of the Credentials Committee, Brother Schneider.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Schneider read the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends that the following be seated:

Robert E. Haskin, additional Delegate, representing the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders with 110 votes.

Howard P. Barry, additional Delegate representing the International Association of Fire Fighters, with 123 votes.

C. C. Reed, representing the Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union, with 1 vote.

Lewis Stauber, representing the Westchester County, N. Y., Federation of Labor, with 1 vote.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SCHNEIDER: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the further partial report of the Credentials Committee.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

Secretary Meany stated that President

Green had appointed the following escort committees:

For Averell Harriman: George Harrison of the Railway Clerks; Charles MacGowan, of the Boilermakers; and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

For Oscar Ewing: Harry Bates of the Bricklayers; Dan Tracy of the Electrical Workers; and Lee Minton, of the Glass Bottle Blowers.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany announced the receipt of the following communications:

(The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan)

J. C. T. U.

Tokyo, September 9, 1952

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
A. F. of L. Building
Washington 1, D. C.
Dear Brother:

We hereby send our fraternal greetings to the historic Convention of the American Federation of Labor and our best wishes to all your delegates.

The world today sees two internationally significant elections going on. One is the Presidential election in the U. S. and the other is the general election in Japan. We firmly believe that the American people will prove their collective wisdom in November by electing a President who will be equal to the task of conducting state affairs in a truly democratic manner and of promoting labor's welfare. Your 71st Annual Convention opening at this time in New York City is therefore of real significance and our hopes go to your sincere deliberations at the present Conclave for the good of labor.

Turning to the case of Japan, the Yoshida Cabinet recently dissolved the Lower House in a most undemocratic manner after having been harassed by the internal feud of the Government Party. Indeed, the past four years have seen the Yoshida Government working to crush the wishes and infringe upon the rights of the Japanese working people, not one of its measures going without bringing adverse effects upon workers' livelihood. Especially the Government actions since last year have served only to jeopardize Japan's independence and world peace and to undermine democracy for which Japan's labor has resolutely fought for seven years after the end of the war. Vivid in our memory is the recent passage of the Subversive Activities Prevention Law which the majority strength in the Diet forced through overriding our protest strongly voiced through the labor strikes which were staged a few months ago

under vigorous support coming from the general citizenry and intelligentsia.

These bitter experiences lead us to think that peace and independence as well as the higher standards of living of the workers are impossible to attain until the present Government is overthrown and that the hardest blow should therefore be given them in the forthcoming election.

Indeed, the central theme of the coming election is, "Peace or War?" Whether our peace-dedicated Constitution could survive or not depends on the results of the election. Our people are going to make a decision between the two—should they oppose to rearmament and uphold the war-renouncing Constitution or should they give up the Constitution and accept rearmament both in name and fact?

Thus a heavy duty rests on us workers as the nuclear force of bolstering democracy. In the belief that the over-eight-million strong AFL wants to see true democracy flourish here in Japan, we are determined to defeat reactionary force in favor of democratic force.

We are sure that this firm determination on our part will be responded by your Convention coming out with a formula for paving the way for a stronger trade union movement.

Hail to the 71st AFL National Convention!

Minoru Takano, General Secretary,
General Council of Trade Unions
of Japan (Sohyo)

ALL JAPAN SEAMEN'S UNION

Tokyo, Japan

Sept. 9, 1952

Mr. William Green
President of AFL

Chairman, Staff Officials and all delegates of your Convention:

Through the standpoint of my individual and also the representatives of all Japanese mariners, I have the honour of sending my message, with my heartfelt trust and boundless respect, to the American Federation of Labor which performed the greatest works in the past and also is now contributing various activities for the labor movements of the free world.

Present international affairs are under the extremely difficult conditions. On the left side, there is the threat of invasion by Communist Powers, and on the other side, there is danger of increase of reactionary Powers of Fascism.

It is our grave duty to protect Peace, Freedom and Democracy from the threat of Totalitarian Powers of both said left and right.

To prevent these threats, our aims are not enough performed by only the efforts to increase the Military Forces and the hatred toward invaders, but performed by the international unity of free workers who want the real Peace from the bottom of their hearts.

Recognizing the above said very well,

we, all Japanese mariners, have been entirely cooperating with the activities of ICFTU, through our organization saying All-Japanese Seamen's Union.

But, we are very sorry not to be able to let all trade unionists in Japan affiliate with and support ICFTU entirely. However, we will continue our efforts more and more and our efforts will bear the wonderful fruit in near future, we believe.

Thinking the relations between Japan and U. S. who has very important position among the nations of free world, we are, from the bottom of our hearts, expecting the American Workers to give continual, favourable and active assistances to the Japanese Workers who are doing their best, confronting to much difficulties, to advance Democracy and to contribute to the world-wide Peace.

We believe the American Federation of Labor will act along our expectation and also we promise our friendship and co-operation to your Federation.

In conclusion, we will state our much gratitudes to your Federation which gave many favours and assistances to our movements, for instance, Japanese fishery problems, the issues of captured Japanese seamen by Red China and others.

We supplicate your Convention will have wonderful success.

God bless the American Federation of Labor.

Sincerely yours,

H. Kageyama,

President,

All-Japan Seamen's Union

JAPAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR

Tokyo, Japan

6th September,
1952

Mr. William Green, President,
The American Federation of Labour,
New York, N. Y.

Message of Greeting from Rodo Sodomei to the A. F. of L. Convention.

1. We herewith have the honour to send a heartfelt message of greeting to your great Convention now being held in the City of New York.

2. As you know, we have been making a long-time stand for the principle of free and democratic labour union and always fighting to keep the free union even before the pre-war times. During the Second World War we maintained the fight against the repression of labour by the Japanese militarists even after the labour unions of the left collapsed and became the *Sampo*, which was a government puppet organization. Even when the dissolution of our organization was about to be accomplished by the force of the Japanese Government we refused to join *Sampo* and did not change our will to keep fighting the brilliant struggle against totalitarianism.

3. As soon as freedom of labour movement had been proclaimed after the termi-

nation of the Pacific War we began to organize national federation without delay, supporting our leader Komakichi Matsuoka and endeavouring to make the organization the biggest national labour union in Japan. Opposing us sharply was the NCJU, or *Sanbetsu*, which was organized by the Communist Party of Japan. We sought to hold free, democratic labour movement. And so at last the rule of the labour movement by the Communist factions perished almost completely by 1948 by the so-called democratization movement.

4. Afterwards the Communists sought for a way to find their way back into the labour movement, some of them acting legally as if they were not Communists. It is therefore really regrettable that G. H. Q. of the Occupation took a policy that made for the protection and redevelopment of the Communist influence inside the labour movement. And as a result, the democratic labour movement has had many intervals in its development.

5. For the sake of America and other democratic countries we received our independence, and have made labour movement free. The only hope now is to give all our effort to keep democratic labour union movement free and make it develop powerfully.

6. We beg you heartily to give us your kind co-operation for the development of labour unions of Japan and Asia through the American Federation of Labour's International Free Trade Union Committee, and also your kind help through Mr. Deverall to our country which possesses the central position in Asian labour movement and which has close relation to your country.

7. Mr. Komakichi Matsuoka, the former President of the Japan Federation of Labour, will henceforth concentrate his efforts on the political problems of Japan. Therefore he has become an adviser to our union, and in his place I have been nominated as the President of the Japan Federation of Labour.

8. I wish always to have your cordial attention to us. Congratulating you on the occasion of your great Convention, and wishing you the brilliant development, I am,

Fraternally yours,
(s) Yonekichi, Kanemasa,
President,
Japan Federation of Labour
(*Rodo Sodomei*).

FEDERATION OF ALL-JAPAN METAL MINE WORKERS UNIONS

Tokyo, Japan

September 10, 1952

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Dear President Green:

It is my great honor to send our very best wishes and those of the Federation of All-Japan Metal Mine Workers Unions to

the American Federation of Labor assembled in Convention.

I have paid deep respect to the American Federation of Labor, which has the oldest history in the United States, for its constant efforts to fight for an ever-increasing standard of living and to help insure peace, prosperity and security. It is also my pleasure to say here that I feel more friendly towards your union because of Mr. Richard Deverall's stay in Japan representing the American Federation of Labor. I should like to express my thanks also for the assistance you are giving to our union movement through Mr. Deverall.

Today, Japanese labor is facing a very crucial moment, threatened by Communists on one side and by reactionary policies of the Japanese Government on the other. They are causing a danger of possibility of increased Communist influence within the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, *Sohyo*, which was formed originally in 1950 as a united front of democratic unions in Japan. My union is fighting within *Sohyo* to make it follow its original sound policy. Unfortunately, rather strong anti-American feeling is increasing in the Japanese Labor movement, which is helping the Communists to infiltrate into some unions. I believe that the feeling is merely an emotional and unrealistic feeling caused by a reaction to the Occupation and the feeling of liberation from the Occupation, and, therefore, will not last long.

I believe that it is historically inevitable, especially now, for Japan to cooperate with the United States. It is more so for the Japanese labor to cooperate strongly with the American labor and to understand each other in order to secure freedom and democracy for Japanese workers. I wish to cooperate with your union and to contribute to the development of free and democratic labor movement of the world.

Again I want to express my very best wishes for a successful Convention on behalf of my union.

Sincerely yours,
Yukitaka Haraguchi,
President, Federation of
All-Japan Metal Mine Workers
Unions.

10 Sep 1952

To: President of AFL Convention
From: Central Executive Chairman
Setsuo Yamada, All Japan Garri-
son Forces' Labor Union

I, representing 200,000 Japanese workers in service of U. S. Forces, Japan, feel it a great honor to have an opportunity to send a message of hearty congratulation for the annual convention of your Federation creating focus of world-wide attention.

We have a good deal of concern and expectation of your labor movement in past and at present and great influence it has on us.

Under occupation subsequent to miserable defeat of war, we have made every

effort to furnish labor service in a proper and faithful manner to the Allied Forces, in which U. S. Forces played major role, which service was necessitated for carrying out occupation policy with a view to democratizing Japan. It was not an easy task to accomplish the labor service in circumstances of food shortage and acute inflation under national obligation arising from acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration. Defying hardship of all conditions we have cooperated with the Allied Powers. However, we had a good deal of dissatisfaction with the labor management by Occupation Forces.

The basic human right of workers was not recognized, wage-cut by the unilateral action of Forces was very often and discharge of workers was carried out frequently as it were carrots and radishes being cut, especially those who acted to form a labor union being dismissed. In spite of 16-point principle of the Far East Commission encouraging to organize democratic labor unions, the formation of labor union among the employees for the Occupation Forces was very few.

The situation like this would have been somehow inevitable under the occupation. But, when the Japanese Peace Treaty came into effect on 28 April 1952 and Japan became independent after all. And, moreover, the Administrative Agreement permitted us Japanese to apply hundred percent our labor laws to Japanese laborers working for the Garrison Forces.

As our expectations were great the present situation is rather far from being concrete as to satisfy us. With the frankness inherent to laborers we would like to let you know many factors which should be ameliorated. Your understanding and assistance are sincerely requested.

The most fundamental problem could be traced to the Master Labor Contract agreed upon between the Procurement Agency representing Japanese Government and Japan Procurement Agency, JLC representing U. S. Army.

At present Japanese laborers amounting to 200,000 are being employed by our Government and offered to U.S. Army. And the Master Contract in question was concluded in June 1951 when our country was being occupied and the validity thereof was extended from 1 July to 30 September 1952.

For the new Contract which should go into effect on 1 October the negotiations are being conducted between the Japanese Government Agency and JLC, but the contents thereof have not been divulged to us. We opine that the following should be included in the contemplated new contract.

1. The Japanese Laws including Labor Laws and Regulations shall perfectly applied to the Contractor's employees utilized by the U.S. Forces, Japan.

2. The Procurement Agency who is their employer shall hold the authority of personnel affairs of the employees.

3. As to the wages and allowances and other working conditions, the decisions of the labor agreement or collective bargaining between a Japanese Government

agency and a competent labor union shall be respected by the U.S. Forces, Japan.

4. No right of the workers set forth in Article 12 of the Japan and the U.S. Administrative Agreement shall be invaded.

5. The freedom of union activities shall be guaranteed even within the military facilities so far as the military function is, in no way, hindered.

6. The wage level shall be raised by increasing the budget of the U.S. side as necessity arises. No discharge due to the increase of the wage level shall be carried out for offsetting purposes.

The membership of our union is 75,000 at present. Our union are earnestly intended to make it grow to a larger organization by calling to the unorganized workers of about 130,000 in the near future so that we can accomplish the function of the union. Under the difficulty of living conditions, we, the workers, have an intention to contribute to the restoration of Japanese industries and the improvement of economy, in every effort.

We believe that the working classes of Japan and the United States of America must be good friends for ever. For this, it is considered that if there is any wrong point to hamper the friendship between you and us, it should be eliminated in a bold manner before such a point grows larger.

Expecting the great mission of your union, we, the union, hope to be given by you much help and adequate advice to our future activities.

Furthermore, we basing on such feeling of belief, it is desired that this message leads us to a strong relation full of friendship and faith.

At the close of this letter, we sincerely pray the progress of AFL and the success of your mass meeting.

for. Vice-Chairman
Mokoto Ichikama

September 5, 1952

JC784/754LBC Djakarta 23 5 1124 JVR

Heartily congratulated with your National Congress. Hope we succeed in our struggle to reach human rights

Sarikat Buruh Internatio Djakarta

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEXTILE WORKERS UNIONS
OF JAPAN
(J.F.T.W.U.)

P. O. Box: Tokyo Central No. 561
Tokyo: The 5th September 1952

American Federation of Labor
Washington.

Message

Hereby I forward you our hearty greetings and best wishes to you in the name of 340,000 members of our organization, for your coming Convention.

Needless to mention that Japan has quite recently commenced her first step as an independent country by the good intention and cooperation of all free Na-

tions, even though rather imperfect at the beginning. Under the complicated and difficult circumstances at present, we have been fighting against the totalitarianism, either extreme right or left, under the banner of I.C.P.T.U., for the democratization and independency of our country. We also keep acting for the establishment of free democratic organization of textile workers and for the elevation of their living standard.

Unfortunately the occupation policy has brought the tendency of weakening the power of Japanese trade unions against Marxism and fostering the potential power for its saturation, which has been hindering our activities.

We would like to present our deepest thanks, in this opportunity for the understanding and assistance of trade unions of all free countries, including your organization, and sincerely hope for the further mutual assistance, especially with your organization, for which the question of frontier has no concern.

Sincerely wishing for the achievement of your Convention and with earnest desire for the good health of your staff and all members of A. F. of L.

(Signed) Minorn Takito
President

10 Septembre 1952.

To the American Federation of Labor:

On behalf of the "Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos" (Basque Brotherhood of Workers) I take pleasure in extending our most hearty and fraternal greetings on occasion of your next Congress.

The Basque workers, fighting for their freedom since so many years ago, look at your activities with faith and hope. We thank you for the help received in our struggle against Franco's dictatorship, and we are sure that you will not fail us in the future.

G. Ruiz de Ercilla
Secrétaire Général

DELEGATE TURCO, Newsboys' Union: May I have the floor for about three minutes?

PRESIDENT GREEN: Delegate Turco of the Newsboys, Seattle, desires the floor.

DELEGATE TURCO: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I am taking this opportunity to address this convention because of the report and the speech that was made by our worthy President Green yesterday in which he mentioned unification, and also spoke about the Miners' organization.

The reason I take this opportunity to appeal to you, delegates and the Chairman of this convention, is because I was in Washington, D. C. . . .

SECRETARY MEANY: (Interposing) Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

PRESIDENT GREEN: What is your point of order?

SECRETARY MEANY: There is no matter before the convention. This subject will be brought before the convention, and discussion of it at this time before a report from the proper committee is out of order.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair rules that the point of order is well taken. I didn't know you were going to get up for that purpose.

DELEGATE TURCO: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

. . . At this time the Escort Committee previously appointed brought Mr. Harriman to the platform.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us an outstanding American, a distinguished speaker. I am happy beyond measure in that I am privileged to present him to you for the delivery of an address this morning.

He visited with us in days gone by, and I was always pleased to have him bring his message to the officers and delegates in attendance at our conventions. But because of developments which have taken place within the last few months, I am increasingly pleased to present this great American to you for the delivery of his address.

You know more about him now than you did before, and I know that, like me, every one of you have learned to admire him as a thorough-going, broad-minded liberal American who holds many of the principles of labor in high regard and esteem.

I think I nominated him for Secretary of State when he addressed the convention of the American Federation of Labor some few years ago, and while I haven't asked his permission, I am going to take advantage of this opportunity and nominate him for Secretary of State of the United States of America. He would make a great Secretary of State, and discharge his duty in a way that would challenge our admiration.

And now I take great pleasure in presenting to you our friend, the Honorable Averell Harriman, who will address you on this occasion.

The Honorable Averell Harriman

President Green and my friends of the A. F. of L.: It is mighty nice to be with you here this morning, and it is good to hear the kind things that President Green has just said about me. He has known me for 20 years or more. We have worked closely together. I have great admiration for him, and it does me good to hear what he has just said.

I think he knows some things about me which he hasn't fully developed today, but when you have been in government for a dozen years, and more than that before, and you get plenty of cracks, it is a pleasure once in a while to hear something nice. I wouldn't want to suggest to President Green that he change his introduction.

I feel very much at home here this morning for a great many reasons. I know that you don't expect me to be inspirational at this time of the morning. I have never learned to be, and therefore perhaps I will talk quite informally about the things which are very much in my mind at this time.

I feel at home because I know that your organization has been alert to the dangers that our country has been facing since the end of the war, and knows what steps we have to take here at home not only to rid ourselves of that Communist menace, but also to carry our country forward to a greater and better life in this country.

You were ahead of our government in many ways. You went out without waiting. I remember six years ago I was concerned about the problems here in the United States when I came back from Russia—Communist subversion within our life—and I found that you were actively at work in routing it out. You didn't need any advice from the Johnny-come-latelies who now are absorbing that field for their own political vantage—and I will have something more to say about Senator Joseph McCarthy a little bit later on.

Then I went to work that spring in '46 and I found that you were already at work in finding out what Communist subversion was doing in Europe. Through your own organization you were already at work trying to help free labor rid themselves of the infiltration of the Communists; and you have been at work ever since—and that was six years ago.

Now, I can't mention the name of all the men that I have worked with among your ranks, the men in Europe and here, but I do want to say that I am mighty proud to have George Harrison, Dave Dubinsky and Charlie MacGowan bring me to this rostrum this morning. They are men I have worked with, men I respect and men who have done great things not only for the labor movement but for our country as a whole. Of course, it is natural that I mentioned George's name first. I don't know whether that was the right order in protocol, but George and I have been railroad men together for a long time, and then in recent months George showed a certain kind of good judgment. We were working together on

the same team a while back in Chicago. We weren't fully successful, but we certainly did have an influence for good in the Democratic Party and on the platform, and I hope, George, you agree that the work we did together did have an impact for the right kind of thinking. And we did nominate a great man as our candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency, Adlai Stevenson.

I am glad to be here again with George Meany, because he and I worked together in 1947 and developed the basic report which has been the guiding influence on the development of our policies in Europe. George and I learned a lot at that time in the analysis that we made of conditions in Europe, and the report that we made has been of great value in developing American policies.

You have been part of the development of our governmental policies, and there is no group in this country that has stood more forthrightly back of the things that you believed in and back of your government's policies, not only in the development of them and carrying them to the Congress, but also in supporting them. I want to thank you not only for those men you gave to me to help me in Europe in carrying out the program, but also in the sacrifices that you have made in releasing those men.

I am grateful—and want to say thanks for your help. As an American I am proud of the achievement of the A. F. of L. in understanding the issues that faced our country and going to work to see that those principles were carried out.

Four years ago you kindly invited me to address your convention. It was after November, just after election day. At that time I said to you: "I come to rejoice with you in that election in which you played so large a part. Liberalism is again on the ascendancy and let us keep it there."

That was four years ago. Now we have another election coming up, and we hear from the Republican camp the same loud assertions that "it is time for a change." They seem to have had enough of liberalism. Well we know the kind of change that they want—a change to reaction and a change to men of reaction to carry out that policy.

They have been rather cautious to admit that fact, and they put up a thin veneer in the form of a candidate to conceal it. But the other morning there was a little breakfast up here on Morningside Drive, and things are beginning to come out in the open. Taft tells us that he is not going to divert from any of the policies which he has been following in the last 14 years, and he isn't going to let down any of the people who have been fighting for him for those policies.

And so it comes out in the open. I want to say to you men that as far as I am concerned, I have yet to find a basic policy in which I agree with Senator Taft. I disagree with him on practically every issue, foreign and domestic. And

that is not just Taft-Hartley, bad and pernicious as Taft-Hartley is. But we see the standard-bearer caught in the position of making a campaign on "me, too" generalities and catch words, and it is coming close to a campaign based on smear without any facts back of it.

Now, you and I, all of us are shocked by the corruption of people who got into our public service, and they have got to be routed out. But any thought that the General can do it better than Governor Stevenson has no validity whatsoever, and anybody who thinks that Truman is not trying to get rid of it today has no basis for making such a change.

There is one word which the General seems to like and which he is repeating over and over again. And he opened his dictionary the other day and he read us what the definition of that word is, and that word is "mess." I am glad he read us the definition.

"Mess," he said, "means a confused, inharmonious, disagreeable mixture of things, a medley, a hodgepodge, hence, a situation resulting from blunders or from misunderstandings, a state of confusion, embarrassment, a muddle, a both."

Now, I agree that this vividly describes the situation that exists today. I agree there is a mess, and that mess is the Republican Party.

He tries to put that word on the Democratic Party, the party that has been responsible during the last 20 years for advances in the life of our country, social and economic, but he can't pin "mess" on the achievements of our country during the last 20 years.

Now, I say what better way to describe the conglomeration of ideas and mixture of men in the Republican camp? What better way to describe the situation of the General's followers and, in fact, the situation of the General himself?

Let's look at the muddle the General gets into when he talks about foreign policy. I have picked on foreign policy because he has said more about foreign policy. Whenever he talks about domestic policies he has been so confused that we don't know where he stands on those issues yet.

But as we look at this muddle we see emerging a confused and embarrassed, not General Eisenhower, but Candidate Eisenhower. He is trying to satisfy all of his followers.

The General still endorses the policies of the present administration, but at the same time Candidate Eisenhower condemns them. He tries to commit his party to a program of collective security, and everybody knows, and the General himself knows, that in the last few years three-quarters of the Republican Senators have voted against or to cripple key measures to build collective security.

Candidate Eisenhower would have us believe that the free world would be stronger if his party had been in power

during that time. My answer to that is the same as I gave you in Houston two years ago. Some of you may remember that. It created some disturbance at that time. I pointed out that the Kremlin was opposing the Marshall Plan because it was rolling back Communist penetration in western Europe, and it was also opposing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization because it was creating real strength among the free nations of the North Atlantic Community. I pointed out that certain powerful Republican leaders had voted to cripple those measures and that, if the Congress had adopted their positions—and here is where I created a disturbance at that time—Communist objectives would thereby have been furthered. That was two years ago. The situation hasn't gotten any better. The same men have consistently voted the same way and are still talking that way. And if you looked at what the Senator said after he had met Candidate Eisenhower on Morningside Drive, he said that he had a disagreement with the General on the question of foreign policy; it was a question of degree.

Well, is it a question of degree, or is it a question of whether we are going to look after the security of our country or whether we are not. We can't have our security through halfway measures, and we can't have it the Taft way.

We find Candidate Eisenhower saying that we can have our security, increase our armament, balance the budget and reduce taxes. What kind of talk is that? I say to you that anybody who tells you that you can reduce taxes and still have our security today is either grossly ignorant or is falsifying the facts.

I do believe that, as Governor Stevenson said the other day, if we stick firmly to what we are doing and build our strength and the strength of the free world, in a couple of years we can look forward to living without fear and having our security, and at the same time be able to cut back these terrific expenditures which are essential today to protect the very life of our country.

There are other ways, which I won't go into today, in which there is confusion in the Republican Party on foreign policy. I want to ask how can a party that is itself filled with inconsistencies and contradictions ever hope to bring unity to the people of the free world? And our unity is what the Kremlin wants to break up.

Now, the candidate claims that his party will fight against discrimination, against economic inequity, against poverty, against security, against every social ill that hampers and handicaps any of our people.

The candidate, I read in the morning paper, says we won't get anywhere with Governor Stevenson's humor. Well, I ask you men how anyone can take that statement seriously. If the facts were not so serious that statement would have humor in it.

Where has the General been for the last 20 years? Doesn't he remember that it was F.D.R. who pulled our country out

of the tragic mess brought on by the Republican Party? Doesn't he know that the record of his party for 20 years has been one of stubborn opposition to the constructive measures which have brought the American people the highest standards of living in our history, programs which were put forward and carried through by our two great Presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman? It is that progress that we Americans want to keep moving forward.

Can the General persuade us that he has such command of his forces—is he so used to issuing commands—that he thinks everybody will obey them? Does he think that he can now order his party—these men who have been in opposition—to reverse face and march in the opposite direction? I say it is a farce for him to say that.

Candidate Eisenhower, it seems to me, is so confused by the present muddle of his party that he is getting history all botched up, too. Throughout his speeches runs the theme that the troubles of the world are due to the faults of the present administration. Most of us know, and the General himself knows, that the root of the trouble in this world has been the destruction of World War II followed by the ruthless aggression of the Kremlin.

But there is one aspect of his campaign oratory that I cannot let go unanswered, and that is the bold implication that he and the other leaders of his party have been so far-sighted that they never had any illusions about Soviet aggression, and that, if America had only been in their hands, they could have changed the world, and the world would have been a safer place today.

But let's get that record straight.

It was in November 1945 that General Eisenhower testified before a Committee of Congress. He was asked what he thought about Russia as a potential aggressor, and this was his answer: "Russia has not the slightest thing to gain by a struggle with the United States. There is no one thing, I believe, that guides the policy of Russia more today than to keep friendship with the United States."

That is after he had been dealing with the Russians for over six months, and now he says that he knows how to deal with the Russians. He said that yesterday in one of his whistle stop speeches.

I am not condemning the General for his hopes. Honorable Americans shared those hopes. But I find it hard to swallow Candidate Eisenhower's current pretensions that he was gifted with extraordinary foresight.

The candidate now says that the administration allowed America to become weak. Does he now forget that General Eisenhower had a hand in demobilization and that he said in 1946—and I quote him—"Frankly I do not think demobilization was too fast"? Does he forget that his fellow Republicans in the Congress were clamoring for even faster demobilization, and charging the administration with all sorts of underhanded motives for not de-

mobilizing more rapidly, not demobilizing fast enough?

And there is another piece of history the candidate is confusing. He talks of millions of men, women and children in eastern Europe who, he says, have been delivered into slavery. "Delivered" by whom? By the present Administration? The General knows better than that. As Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in the last war he knows that at the end of the war the Red Army was in occupation of all of eastern Europe, and that Stalin took advantage of this occupation to break his agreements with us to hold free elections, and instead he installed by force his puppets. The General knows full well that there was nothing effective America could do to stop this tragedy unless we were prepared to rebuild our forces in Europe and those of our western allies after the defeat of Japan and drive the Red Army back to its frontiers. I have yet to hear that General Eisenhower, or anyone else in responsible position in his party, favored such a course of action. The General cannot rewrite history just to suit the purposes of Candidate Eisenhower.

Candidate Eisenhower finds himself in another "disagreeable mixture of things." He calls for "skillful and consistent use of the power of truth," and yet he has gone out of his way to endorse and support a man whom he knows—and we know—has skillfully and consistently abused the truth, and that's Senator Joseph McCarthy. That's not just a difference of opinion. There may be honorable differences of opinion, but when a man like McCarthy sponsors totalitarian methods of guilt by smear and guilt by association, it is not a question of difference of opinion, it is a basic issue. In fact, it is the basic issue which is now the current battle and struggle in the world between Communism and the free countries. The basic concept of the dignity and rights of the individual must be protected, and that individual must be protected against abuse and have the right to a fair trial.

There is no better example of McCarthy's contempt for truth than in his denunciation of America's great soldier-statesman and Eisenhower's friend and mentor, General George C. Marshall. McCarthy called Marshall the key figure "in a conspiracy so immense, so infamous and so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man."

McCarthy was joined in this attack by Senator William Jenner, who smeared General Marshall as "a front man for traitors" and "a living lie."

And yet Candidate Eisenhower went to Indianapolis and shook Jenner's hand and had Jenner introduce him, not alone to the people of Indiana, but on the radio to the people of the nation.

The Republican candidate calls for decency in Washington, and yet he calls for the reelection of these two men to bring with him. I ask you, what kind of decency is this? As we look upon the spectacle of

a confused, disagreeable state of things in the Republican ranks, in contrast, how inspiring it is to hear the forthright statements and the clear policies of another candidate—a candidate who puts principle above expediency—Adlai E. Stevenson?

The Democratic Party is conducting this campaign on the basis of a serious discussion of the issues, and that's what I wish to do now very briefly. There are sober and serious problems ahead, and they deserve to be discussed in a way which will clarify our thinking and not confuse it, and that is true especially when they relate to our national security. I hope some day we can get back to what Senator Vandenburg called a non-partisan approach to our foreign policy—but today we cannot do it.

I find it impossible to divorce foreign policy from domestic policy. Our foreign policy and our domestic policy are so interdependent that they are, in fact, almost inseparable. I will give you one example, and it is an important one.

We must have an expanding social and economic life in our own country to achieve our objective of a durable peace with freedom in the world.

We are by far the most productive nation in the free world, and this gives us in fact a terrifying responsibility. We have only ten per cent of the population of the free world, and yet our total output is more than all the rest of the 90 per cent put together. It is absolutely essential to give a helping hand to those people around the world, to help increase their productivity, so that they can afford the same kind of a decent life.

What happens here at home has a most vital effect for good or ill on the rest of the world. You remember the brief recession we had in 1949, from which we recovered quickly, but it had most disturbing consequences in other countries. While our national output only dropped three and a half per cent, our imports from some countries producing raw materials fell off as much as 40 per cent, and there were grave social and economic consequences, almost disastrous in their nature, and it was only because our recession lasted a short time that we didn't have a serious world crisis.

Should we let our economy fall into a serious depression, entirely aside from the tragedy of it here at home, the whole free world would be in mortal danger.

Stalin's strategy of world conquest is partly based on the Communist doctrine that the American economy is unstable and will collapse again into a major depression, exposing country after country to internal revolt led by Communist Fifth Columns. He does not believe that free men can manage their affairs in such a way as to maintain a stable economy.

How well we manage our economic affairs here at home is, in the final analysis, one of the great decisive factors in the world struggle.

We have in recent years shown that we can build and maintain an expanding economy in American life. As a result we have the highest output in our history,

and even with our heavy defense expenditures the highest standard of living. This is after taxes, and taking into account the higher prices.

The Republicans would have us believe we are on the verge of bankruptcy. We are not on the verge of bankruptcy; we are expanding our life, we are giving better opportunities to more people in our country, and we are increasing and improving the living conditions of all of our people—and incidentally we are doing it in a way that Roosevelt set out for us to do, which was to build our economic life on the basis of raising lower incomes. It has been shown that in the last 20 years the lower incomes have gone ahead twice as fast as those in the other half, and that's the way it should be, that principle should continue. There is an endless amount of production needed from the factory and the farm if our people are to enjoy a decent life.

I want to say a word, if I may, about another battle cry in the Republican Party—Senator Taft with his pop gun, shot it off again on Morningside Drive and it was in the preamble of the Republican platform. He said that the issue today is between socialism and freedom. I say let's have this out right down the line with the Republicans, let's ask them to explain what they mean by freedom. In Chicago what did they do? They dragged out Hoover, and what picture did that bring to the minds of the American people—what kind of freedom? Freedom to sell apples, and all of the other types of freedoms we had in the depression. Are those the Republican freedoms? I know you men agree that we have a different kind of freedom now—we have the kind of freedom that Roosevelt and Truman have been standing for. There is more freedom today for more people than ever in our history, and it has been done in the American way.

We cannot let that kind of thing go unanswered. But let's analyze what they mean. They talk about a socialistic plan of government. What is our Federal Government? Our Federal Government represents a community of 156 million people. I am for local communities doing everything they can do. It is within the American tradition, from the early settlements, to work as a community, and we should work as a local community and among local groups and private groups as far as possible. But we cannot be afraid, and I am not afraid that our community of 156 million people should not work together for the welfare of all of the people of our country. That is not Socialism, and let's don't be afraid of what we are doing because the Republicans try to put a label on it. It is within the true American tradition.

What are we doing? We are looking forward to the medical needs of our people, the educational needs of our people, the economic needs, the needs for housing, and so forth. And, by the way, our Republican candidate says he doesn't think anything of socialized medicine. Well, I don't believe in socialized medicine, but ever since

General Eisenhower went into West Point he lived on socialized medicine. As I say, I don't believe in socialized medicine for the people of the United States, and I don't believe in the British system. I have seen it operate. But I do know it is the American tradition to see that all of our people get decent medical care, and that's the problem ahead of us, and we don't want to shy away from it. We have got to make progress in that direction.

As I say, it is not Socialism to see 'hat all of our kids get a chance for an education. That is one of the most fundamental of American traditions, and if a local community can't do it, let's do it in the community of 156 million people. There is no dictatorship in this federal nation of ours, and let's don't let anybody try to kid us.

You have a President that the American people elect and a Congress that the American people elect. If you ever tried to get legislation through in Congress you know it is a difficult job if there is any opposition, let alone the opposition of most of our people.

This concept of an expanding economy is absolutely essential. We can't stand still; we either go forward or we go back. We must move forward. We can't have an expanding productivity and an improvement in the ranks of labor and on the farm just by accident. The Federal government must take an interest in it through minimum wages and through protection of the rights of labor to organize and deal collectively.

We have got to elect a Congress that will get rid of the Taft-Hartley law and enact decent legislation that protects labor and industry and management and also the public. That can be done in a spirit of fairness and cooperation, and not in the spirit of vindictiveness, as was the spirit that characterized the Taft-Hartley law when it was enacted.

But let's quit talking about getting that law repealed. There is only one way that law will be repealed, and that is if the working people of this country and their families get out and vote, not just for the President, but for the Senators and Congressmen who will carry through not only decent labor legislation, but decent protective, progressive legislation on all of the fronts that are necessary.

That does not happen just by passing resolutions—and I hope that there will be proper resolutions coming out of this convention. That is not for me to say. But what I do ask is that we all go to work this time. President Truman carried the campaign largely on his back last time, with some help. But this time it has got to be a team operation, all of you men and women bringing to your neighbors and your families the message of what is at stake in this election, both at home and abroad, and that can be done. If that is done there can be no doubt as to the outcome, and we will have a Congress that will act for the people, we will have a President who can lead us in the right direction. If we act on the policies which

have been proven successful over the last 20 years, and if we act with boldness and imagination, it is within our capacity to add tremendously to our national output in the next eight or ten years. It is well within our capacity to add \$100 billion, and if we do that we can carry heavy defense expenditures if world tensions make it necessary for us to do so, and carry on our responsibilities in the world, and still in that period bring about an increase of 30 per cent in the standard of living of our people. That is worth fighting for, and that is worth working together to accomplish.

We are not going to do it in any other way than through democratic principles. I want to talk again about this charge of Socialism. I don't think we can talk about it too much. Let's not let any of these words scare us. They say it is Socialism for the government to plan for power needs, for steel requirements, for raw material requirements, for the amount of fertilizer needed. I believe in private enterprise, but I believe in government doing a job that private enterprise either can't or won't do. And unless we have the power development, raw material development, the fertilizer and other things that industry and the farms need, we are going to be in trouble in the years ahead.

The Republicans call what we are doing now, which is just to look forward to the needs of our country and act where it is necessary to act, Socialism. In fact, it has given more opportunities to business and employment than ever before. But what is the alternative they propose? To turn back planning to business and private bankers. We know that piecemeal planning won't do any more, we know that narrow planning of business won't do any more. It will throttle our economy. They will plan for an economy of scarcity, because that's the way our business people look upon the responsibilities they have for the solvency of their companies and the profit of their companies.

I am not criticizing them, but we cannot let planning go back to piecemeal planning of business and of bankers. We must have in Washington a clear idea of the direction in which we're going and a plan to meet our future needs and growth. If we have that we will, as I say, give greater opportunity not only to business, but to labor, to increased employment, to our farmers. Due to this planning that has already taken place there are more people who own their own farms, there are more family-sized farms than ever before, and it is not only the improvement among the working people, but the improvement that is in evidence all over our country. There are fewer forgotten men today.

Now an expanding economy at home and an expanding economy in the free world is necessary not only for the well-being of free people, but also to support the necessary military defenses against Communist aggression. An expanding economy in the free world is also necessary to increase the supply of raw materials that we

need here at home. We cannot have an expanding economy unless we have an expanding supply of raw materials and that is an additional reason we must intensify the Point IV program. And yet it is a fact that the majority of Republican congressmen would have us cut the program back. Nothing could be more short-sighted or dangerous than to leave the people in the under-developed countries helpless in misery, a prey to Communist subversion.

I don't need to talk to you men, because you have had your own representatives out there who have done great work in helping the people of the undeveloped areas not only understand the sympathetic attitude of the American people toward them, but also helping them to organize, helping them to deal with and to get rid of Communist subversion. Again I want to thank you for what you are doing, because private people can do much constructive work in the international field, and I want to tell you how important this work among the undeveloped areas is.

There are a lot of Republicans—and it is on the record—who voted to cut appropriations to India, who at the same time they were beating their breasts about the tragic events in China, turned around and voted against the relatively small sums necessary to help India carry forward her struggle for freedom and democracy. I say those men belong at home, they don't belong in Washington, and I ask you to keep these men at home and elect men who understand, as you do, what is at stake.

We are building a defensive strength in the free world, not only our own, but we are helping others who want to do the same. We are building a system of defensive alliances in the Atlantic and in the Pacific. The great majority of our people have been magnificent in their support of these unprecedented efforts, and the people of other countries have also willingly and readily supported our common endeavors for mutual security.

Here again Stalin has made another great miscalculation. We are disproving another basic doctrine of Communism—that the free nations cannot maintain unity. We have shown that free nations can work together and stay united, but we must make that unity permanent and solid.

Since the end of the war the Kremlin has been making its first great bid for world conquest. This threat has been met and rolled back in many parts of the world. The Kremlin plan to take over Western Europe through internal subversion has been thwarted, and Western Europe is gaining increasing strength.

Checked in Western Europe, the Kremlin increased its pressure in the East, and then Stalin unleashed open aggression in Korea. He expected an easy victory. He thought he would discredit the United Nations as an instrument of collective

security, just as the Japanese warlords discredited the League of Nations a generation ago. He thought he could then bring about the collapse of Southeast Asia, and it is clear what his plan was. Instead, the Communist forces have been hurled back. What is more, this military aggression has alerted the free world to rearm. I earnestly believe that the galantry in Korea of our men and those from other United Nations countries has saved the world from going down the road to another world-wide and more terrible disaster.

Now Stalin is the man who stands defeated in Korea, and let's get the people to understand that. It is Stalin who does not know how to get out, how to end this reckless adventure, based on such a miscalculation, and get out without loss of face. We must stand firm in Korea.

There are two ideas that come from the Republican ranks—the MacArthur idea that we should expand the war and end it that way, but he has never told us how he would end it, and then there are others who claim we should withdraw and make the sacrifice of our men in vain. There is just one thing to do, and that is to stand firm with the other members of the United Nations, and then we will see an end, then we will be able to deal with other situations in the world, because the Kremlin will know that we mean what we say and that we will stick to it. But that is not an easy thing to explain, and it is not pleasant to have to face up to disagreeable things in these days. But the facts are that we cannot see a happy future ahead unless we deal with the terrible things that face us today.

Although there are many grave problems ahead the free nations are gaining the initiative in many parts of the world, and I believe the Kremlin has been badly shaken by these miscalculations.

There is a natural tendency for us to see our own difficulties, but let's look at the other side of it. Surely all is not well in the Communist camp. There is a limit even to the ability of dictators to exploit their people and to use them as cannon fodder and slave labor. I know that from my experience in Russia during the war. There was no love for the Communist Party then and there can be less today. Discontent is a chronic condition in all Communist countries. The endless purges go on in a vain attempt to find loyal henchmen. There are difficulties among the countries behind the Iron Curtain, and we should not be misled by the report from Moscow that all is well between Russia and Communist China. We can only guess what may be going on in the conference that is taking place in Moscow between the Kremlin and the Chinese Communist leaders, but I personally think that the Chinese are putting great pressure on the Kremlin for more arms and large quantities of industrial equipment vitally needed by China. China is an impoverished country, with a per capita income of

only about two and a half per cent of ours. Its needs for transportation, power, industrial and farming equipment are enormous.

I vividly remember a conversation I had with Stalin sometime in 1944. We were discussing China and the future of China, and he told me that China's needs for equipment would be enormous after the war, and these needs could only be supplied by the United States. The Soviet Union, he said, with its limited capacity could not do so. And yet, now that Communist China is cut off from us and the other industrial countries, Stalin himself is today faced with this problem, and it has been causing increasing difficulty.

But as the unity and strength of the free world builds up the pressures behind the Iron Curtain will increase, and then I believe that the Kremlin system of inhuman and unnatural slavery is bound to disintegrate.

We must always remember this: We must be alert to seize each advantage and quick to adjust our policies to meet changing situations. Some people seem to think that Stalin will stubbornly follow through on a set course, just as Hitler blindly followed *Mein Kampf*. We know that is a complete misunderstanding of Soviet philosophy and methods. The Communists adapt themselves to changing conditions, and they are going to be forced to adapt themselves to the growing strength and unity of the free world. Then will be our opportunity to take advantage of our part in the situation, and then it may be that with this disintegration taking place behind the Iron Curtain those people who have been enslaved and who pray every night for their liberation will in fact have an opportunity to regain their freedom.

I say to you men and women that we must continue to have that as our objective, but we must not build up any false hopes, we must pray with them for the day when we can be strong enough so we can begin to deal with the world situation on our terms.

No one can foretell the future, but I have some deep convictions about it. We must build our strength for peace, with the ever-present objective of preventing war. That must be done in a way to gain strength and to strengthen freedom. If we are persistent and vigorous, if we recognize that our tremendous responsibility is also a tremendous opportunity, it is possible to prevent another world-wide struggle.

In conclusion I want to say that another deep conviction is that the future is in our hands and in this generation of Americans. We can not only control our own destiny, but we can in fact shape the destiny of the world.

This is no time for a change to reaction. This is the time for progress. We need to marshal our finest qualities of determination, consistency, understanding and faith, and particularly faith—faith in ourselves, faith in our free institutions, and basically faith in mankind and faith

in other people, because it is only faith that can give men the qualities of leadership that we need. We must have inspiration and leadership. We must give this inspiration and leadership to free men everywhere, and that means that we must have forward-looking policies here at home and imaginative leadership in our country.

I say to you men and women here today that is why I am deeply convinced that we are at a critical moment, and that is why we must elect as President Adlai E. Stevenson.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In your name and on your behalf I want to thank Mr. Harriman for being with us this morning and for the most impressive address which he has delivered. We appreciate it more than we can express.

The Chair recognizes the local chairman for an important announcement.

ANNOUNCEMENT

CHAIRMAN QUINN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, there has been quite some misunderstanding relative to the convention dinner tomorrow evening. At 2:00 o'clock tomorrow afternoon immediately outside the ballroom, tickets will be available to all delegates, and particularly the visiting delegates.

The baseball game at the Polo Grounds begins at 1:30 o'clock this afternoon.

Busses will be available at 6:00 o'clock outside the hotel to take you for a visit of our city, and particularly a visit to the new Seamen's Institute. The Seamen of the American Federation of Labor have recently invested a million dollars, and it would be just too bad if you didn't visit and have dinner with them tonight.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Meany, who will read to you a message sent to you by the President of the United States.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Secretary Meany read the following message:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

Dear Mr. Green:

This is the last time it will be my privilege, as President of the United States, to send a message to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I wish I could speak to you and to the delegates in person, and tell you face to face some of the things that are in my heart and mind as I near the end of my Administration. However, my work is just as heavy as it ever was. In fact, I think I have been busier since I stated my decision not to run again than I was before. Under these circumstances, I know you will forgive me for not being with you in New York today.

As the end of my term draws near, I have been thinking back over the struggles and accomplishments of the past seven years. The American Federation of Labor has been a staunch partner in the programs we have worked for since I became President. I am proud of the advances we have made at home, and the efforts we have carried on throughout the world to bring about a real peace—to create the kind of world in which men and women everywhere can live free and hopeful lives.

Labor has helped at every step of the way. Representatives of organized labor not only hold positions of trust in the executive departments and in the defense agencies, but they are helping to make and carry out our policies of international cooperation. The leaders of organized labor have made a great contribution to the success of such programs as the Economic Cooperation Administration and the Mutual Security Administration. Their participation has earned the gratitude of our nation and the respect of labor in many foreign lands. I am sure, moreover, that our Point Four program cannot succeed without the skills, the zeal and the vision of the labor representatives who are now taking part in our technical assistance projects in underdeveloped areas.

The part that American labor is playing in our international affairs is an inspiration to less fortunate working men and women in many countries. The status of American labor today spells hope in lands where the right to organize, the right to bargain with employers, and the right to achieve better conditions are ignored or brutally suppressed.

In spite of these facts, in spite of the vital importance of labor to our foreign policy, we have witnessed in this country, over the last seven years, a determined assault against the rights of organized labor. There is little doubt in my mind that a definite plot was hatched at the close of the war to smash, or at least to cripple, our trade union movement in a period of postwar reaction. This conspiracy was developed by a little group of politicians, working with the representatives of our most reactionary employers. These men thought that history would repeat itself and that they could do after World War II what had been done after the first World War, when our trade unions were set upon by the so-called "Open Shop Movement", using the anti-labor devices of spies, flunks, blacklists, and yellow dog contracts.

To accomplish this, it was necessary first to strip Labor of the rights which had been protected by Federal Legislation. That first step in this conspiracy was,

therefore, the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. As Representative Hartley's own book made clear, however, the Taft-Hartley Law was conceived of as only the first step. It was to be followed by the repeal of most of the New Deal Legislation.

The Republican Leaders of the 80th Congress lent themselves to this shameful conspiracy against the common welfare and rammed the Taft-Hartley Law through over my veto. They proceeded also to cut down Social Security protection and to attack the Wage and Hour Law. Then they waited, postponing further attacks until after what they assumed would be a Republican victory in November 1948.

In the campaign of that year, I was able to put the facts before the people and they responded as I knew they would. They gave their answer to this attack upon the rights of Labor and upon the welfare and prosperity of the average man.

In the 81st Congress, where the Democratic majority was substantial, I had enough support to secure the passage of Laws which improved and strengthened our National Housing Program, our Social Security Program and our Wage and Hour Laws. There were almost but not quite enough Liberal Democrats to secure the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. While we did not succeed in that respect, the general record of the 81st Congress was heartening.

In the 82nd Congress, however, where the Democratic majority was reduced to a narrow margin, the assault on Labor was renewed. The most important part of the battle in the 82nd Congress was waged over inflation controls. Time and again the special interests, abetted by the Republican leaders, tried to repeal and destroy price controls and rent controls, which are so important, not only to Labor, but also to every person who lives on a moderate salary or a fixed income. These assaults had the effect of weakening our controls, but they were not able to overthrow and destroy them completely. On the credit side, we also got some improvement in our Social Security Laws, in spite of Republican opposition.

As my period of office draws to its conclusion, I take considerable satisfaction in the fights we have won and the gains we have made. The cause of the average citizen has not been successful all along the line. We have suffered certain losses, but by and large we have beaten back the main attacks and we have made real progress. Wages are good, employment is high, and in spite of prices and taxes, most of our people are enjoying a standard of living that is better than it ever was in the past.

I do not know what things will be like in the future, but I am sure that they will be determined largely by the results of the Election this year. Some of the special interests are already grinding their axes for a fresh attack on labor in the event of a Republican victory. I do not know whether you read the Wall Street Journal, but I have seen indications in it lately that plans are afoot in Wall Street

to make the Taft-Hartley Law even more oppressive and unfair than it is at present.

Not all Republicans are possessed by a hostility to Labor, but it appears that the Republican Candidate has now made his peace with the author of the Taft-Hartley Law. Apparently his conduct will not be out of line with the Republican platform, which, in my opinion, is the most Anti-Labor platform they have submitted to the Country in at least 16 years.

Labor is important in this Country because it is one of the major groups that goes to make up our National strength and well being. Business and Agriculture are equally important. Over the last 20 years we have developed programs fair to these three great groups, which have provided an increasing National income for the benefit of every American Citizen. There is still a lot to do. There are still people in this Country who suffer under poor living conditions and poor housing. There are still people who do not have a chance for a decent education. Proper medical care is still beyond the reach of too many of our people. Too many also face discrimination because of race, creed or color. These are conditions that must be changed. They are conditions that can be changed and that will be changed if we continue on the course of progress which we have been following over the last 20 years.

I regard the coming Election as crucial, not only to the future of Organized Labor and the prosperity of the average man in the Country, but also for our chances of World Peace and the continuance of our World Leadership. That is why I am going to go around the Country, campaigning for the election of Governor Stevenson and Senator Sparkman and for a real Democratic Congress.

I am sure that the American Federation of Labor, which is meeting in its Seventy-First Annual Convention under your chairmanship, fully understands what is at stake in this Election. I am sure that Organized Labor will continue to work in the future as it has in the past for the steady improvement of the lot of the average man in this Country and the continued welfare of our whole Nation. New Social and Economic advances, and better still, a surer prospect of Peace, will be your reward.

Very sincerely yours,
Harry S. Truman.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now we are going to enjoy a pleasure that I know we have all anticipated ever since the call for this convention was issued. It would seem that our convention had failed if the Secretary of Labor were not present at a session to bring to us the inspiring message of which he is capable. We hold him in high regard and high esteem. He is a great Secretary of Labor. He has measured up to a high standard of excellency, and I am proud indeed to

present to you now the Honorable Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor.

HONORABLE MAURICE J. TOBIN (Secretary of Labor)

President Green, Secretary George Meany, the great international adviser to President Harry S. Truman, Mr. Averell Harriman, and delegates to this Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am no newcomer to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I have been attending them for many years. I am delighted that I have had the opportunity of listening to the able Averell Harriman and to the wonderfully informative talk that he gave to you this morning. I would remind you that he was one of the first Americans to recognize the dangers in the postwar period in our dealings with Soviet Russia, because it was in early 1944 that he wired the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, telling them it would be most difficult to get along with dictatorial Soviet Russia in the postwar period.

Yesterday you heard a great labor leader, one of the greatest of our times, your own President, Bill Green. Tomorrow you will hear from a great military commander, and on Monday you will hear from the next President of the United States.

This is my sixth visit to a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I have been here so often I wouldn't blame Bill Green if he issued me a charter and made me pay up my back per capita tax, and if he does I can tell you the price would be well worthwhile, because I have never enjoyed attending a convention of any type or character as much as I enjoy attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

I am going to be very frank with you. I come here today to talk to you, without any pretense or evasion, about an important event that impends on the 4th day of November. Almost everyone in this hall knows, and you all know what I stand for, and I think I can talk to you straight from the shoulder as a Democrat by conviction without affecting any Olympian detachment or false impartiality. I don't feel that it is necessary, because my party, during the past 20 years, has made a living document of the Declaration of Independence and has made our private enterprise system stronger than ever before, and one that has been rendering social and economic justice to the millions of American working men and women of this nation.

I consider the election a more important issue for the workers you represent and for all Americans than any other issue that will come before this convention. And that's why I want to talk about it. It would be hypocritical for me to try to talk about anything else.

There was a time when some people believed that elections were not a proper subject for a meeting of trade unionists. But the depression of the 1930's brought that notion to its death bed, and it was buried for all time when the Republican 80th Congress passed the Taft-Hartley law over President Truman's veto in 1947. And I might say that I noticed in this morning's New York Times that General Eisenhower, in his speeches across northern Indiana and the northern section of the State of Illinois, had great praise to extend to the 80th Republican Congress, the only time the part of the opposition has been in control of our legislative branch in the last 20 years. I am sure that the delegates to this convention do not look back upon the 80th Republican Congress with any feeling of satisfaction or feeling of happiness. I think that you radically disagree with the statements that have been made by General Eisenhower in his tour of yesterday.

It ought to be clear to every trade unionist by this time that the only way to get rid of the Taft-Hartley law is to elect a President and a Congress that are pledged to do the job. Certainly you can't get rid of it by electing the candidate of the party which praises the law in its platform and pledges to retain it.

I believe the Republicans when they say in their platform that they want the Taft-Hartley law to be retained. And I ask you to believe the Democrats and their candidate, Governor Stevenson, when they pledge themselves to remove the law and put a fair one in its place. Give Stevenson a strong Democratic majority in Congress, and positively that job will be done.

There have been efforts made in some circles to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Democratic Party when it pledges itself to get rid of the Taft-Hartley Act. It is pointed out that the Democrats made that pledge four years ago, and the law is still on the statute books.

Well, let's look at the record, as Al Smith used to say years ago. The most powerful roll call test on Taft-Hartley in the Senate after the Democratic victory in the election of 1948 was the vote on the Lucas proposal. That proposal would have cleared the way for a fair substitute for Taft-Hartley.

In this major Taft-Hartley test in the Senate a large majority of the Democrats cast 38 votes for the repeal of the law. Only six Republicans would go along with them, and one of them was that great Senator Morse from the State of Oregon, who had a fateful pronouncement to make on yesterday. Thirty-two Republicans voted no. On the affirmative side 38 Democrats to six Republicans, a vote of almost six and a half to one. The amendment lost by only two votes. If only one more liberal Democrat had been elected for that session in place of one Old Party Line Republican the vote would have been tied, and the great Vice President of the United States, a lifetime friend of labor, would have cast the one vote that would have resulted in the

repeal of the Taft-Hartley law in 1949.

Now, let's look at the House. One of the most important roll call tests there was the vote on substituting the Wood Bill for a bill proposed by the late Congressman John Lesinski of Michigan. The Wood Bill was just about as bad as Taft-Hartley, and the men who supported it did so to block repeal. A vote for the Wood Bill was tantamount to a vote for Taft-Hartley.

Again, on this test, a strong majority of the Democrats cast 170 votes on the side of repeal, but only 22 Republicans would do the same. One hundred and forty-nine Republicans cast their vote against repeal. Ladies and gentlemen, that is the record. It shows that in the major tests on the Taft-Hartley law the Democrats voted overwhelmingly in favor of repealing it both in the Senate and in the House, and the Republicans both in the Senate and House voted overwhelmingly to keep it on the statute books.

Now, I know something about this matter of repealing the Taft-Hartley law because I was in the thick of the fight, and I tell you that anyone who says the efforts of this Administration, President Truman in particular, to put through that repeal were not genuine is not telling you the truth. President Truman was wholehearted, he was vigorous in his attempts to repeal that law. The reason Taft-Hartley is still on the statute books is because there have been too many Republicans and not enough good Democrats in the Congress of the United States. I know we are going to correct that in November, and I promise you that a Democratic Congress, loyal to Adlai Stevenson and the platform of the Democratic Party, and John Sparkman, a great friend of organized labor will repeal that law and pass a new one that is fair to management, fair to labor and fair to the public. That is all the trade unionists of this country want—a law that is not pitched against them, just a fair one to give them equal opportunity with management in their dealings for the benefit of the workers of this country.

There are some people who still say that the Taft-Hartley issue is only a matter of political oratory without any real meaning for American workers. I want to tell you that it is a matter of life or death for the American labor movement, and I use those words advisedly.

In the five years before the passage of Taft-Hartley the American labor force grew by almost a million, but trade union membership grew by five million. In other words, for every one entering the labor force there were five members who entered trade unions. The unions were growing faster than the labor force. They were gaining ground.

In the five years since the passage of Taft-Hartley the labor force grew by about four and a half million, but trade union membership grew by only 800,000, and that 800,000 has been fully accounted for since Korea occurred in June of 1950. Instead of any progress, between the en-

actment of the Taft-Hartley law and in June of 1950 there was actually a decline in the membership of trade unions in the United States of America.

There have been shifts of workers from one union to another and shifts of unions from one Federation to another, but the total growth of the labor movement these last five years, when you consider the increase in population, has been almost negligible.

Now what does this mean? It means that the ranks of the unorganized under Taft-Hartley are growing faster than the ranks of the organized. After 20 years of the fastest growth in its history the American labor movement has slowed down in its tracks. The truth is the trade union movement is actually losing ground on the basis of population or on the basis of employees in the work force.

The labor force on the one hand is going to keep growing at the rate of about three-quarters of a million a year, and unless the unions can keep pace with it they are going to constitute a smaller and smaller part of our population and become less and less representative of American workers.

That is why I say this Taft-Hartley issue is a matter of life and death not only for the American trade union movement, but for the whole private enterprise economy of our country, because one of the great props under the economy has been the great strength that was built in our trade union movement as a result of the great impetus given to it by labor's Magna Charta, the Wagner Act which was enacted in 1935.

Now that the major industrial groups are already in the labor movement, the organization of new workers has become increasingly difficult. It is hard enough to organize them under any conditions. It is virtually impossible to organize them in an atmosphere of Taft-Hartleyism.

That atmosphere cannot be changed by altering a semi-colon or a word or a sentence in the Taft-Hartley law. As long as the law remains it will be the symbol of hostility to trade unions, and as long as the name of Taft and Hartley remain associated with our national labor policy the minority of anti-union employers in America will find in that policy a sanction for their efforts to destroy trade unions or to prevent the establishment of new ones in areas and in fields for the benefit of workers who need it.

We have got to wipe the law out altogether and make a fresh start. And we can do it along the lines that were suggested by Governor Adlai Stevenson in his great Labor Day speech in Detroit.

The situation I have described today regarding the slow-down in the growth of the American labor movement is a challenge to every trade union in the United States. It will have to be met in the factories and the mines and the mills and the offices all over the country. But it will also have to be met in the voting booths this November 4th.

General Eisenhower, the candidate of the Republican Party, is coming here to speak to you tomorrow. Up to this moment I believe that the General has shown remarkable wisdom in his decision to reject important planks in the Republican Party platform and accept the planks of the Democratic platform instead. They are better planks, and I am glad the General is wise enough to see it.

He has held to the Democratic planks on foreign policy all during his campaign. He has accepted the Democratic farm plank and he has taken over the Democratic stand on social security. I am afraid that he is almost going to be a Mexican general, a man leading without an army to follow him, because we know the Army's record from past history.

A week ago I would have thought the General might come here today or tomorrow and take over the Democratic plank on Taft-Hartley as well, but the other morning he had a little breakfast with Senator Taft, and I think maybe the General has changed his mind. I hope I am wrong. I hope General Eisenhower will have the greatness to get behind the positive, constructive labor policy which has already been advocated by Adlai Stevenson, and by the Democratic Party platform, and take the Taft-Hartley issue out of the realm of politics and get America and the whole trade union movement back on the road to a sound labor policy in this nation.

It seems to me that the General will have to decide pretty soon where he wants to turn for his labor advice. He can either turn to Senator Taft or to former Congressman Hartley, who didn't agree that Taft-Hartley was strong enough, and you will remember that the Hartley Act was far more restrictive, and you will agree that not only did Hartley fight for that in the House, he enacted it in the House and it was as a result of a conference that we got the modified form of Taft-Hartley, which was bad enough. His right-hand bower as floor leader in that fight was the Republican candidate, Mr. Nixon, and I would like to ask him publicly whether he now believes that Taft-Hartley is strong enough or whether he wants to go back to the old Hartley law. I would like to contrast Nixon's record with the great record of John Sparkman, who sustained the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947.

Now, he can either turn to Senator Taft or to the men and women who sit across the bargaining tables and work at the machines and carry on the day-to-day jobs in American industry, or to a great, basic American in the person of Senator Wayne Morse—but I am inclined to think the advice will come from Senator Taft.

Senator Taft has undoubtedly told the General that the Taft-Hartley Act is good for the workers, that the men at the bargaining table and the men who work for a living and who have to deal with this law every day in their work places all over the country will tell him that it is an evil and oppressive statute that

should be wiped out and replaced with a fair one.

The General will simply have to make up his mind whom he wants to listen to. If he listens to Senator Taft now, we can be sure that is the person he would listen to if he were elected President of the United States.

I might point out something else. There are many people in the trade union movement who do not appreciate the great time bomb that is involved in the Taft-Hartley law. Let America reach five million unemployed and then you will see the real power of the Act. Speak to the textile workers and leaders of the textile workers' industry, the one segment of America's economy that has felt depression on several occasions since the termination of the war, and really the only segment, and they will tell you that under Taft-Hartley it is an impossibility to organize the unorganized. The truth of the matter is that there are less than 300,000 organized textile workers in America out of a total of a million, and if the Taft-Hartley Act had not been written I predict to you, the same as for the most of industry, there would be nearly a million textile workers organized in America, and the disparity that exists between low and high wages, instead of being the few cents of 1947, would not be the 15 to 25 cents that exists today.

General Eisenhower has been away from the United States for a long time. He has had to depend very heavily upon advice from those who have been here on the scene, and most of that advice has come from Republicans who seem to be getting him into hot water all of the time.

The General made a very serious blunder the other day when he showed himself to be alarmed over some preliminary figures that were published a few weeks ago by the Department of Labor. Those figures showed that Americans on the average paid out somewhat more in 1950 than they took in. The General thought that showed a serious weakness in American prosperity. The trouble with the Republican Party is that it doesn't recognize prosperity when it sees it, just as it wasn't able to recognize the depression back in 1929.

When the fighting broke out in Korea the American people rushed out to buy refrigerators and television sets and automobiles and a dozen other things they thought would be in short supply in the months ahead. And they bought those things out of their regular earnings, out of savings and on credit. The Republicans seem to think that credit buying is a bad thing. I wonder how many of the retail merchants who sold those items would agree with them.

That credit buying in 1950 showed, not that the American economy was weak, but that the American economy was strong. Americans bought on credit in 1950 because their credit was good. They bought because they had confidence in their jobs and in their wages and they knew they could pay off their debts as they came due.

That credit was extended to them by stores and banks and lending agencies who had faith in the American economy and who knew that the people could pay their debts. And they have paid them. Make no mistakes about that.

If the General's speech-writers would take the trouble to look at the figures they would find out what happened after the six-months' period of freak buying. In the first six months of 1952, for example, the American people were able to put seven per cent of their income into savings. Let's take 1929, the greatest Republican year ever, when the American people saved \$3.7 billion. In 1951, last year, the American people saved five times as much, or a total of \$17 billion. If this is depression, if this indicates that there is not prosperity for the American workers, I think that the economists advising the Republican National Committee and the General had better take another look.

I never heard of people stocking up on television sets and refrigerators and automobiles during a depression, whether it is on credit or not on credit. And I never heard of storekeepers selling so much merchandise on credit during a depression. I think that the General ought to poll the department stores and retail merchants, the automobile manufacturers and many who are supporting him when they should be on the Democratic side, whether or not they agree with his economic conclusions.

If there is one task that the Republicans are doomed to fail at, though they shout from the housetops all over America, it is the task of convincing the American people that they are not prosperous.

Now, the Republicans know that the American people are earning more and working more and living better than any other people in the history of civilization. They know that is proved not only by statistics, but by the evidence in almost every American home. The people listen to the Republicans tell them how bad off they are, on the radios and television sets they purchased under Democratic prosperity.

The Republicans know that the average wage in manufacturing is now \$67 instead of \$17, and that actually that purchasing power is almost doubled, as compared with that period in real dollars of the moment.

They know there are 62 million jobs instead of 38 million. They know that unemployment is down to bedrock bottom, to a million and a half instead of 12 millions.

The Republicans know these things, and so they try to tell the people that taxes and the high cost of living have made them worthless.

Well, let's look at that for a moment. The income of the average American, after the increase in income taxes, after the increase in the cost of living, and after the increase in social security payments, after all of those things are deducted—will buy 90 per cent more today than it did in 1932 and more than 40 per cent more than it bought in the most

prosperous of all Republican years, 1929. And they can't get away from those honest, basic statistical figures.

If inflation has made the purchasing power of Americans only 50 per cent higher instead of 100 per cent, the Republicans ought to tell the people who's to blame for it. They ought to point out who scuttled price controls, and they ought to confess that it is they who have tried to wreck our stabilization program in the current defense emergency.

I think the American people are smart enough to see these things, even though the Republicans don't think they are. I know the trade unionists are. They will pay less attention to political promises and fence-straddling speeches and more attention to the voting records of the two parties in Congress.

And that is the great job the American Federation of Labor has been doing now for a period of better than 70 years, making the records of public officials known to their membership and to the public.

Before they put any faith in General Eisenhower's talk about a house-cleaning in Washington, they are going to want to know how much house-cleaning General Eisenhower has done in the Republican Party.

Many years ago Samuel Gompers taught the American labor movement that its role in elections was to reward its friends and punish its enemies. He taught them that the way to identify the friends and the enemies was to look at the record and to read the party platforms.

I want to read to you one of my favorite quotations from Samuel Gompers. Gompers was a champion of non-partisanship. He believed the labor movement should tie itself to issues and not to political parties, but on the issues and on the record Gompers almost always ended up in the Democratic camp.

Here is what he said: "Anyone who will doubt the sincerity of the non-partisanship policy which I have endeavored to pursue may compare the platform declarations of the Democratic and Republican Parties and judge for himself whether I am justified as a labor man, and as a forward-looking citizen, in casting my vote for a candidate nominated upon the Democratic platform."

"That in recent years," he went on "more Democratic candidates have been favorably disposed towards labor and freedom is not the fault of my associates or myself."

That is from Bill Green's great predecessor, the late Samuel Gompers. That is the kind of non-partisanship that I hope the free trade unions will practice this November. The record and the platforms are down in black and white. Let us only study them, and I have no doubt about the results.

These issues affect the well-being of your member, and of all Americans; and they are the ones that should be talked about at union meetings and every other kind of meeting all over America.

I want to congratulate your organization on the great progress that it is making and the service that it continues to

render to the working men and women of this country of ours, and definitely the great contribution they are making to the country as a whole.

As we come in these latter days, six weeks away from that fateful day of November 4th, we have a right to look at some of the great changes that have occurred in the last 20 years, changes that have made possible great strength that America enjoys in its economy today. These great changes would not have occurred if it hadn't been for courageous leaders like President Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, who recognized the great changes that were needed in order to make the private enterprise system in this country work. They both recognized that American workers were not only producers, but that they were also consumers, and that if we were to have a prosperous America there should be a law on the books that would protect the right of the workers to organize and a requirement further that management deal with their chosen representatives—and that was the Wagner Act enacted in 1935.

They recognized there should be a minimum wage law to protect the unorganized of the country.

They recognized that there should be insurance policies to protect the workers of the country when they were unemployed through no fault of their own, and that there should be insurance policies to protect the workers when they no longer could gainfully earn a living for themselves and their families in the form of old age survivors' insurance. They recognized that like other economic groups of workers, the farmers also had to have protection; that our banking system should be sound and there should be insurance of all deposits. I might say that all these have been written into law, and today our private enterprise system stands stronger than it ever did before.

It is an economic truism that following every major war America had a depression within two years. We went five years before Korea occurred, and the economy kept getting stronger all the time. The reason is because there was a great mass purchasing power in the hands of American workers. There was no opportunity to break the unions down, as President Truman referred to in his written message read to you by your able Secretary here this afternoon, because you had built the strength of unions to 16 million in all trade unions, and better than eight million in the A.F. of L.

Another blessing that our nation has is that you are led by a President like Bill Green, and men and women like yourselves in respective sections of the country do not follow any foreign ideologies but believe only in the private American enterprise system with the protections that I have described to you.

All of these factors are great blessings to America and have contributed to the great strength that we enjoy today that enables us to be the leaders of the free world not only with service, but with ac-

tual practical service. And I might say in the rendering of that service and in that foreign policy the President of the United States and the State Department has had no more loyal supporters than the members of the trade union movement of America.

I am proud to be able to come here as Secretary of Labor and address as fine a group of Americans as can be found in this nation, loyal and patriotic, and a group that I know are going to continue to support the kind of a foreign policy that will eventually end the days of Communism in the world, and the kind of a domestic policy that will make our private enterprise system better than it has ever been before.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have expressed your appreciation of the visit of the distinguished Secretary of Labor better than I could express it in any way, shape or form. You have shown by your action that you appreciate the address he delivered and that you are grateful to him for coming to New York and attending this session of the convention and delivering his message.

We thank him from the bottom of our hearts for his visit.

We have another most capable speaker and a friend of labor, and particularly the American Federation of Labor. He has been serving under difficult circumstances in a high and important governmental position. He is the Federal Security Administrator. He is dealing with problems that affect the well-being and the happiness and the future of the working men and their families throughout the nation.

Without further words I take pleasure in presenting to you Oscar Ewing, the Administrator of the Federal Security Administration.

MR. OSCAR R. EWING

(Federal Security Administrator)

President Green, leaders of the great American Federation of Labor, Secretary Tobin, Mr. Harriman, distinguished guests: I had really planned to start my little talk by telling you a funny story, but I read in the newspapers the last day or two that General Eisenhower has barred all humor from politics.

I don't suppose he does enjoy Governor Stevenson's humor very much, because the Governor has pointed out so vividly the General's gymnastics in trying to perform difficult feats.

As Governor Stevenson said, he was trying to stand on the Republican plat-

form, but you can't stand on a bushel of eels.

Of course, it doesn't seem to me that Governor Dewey is altogether living up to General Eisenhower's admonition about not having any humor in politics, because yesterday he referred to this meeting as a Democratic clambake.

Apparently the General has now ceased to be a captive of Governor Dewey and has become a captive of Senator Taft, and God knows being a captive of Senator Taft is enough to take the humor out of anybody.

I am truly grateful to you for again asking me to address another Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. This is an honor I deeply appreciate. But I appreciate it more this year because there is something that I particularly want to say to the men and women of this great organization. I want to compliment your leaders and membership for the outstanding contributions you have made to an evolutionary process of momentous consequence to mankind.

Let me etch briefly the historical background of the picture I want to paint. Our Twentieth Century, of course, has its roots in the Nineteenth Century. In the Nineteenth Century, government played a relatively small part in the economy of the nation and the lives of its citizens. But in that century there was a development of tremendous importance. Our laws encouraged the formation of corporations. This enabled many different persons to pool their capital in a single enterprise. In the course of time, more and more of these enterprises assumed gigantic size. This was often highly profitable to the owners. Many of them became enormously rich. But for the workers, this development proved disastrous. The lone worker was helpless in attempting to bargain with these giant enterprises. The result was that he had to take what the employer offered—long hours, low wages, unsanitary working conditions. If he was the victim of an industrial accident, well, that was too bad. He just went into the discard—another human being ground beneath the wheel of misfortune. When he became too old to work, he was turned out to live as best he could.

It was amidst these conditions that the American Federation of Labor was born. The great Samuel Gompers was your inspiring leader of those days and his monumental work has been carried on by your beloved leaders of today, William Green, George Meany and the heads of your great international unions. Gompers and his associates were pioneers. They awakened the individual worker to a realization that he must join with his fellow workers if he was to get equitable treatment in the nation's economy. In the early days the going was hard. Every attempt to unionize was bitterly fought. Union leaders were the victims of scurrilous epithets and too often, of physical violence.

But gradually, what was once a voice crying in the wilderness, began to be

heard. More and more men of conscience and good will became convinced of the justice of your cause. Politically you became a force. Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and the elder LaFollette enlisted in the battle and the first two decades of the Twentieth Century saw vast improvements in the lot of the working man.

During the 1920's, not much progress was made. The governments of those days served the financial interests with utmost fidelity. The emphasis was on profits and economic stability. The money-getters and traders were in the saddle and they rode the country hard. The wages of workers were held down as much as possible. Prices of farm products were also kept low. All of this gradually dried up the purchasing power of millions of our people. They did not have the money with which to buy the output of our factories and the economic collapse of 1929 became inevitable.

Most of us remember only too well the awful consequences of that catastrophe—millions of men put out of work, tramping the streets looking for jobs that were non-existent, going home at the end of the day despondent and discouraged. We remember farmers faced with foreclosure unable to sell their crops. We remember life-time savings wiped out by bank failures, thousands of homes lost because their owners could not pay the mortgage. We remember the bleak outlook for our youth, roaming the country, thumbing rides, hopping freight trains, sleeping in Hoover villages. We remember when thousands of battle-scarred veterans of World War I went to Washington to exercise their constitutional right of petition. They merely asked their government to help them in their hour of adversity. We remember how President Hoover ordered the United States Army to disperse these hungry veterans and how the Army carried out that order with bayonets and tear bombs under the able direction of a general named Douglas MacArthur, gallantly aided by a major named Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Dark as these days were, the officers of the American Federation of Labor kept their heads and gave their membership magnificent leadership. They resisted the siren voices of fascism, communism and socialism. They steered a true course for freedom under our American way of life.

Communism was abhorrent to your leaders. They had seen it abolish the freedom of Russian workers who, released from the thralldom of the Czars, had become enslaved by a new tyranny far more terrible than the one from which they had escaped. Your leaders ruthlessly weeded out every taint of communism from your membership and today your unions are as American as apple pie.

At no time did your leaders or your membership succumb to any blandishments of fascism. The cruel injustices which fascism perpetrated on labor did nothing but arouse the deep antagonism of the American worker against Hitler and Mussolini.

But most of all, I think America owes its greatest debt of gratitude to the leadership of The American Federation of Labor for resisting the enticements of socialism. And I cannot help but think that our British friends will rue the day that they ever set out on the socialist road. Socialism means the ownership and operation of an industry by the state. In Britain, transportation and coal mining have already been nationalized. But nationalization of an industry inevitably destroys, or hopelessly cripples, labor's ability to bargain on anything like even terms with employers. Labor's ultimate strength is its right to strike. If the government owns and operates an industry, then a strike in that industry is a strike against the government. No government can tolerate that. The workers may be faced by a law making it a crime to strike; and even if there is no such law, the workers are bound to lose the strike because the government can exercise too many pressures with which it can defeat the workers. In my judgment, no greater calamity can ever come to labor than have the government become your employer and cease to be anything more than the guardian of the public interest in labor disputes.

All of this has been clear to the clear-eyed leaders of the American Federation of Labor. For this your unions and their membership, and all America owes you a great debt of gratitude. It has enabled the American Federation of Labor to play a role of outstanding importance in developing our American way of life.

What is this American way of life that we have talked about so much? Well, to me it's quite simple.

In America we have evolved a system in which business is run by private managers who make the day-to-day operating decisions with the government's role limited to curbing injustices and establishing floors to protect the economic interests of essential groups, thereby sustaining the entire economy.

There are many examples of this. When the operation of a business becomes monopolistic, it runs afoul of our Anti-Trust Laws. This does not mean that government is trying to operate the business, but merely that the managers are forbidden to do certain things that are harmful to the public. In the field of public utilities, the government leaves private management to operate the business and only sees to it that rates are reasonable. In the same way, our Fair Trade laws do no more than outlaw certain unfair business practices.

One of the most remarkable facts in American history is that when the Great Depression came in 1929, very few Americans ever gave serious thought to the substitution of any new type of political or economic system—such as—socialism, communism, or fascism—for our American system. Many things were done in those days to repair that system but practically no one wanted to replace it with another—least of all the leaders of the American Federation of Labor.

Even the repairs to the American system that resulted from the Great Depres-

sion still left the widest possible latitude to the operators of business. There was merely a conscious shift in the theory of government aid. Hoover had his ideas. He had established The Reconstruction Finance Corporation to *lend government money* to the banks, the railroads, the insurance companies. Hoover thought the way to help our sick economy was to help those at the top of the economic heap. For starving people, he could only suggest "rugged individualism." Roosevelt, on the contrary, deliberately set out to build up the buying power of the people at large. He felt this was the indispensable key to the successful operation of our American economy. Emergency measures were taken at first, but the pattern of the permanent program consisted of a series of floors, minimum wages, price supports for farmers, retirement insurance for the aged, unemployment compensation for those out of work. Above these floors, there remained complete freedom of action. The multitude of decisions that must be made from day to day were and still are left to private managers.

Minimum wages for workers has been a veritable God-send to millions of Americans. Minimum wages have also played an important part in making the American system work by sustaining the purchasing power of many people. Today, the minimum wage is 75¢ an hour. This means \$30 for a 40 hour week or \$1560 a year. No one can support a family on such a wage as that—and it must be raised.

But, in all justice, the American system must do more for labor than just give it minimum wages. The skills and crafts of our workmen entitle them to pay that is commensurate with what they contribute to our American economy. Justice to a multitude of craft and trades requires countless day-to-day decisions. This is a task which no government is equipped to perform. These decisions must be made by labor and management in wage negotiations across the bargaining table.

The Great Depression showed only too vividly that labor was in no position to bargain on a basis of equality with their giant corporate employers. So it was necessary to strengthen labor organizations. To accomplish this, the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed to remove the legal road blocks that prevented unions from functioning effectively in protecting workers' rights. No single piece of legislation has made a greater contribution to the development of the American system than the Wagner Labor Relations Act. That Act enabled the unions of your great organization to secure a fair wage for workers. These fair wages, in turn, vastly increased the purchasing power of millions of Americans and thereby greatly improved our whole economy.

I know there are short-sighted, selfish men who simply do not understand all this. These are the men who supported the iniquitous Taft-Hartley Law in the 80th Congress and who today oppose its repeal. I only pray that labor will uphold the hands of their friends who want to repeal this law; repeal it not merely be-

cause of its injustice to labor but also because of the harm it does to our free American system.

If the American system is to continue to function successfully, wages must keep abreast of the cost of living. Wages must be high enough to enable the working people of America to buy more than the bare necessities of life. They should earn enough to be able to buy refrigerators and electric washing machines. They should be able to buy television sets and occasionally to take their wives to the theatre and their children to ball parks. They should earn enough to live in decent homes and educate their children in accordance with each child's talents. All this is simple justice. But actually, it is also better for business, too. It stimulates and increases production. It is an essential part of the American system.

Minimum wages and strong unions for the workers, retirement insurance for the aged, unemployment compensation for those out of work, public assistance for the needy aged, the needy blind, needy children, needy disabled persons—all these have wrought miracles in America and made our American system the envy of the world.

How well all this has worked can be shown by one single example. In America, there was no major depression following World War II. This is the only instance in all history where a great power has been involved in a major war without suffering a serious depression afterwards.

The depressions following great wars have invariably started with falling prices in agriculture. During a war, agricultural production is greatly increased. With the war's end, prices go down, dumping ensues and prices collapse. From there on, the psychology of fear takes over. With the farmer's purchasing power seriously impaired, the price collapse spreads to manufactured goods sold to farmers. Soon, the whole economy is prostrate.

This is exactly what happened after World War I. Farm prices dropped 50% in 12 months. That was the beginning of what finally ended in the complete collapse of our economy in 1929. This turned our farms into wastelands and our silent factories into mute evidence of economic devastation.

Now this did not happen in America after World War II. In the years after 1932, Democratic administrations had established price supports for the principal agricultural products. The mere existence of these price supports prevented panic selling. In many instances, prices never reached support levels. Instead of the drop in farm prices of 50% in 12 months as happened after World War I, prices only dropped 25% in 24 months after World War II.

Support prices put a floor of security under our farmers. Support prices gave them courage to produce—and participate in our economy of abundance—with assurance that they would not go bankrupt trying to feed us.

All this—minimum wages and strong unions, price supports, etc.—help consti-

tute our American system, to the development of which the American Federation of Labor has contributed so mightily. You have refused to accept communism, fascism, or socialism. We are all confident that it is far better for everyone—and for labor especially—if business is operated by private managers with government intervention limited to curbing excesses of private power and establishing floors for essential economic groups. This leaves vital day-to-day decision making powers in the hands of managers who are infinitely more capable of making them than any government official. Thus, the American system leaves virtually the whole of our economy open to the free play of competitive forces. This results in an efficiency, a flexibility and an adventurousness that government ownership would jeopardize—and without danger of the tyranny that government operation would invite.

And so, let me again congratulate the American Federation of Labor for its outstanding contribution to the development of the greatest and freest economy the world has ever known. This economy could not have achieved its unbelievable success without your invaluable help. Of course, we all know our American system is still not perfect. Many improvements and repairs still must be made. But I know we can count on the unfailing help of the American Federation of Labor in the work that must still be done.

And may I add one personal note. Whether I am public official or private citizen, I shall stand shoulder to shoulder with you in your efforts to make our American system work better. None of us want a new system. We have measured what we have against all other systems and we know that ours is infinitely the best. We will merely work on to improve what we have. Each wheel set right, each flying belt adjusted is a move forward to a more perfect world. To this we pledge ourselves.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank you, Mr. Ewing in behalf of the delegates, for your visit this morning, and for your very highly educational and inspiring address. I assure you that everyone here appreciates your presence and the address which you delivered.

ESCORT COMMITTEE FOR LEWIS GOUGH, COMMANDER OF AMERICAN LEGION

SECRETARY MEANY: President Green announces the appointment of a committee to escort the Commander of The American Legion to the platform for his address tomorrow morning. This committee consists of Pat Gorman, of the

Meat Cutters; John Rooney, of the Plasterers; and Irving Kuenzli, of the Teachers.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions, requiring unanimous consent, are presented for your consideration. The special sub-committee of the Executive Council has recommended unanimous consent for the resolutions:

From the International Photo-Engravers' Union: Community Chests and Councils of America, United Defense Fund, Inc. United Community Defense Services; Boys' Town of Italy; C.A.R.E. Appeal.

From the Louisiana State Federation of Labor: Sugar Cane Workers in Louisiana.

From the American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Upholsterers International Union; United Textile Workers Union: Support of Legislation to Curb Subsidization of Industrial Expansion by State and Local Government, Tax and Other Special Favor Legislation.

I move unanimous consent be given to the receipt of these resolutions.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: That completes the work of our convention this morning, and we will now stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 12:50 o'clock, p.m., the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock, Wednesday, September 17, 1952.

RESOLUTIONS

Here follow Resolutions Nos. 129 to 137 inclusive:

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF AMERICA, INC., UNITED DEFENSE FUND, INC. UNITED COMMUNITY DEFENSE SERVICES

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfrid Connell, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has long called for honest and sincere year-round labor-management cooperation and we

are gratified to see it so effectively applied for Community Chests and Councils, and

WHEREAS, The United Defense Fund raises funds for the great work of the U.S.O. for the members of our armed forces, American Relief for Korea to ease the hardship and lighten the load carried by suffering and distressed Korean people, the United Community Defense Services, a grouping of voluntary health and welfare agencies which are looking to improve the living conditions within the defense-impacted communities of America, and

WHEREAS, Most local Community Chest campaigns include the United Defense Fund, and

WHEREAS, Community Chests and Councils of America, Incorporated have always encouraged voluntary broader federation of both local and national appeals, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommend the support of Community Chests and Councils and the United Defense Fund by the International Unions, City Central Bodies, State Federations of Labor and Federal Labor Unions of the American Federation of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent by the Executive Council to all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and to the officers of Community Chests and Councils of America, Incorporated, and the United Defense Fund.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

BOYS' TOWN OF ITALY

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfred Connell, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, There are at present more than 22,000 orphaned boys in Italy in need of advice and guidance and of instruction in the useful arts and crafts, thereby helping to make of them productive and constructive members of society, and

WHEREAS, Msgr. J. Patrick Carroll-Abbing has been and is devoting all his energies and talents untiringly and unselfishly to these humanitarian economic and social requirements in the establishing of Boys' Town of Italy training these orphaned boys not only in the productive arts and crafts, but as well in the principles of self-government and in their practical application through administration of their own Boys' Republic, and

WHEREAS, Our heart and sympathies go out to these unfortunate orphaned boys and our admiration is aroused by

the unselfish and remarkable services being rendered by Msgr. J. Patrick Carroll-Abbing to these unfortunate youths, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Seventy-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor expresses its full sympathy to these humanitarian efforts in behalf of the orphaned boys of Italy, that we endorse this organization of Boys' Town of Italy and counsel and recommend that the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor render every possible support and financial contributions in promoting and sustaining and in ever expanding its facilities in Central and Southern Italy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

C.A.R.E. APPEAL

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfred Connell, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

WHEREAS, The need of the peoples of the war-torn world for food and clothing and their needs and requirements of life and living still exist in a number of lands, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its convention a year past recognized these needs and requirements and gave approval to the continued appeal of the C.A.R.E. campaign, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we re-affirm our action of a year past and recommend every encouragement and support on the part of our affiliated organizations to the struggling trade unionists and their families in dire need and through their affiliated groups of free workers by the purchase of C.A.R.E. packages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LEGISLATION TO CURB SUBSIDIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION BY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, TAX AND OTHER SPECIAL FAVOR LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates Alexander McKeown, William Leader, Alfred Hoffman, Fred Held, American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Sal E. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, R. Alvin Albarrino, George Bucher, Tony Remshard, Upholsterers' International Union of America; Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor par-

ticularly in the textile, shoe and other consumer industries and their members were the victims some decades ago of disruption of their employment and conditions by the systematically encouraged movement of industry from established and highly organized centers to rural and unorganized sections, a movement brought about by offers of tax advantages, exploitation of cheap unorganized labor and in many cases, community subsidization of plant construction and equipment, and

WHEREAS, Led by the state legislature of Mississippi in the 1930's and followed to lesser degree by the state legislatures of Kentucky, Illinois, Tennessee, Arkansas and Alabama, a new and more dangerous, and more systematic attempt has been launched to duplicate this unplanned and disruptive relocation of American industry by legislation allowing not only remission of local taxes to concerns shifting to their area for from 5 to 10 year periods, but allowing localities to utilize their federal tax exempt bond issuing power to finance complete building and equipment for private firms, and

WHEREAS, This private socialism by five states' legislation which had resulted in only six or eight million dollars in these industrial purpose bonds being issued up to 1951, but in four months of 1952 was suddenly expanded by action of voters in municipalities of the three states of Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi in approving some sixty-three million dollars worth of such issues, and

WHEREAS, The National Legislative Council of the American Federation of Labor has in the course of its sessions during 1952 given considerable attention to this problem and possible legislation to control it and the Legislative Chairman of the A. F. of L. has prepared a study of the facts and created a standing sub-committee to develop further information, and

WHEREAS, The entry of this risk free industrial expansion and tax exempt financing could in a short time distort and disrupt normal pattern of development of many consumer industries, and put many employers and their unionized employees at a disastrous competitive disadvantage with state and local subsidized new industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor request its officers to make further urgent request upon the President's Economic Advisors or the Joint Committee of the Congress on the Economic Report for comprehensive study of these developments and their consequences, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention recommend to the Executive Council that specific legislation to curb the movement in interstate commerce of such sub-

dized manufacturers, or remove the privilege of tax exempt status from these peculiar industrial purpose bonds, or both be studied and if possible introduced or endorsed in the 83rd Congress, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National Legislative Council of the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and its Legislative Committee be highly commended for their alertness and foresightedness in investigating and encouraging investigation by legislative and administrative agencies of this potential menace to stability and competitive equity among the elements of free enterprise in these United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SUGAR CANE WORKERS IN LOUISIANA

Resolution No. 133 — By Delegate E. J. Bourg, Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under the Sugar Control Law adopted in 1937, the Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to fix the minimum wage for agricultural workers employed in the sugar cane and beet fields of the United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and to pay subsidies to the growers from the U. S. Treasury if they pay their employees the minimum rates determined by the Secretary to be fair and reasonable, and

WHEREAS, In the State of Louisiana in 1951, the Secretary of Agriculture fixed wages at rates of 27¢ an hour for unskilled workers and a maximum of 44¢ an hour for skilled farm machine operators, and

WHEREAS, The National Agricultural Workers Union A. F. of L. has a campaign underway to organize field workers on the 90 large mechanized sugar cane plantations in this state which contains upwards of 500 acres each, and has demanded that wages be increased to a minimum necessary to enable the workers to purchase the necessities of life, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor calls upon the Secretary of Agriculture to raise immediately the minimum wages of sugar cane workers in Louisiana and other states and territories to a minimum of 7¢ an hour, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the full resources of the American Federation of Labor be used in assisting the workers in the sugar cane and beet fields throughout the United States to organize and improve their wages and working conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION INDUSTRIES SHOW

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, AFL.

WHEREAS, Union Industries Shows, sponsored and directed by the AFL Union Label Trades Department, reflect the craftsmanship of all members and the progress made by the American Federation of Labor in general, and

WHEREAS, Union Industries Shows have each year continued to grow in size, stature and effectiveness, and to gain more and more acceptance and acclaim from both our own AFL members and the general public, and

WHEREAS, All AFL national and international unions and their "fair" employers are eligible to participate in these annual displays of AFL craftsmanship, and

WHEREAS, Participation by all our affiliated national and international unions would broaden the scope of these exhibitions and greatly expand their ability to tell the union story to all the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be prevailed upon to participate in these Union Industries Shows by taking at least one booth.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

UNION LABEL COUNCILS

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, AFL.

WHEREAS, Union Label Councils are in fact local branch offices of the Union Label Trades Department, located in cities where there are AFL central labor bodies, and

WHEREAS, Union Label Councils are directly chartered by the Union Label Trades Department, and

WHEREAS, Union Label Councils are responsible for instigating and carrying out local campaigns to increase the demand for Union Label products and services identified by the Shop Card and Union Button, and

WHEREAS, Union Label Councils constitute a great source of developing active workers in all fields of organized labors' endeavors, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Union Label Trades Department make every effort to organize Union Label Councils in every

city where there is a central labor body or state federation interested in Union Label work, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all central labor bodies and state federations interest themselves in, and cooperate with, and support Union Label Councils wherever such are organized.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, AFL.

WHEREAS, The Union Label Trades Department, maintains a constant year-round program, to impress upon all AFL members and their families and friends the importance of demanding Union Label products and patronizing Union services, and

WHEREAS, The high point in each year's promotional campaigns has been the observance of Union Label Week, and

WHEREAS, This observance has each year become more national in scope and more effective at the local level, and

WHEREAS, This year's Union Label Week celebration, September 1-7, was endorsed by the President of the United States and officially proclaimed by Governors and Mayors throughout the land, and was the most successful Union Label Week thus far, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that the Convention designate the period September 7 through 13 as Union Label Week for 1953.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

UNION LABEL CLUB

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, AFL.

WHEREAS, It was felt that there is a general need for our people to meet together to discuss mutual problems, and

WHEREAS, The interest of one is the interest of all, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label, Shop Card and Button should represent a magnet, attracting all organizations whose interests are similar or dissident, because in the main, the overall interest to each and every one, is the security of wages, hours, and working conditions of the membership maintained therein, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation

of Labor has set up a National Label Club which shall meet at luncheons either weekly, bi-monthly or monthly, and

WHEREAS, This Label Club shall operate under a format to be furnished in the immediate future by the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor for the express purpose of having a basic program for the Union Label Councils both newly formed and operative, to use as a foundation and a draw-string around its bag of future union activity, and

WHEREAS, It is felt that the Label Club will be a medium through which closer cooperation and coordination may be maintained among members of different unions in each separate locality, and

WHEREAS, In the final analysis the Label Club will promote the idea which is perhaps most important of all: that every member of every organization insofar as humanly possible shall thoroughly emulate that which is implicit in the A. F. of L. emblem now in use—the clasped hands of friendship, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor promulgate and do everything within its power to foster and engender a founding spirit for this Label Club nationally, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be sent to all central bodies, state federations, national and international unions now affiliated with the parent body for the urgent and primary purpose of helping to tighten, perhaps for the first time, the loose bonds which should have, all these years, tied us closer together in a spirit of cooperation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Label Club shall be boosted as labor's Rotary or Kiwanis or Lions club, and as an answer and an offset to the organizations of management, and further as a means of providing a real sounding board throughout the nation for the policies pronounced by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor speaking ex cathedra for the more than eight million members of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 17, 1952



Report of

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York
September 17, 1952

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 10:00 o'clock, a.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with
us a distinguished Rabbi from the Congre-
gation of B'nai Jeshurun, Dr. Israel Gold-
stein.

INVOCATION

**Dr. Israel Goldstein (Rabbi, Congrega-
tion B'nai Jeshurun)**

Artisan of the universe, man is Thy
handiwork, and man's desire to work, cre-
ate, build, mold and fashion is the reflec-
tion of Thine image within.

Thou hast made a beautiful world. Let
not man in sinfulness mar it. Thou has
irradiated our lives with light. Let not
man in his perverseness cause darkness
to descend.

Thou makest peace on high, setting the
stars in their courses. Teach men to make
peace on earth.

Humanity still bleeds from the wounds
of the last fratricide. Grant, O God, that
those wounds may be healed, not opened
afresh. Out of the dark labyrinths of
hatred and distrust help us, O God, to hew
a path which will lead to the sunlit heights
of brotherhood.

Keep our nation strong and compassion-
ate, powerful and free, prosperous and
just.

May we be inspired to build within the
borders of our land and eventually within
the borders of mankind a city of God,
where the races and creeds shall vie with
one another to excel in charity and to
surpass in righteousness, where the rights
of the least privileged shall not be less
than human dignity demands.

We ask Thy blessing, O God, upon all
those who are here assembled, upon the
chosen leaders of the hosts of workers in
America.

Bless them, O God, with inspiration that
is endowed with vision, with wisdom that
guides, with vigilance that protects those
who work with their hands and their
brains and spirits.

Make us, O God, physically strong as a nation, economically secure, spiritually alive.

May the ramparts of our democracy resist every attempt to assail from without or to undermine from within.

We thank Thee, O God, for the breath of life, for the bonds of love, for the clasp of friendship for the music of mercy, for the will to work, for the passion to serve.

We thank Thee for the hands that sow and reap and turn the wheels of industry and steer the Ship of State.

Establish Thou the work of our hands; yea, the work of our hands do Thou establish—Amen.

COMMITTEE TO ESCORT GENERAL EISENHOWER

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Secretary George Meany, Brother Harry C. Bates and Brother Maurice Hutcheson to escort General Eisenhower to our meeting place when he arrives.

... The official convention photograph was taken at this time.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to present Brother David Dubinsky for an announcement.

ANNOUNCEMENT

VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: Delegates, when the Executive Council decided to have this convention in New York the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, being one of the largest unions in the city, thought they should be host to the delegates. We were confronted with a problem. We knew that if we would give the delegates skirts or panties we might have a problem as to sizes, and we could not imitate the Hatters of last year.

So we decided to take over the theater for next Thursday night for a performance of "The King and I" and we herewith extend a hearty invitation to all delegates and their wives to be the guests of our International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. We have had no chance to distribute tickets. Those who have not received them by 4:00 o'clock can get them in Parlor G, from 4:00 o'clock until 7:00 o'clock. Tickets will also be available for South Pacific for those who wish to see it.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us this morning an outstanding and dis-

tinguished visitor who is here for the purpose of bringing a message to the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. Most of you who are in this room this morning recall that we have exchanged visits between conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion every year for many years, and this has served to develop a most friendly and cooperative relationship.

Only a few weeks ago, in your name and in your behalf I attended a convention of the American Legion, which was held in this city. I delivered to them your message and was accorded a very warm reception.

Now we have the newly elected Commander of the American Legion here this morning. I know we are all pleased and happy because he is our visitor on this occasion, and I am sure you will listen to him with a feeling of tremendously deep interest.

Therefore, I now present to you, Lewis K. Gough, the National Commander of the American Legion.

MR. LEWIS K. GOUGH

(National Commander, The American Legion)

Mr. Chairman, Delegates and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

Let me assure you that the entire membership of the American Legion is genuinely honored by the invitation which has brought me here today.

I appreciate your invitation all the more because in this particular season the interest of most Americans—certainly of most A.F.L. and Legion members—centers upon candidates who are still running. The race in my case, as you have been told, ended happily three weeks ago here in New York—and, quite frankly, I find particular delight in returning for the first time to the scene of that happy event.

As most of you also know, there has existed for some years now a sort of reciprocal trade agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion with regard to Convention visits . . . and it strikes me that Legionnaires have had much the better of it. After all, we have known well in advance each year whom you would send to us, and we know his record and his fame. You, on the other hand, must put up with whatever emerges from our annual turnover in command. And yet, don't you agree that this circumstance is less a reflection of differing organizational by-laws than it is a tribute to the outstanding leadership you have received from William Green?

Let me tell you why we keep asking Bill Green to come back . . .

We count among our membership of nearly three million veterans thousands of Legionnaires—splendid Legionnaires—who are members of the AFL. Frankly, I wish there were more. I believe very strongly that each of our organizations would benefit, and the country would profit from an increase in our overlapping membership.

But that is merely the coincidental ground for the close understanding between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor. More important and far more compelling is the fact that here are two national organizations of great size and great influence—each dedicated to the identical general purpose of making America a stronger, safer, nobler place for the free pursuits of free men. When all of the differences in approach and emphasis are taken into account, that remains as the common goal of all of us . . . the prize for which you work and the prize for which we fought.

I think it is because we have correctly evaluated the worth of that prize that the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion are today potent and trusted fixtures on the national scene.

I want to discuss for the next few moments a subject which is very important and very widely misunderstood. It is the unity of the American people. I stress it because, it seems to me, we have lost it to a considerable degree for reasons that are insufficient and at a time that is most inopportune.

There is a growing reluctance in many segments of the American community to honor anything less than total agreement. Too often individuals and groups who believe in the same principle and seek the same purpose allow themselves to be divided and diverted by argument over method. I submit that this is a personal problem—that now as never before it behooves each of us to keep in our sights our common objective as Americans, which is . . . the survival and strengthening of America, and to seek out mutually acceptable means to that end.

Some people would have us believe, for instance, that there is a natural enmity between the fellow who fires the gun and the fellow who makes it. Well, I speak for millions of men who have fired the gun in three wars and I tell you that notion is wholly false. It deserves to be buried with all the rest of the petty and disruptive prejudices which sap the vision and unity of the American people.

Under our free system disagreement as to policy and procedure is inevitable. Indeed, the supreme danger will come when free men are no longer free to disagree. But let us not forget that the right to give criticism presupposes the ability to take criticism, and that issues may be disputed all over the place without one side attacking the integrity or ancestry of the other.

As a matter of fact, the American Legion and AFL have differed historically on several items—universal military training for one—and yet, we seem to survive

in mutual good temper. That doesn't mean, of course, that we of the Legion sympathize with your position or that we believe you anything but wrong, or that we will cease working and praying for your conversion to this particular cause.

By the same token, we are continually meeting and fighting opposition to the principle and program of adequate veterans' benefits—particularly with regard to hospital and medical care of the disabled. The opponents in this case made a great show of embracing the principle: they simply oppose spending the money needed to put the principle into effect. We have the utmost respect for their right to be wrong and we shall continue to insist, along with most other Americans, that a nation which can afford billions for the rehabilitation of foreign economies can afford decent treatment for its own disabled veterans.

But the specific area I want to discuss this morning and stress this morning is one in which your organization and mine have registered substantial agreement. I want to relate this problem of unity to the problem of subversion in the United States the number one domestic problem confronting the American people.

Between now and November 4th, Communism will die a thousand deaths at the hands of political speakers of both major parties. Each side will try to go the other one better in proving its prior claim to the crown of anti-communism.

The tragic part of all this is that the likely beneficiaries are Stalin and his henchmen in the Kremlin, for many people hearing the debate will be inclined to charge off the entire subject of subversion as nothing more than "political mud-slinging."

Let's resolve now, and remember in the weeks ahead, to say or do nothing that would make this issue a political football. Communism is enough of a problem and threat without our giving it the benefit of political sanctuary.

As for the American Legion, we stand now where we stood twenty years ago when the field of outspoken anti-subversion was less popular and certainly less crowded than it is today. We believe that the infiltration almost without opposition through the late 1940's carried Soviet agents into positions of great trust and influence—in the Government and out of it—from many of which they have not been dislodged. We find that there is still an incredible lack of understanding and practical effort needed to do that job.

For example, we are constantly told that the only way to combat Communism is to remove its breeding spots by strengthening and improving our democracy. The implication of course, is that anyone who attempts to do more than that—who actually sets out to detect and expose and nullify their 24-hour-a-day offensive is jumping the gun.

Of all the fallacies surrounding the American concept of resistance to subversion, none has helped the enemy and hindered us so much as this one.

You members of the AFL know better.

When you moved against Communism in your unions you did not do it by preaching more perfect unionism. You did it by throwing the Communists out.

If we can succeed through our separate organizations in getting across to the people this one, all-important fact of the difference between merely being against communism and personally participating in detecting and defeating it, then we shall have accomplished a great thing.

Many stump speakers during this pre-election season will tell you that Communism is the most deadly menace to western civilization since the Mongolian invasions of the middle ages . . . and they will be right. But what are we doing to enable our people to know this menace, its nature and disguises, how it operates and where it is weak?

Today, there are close to a thousand well-endowed foundations or philanthropies in the United States dedicated to almost every conceivable project of human welfare. There is not one foundation dedicated to the most crucial problem of all—that of modern, twentieth century subversion and how to combat and curb it!

Today there are more than one hundred Better Business Bureaus throughout our country. They protect the average American from commercial swindlers and confidence men, but there is nothing faintly resembling a Better Business Bureau to which the average citizen can go for protection against Stalin's con men and swindlers.

Today, despite all of the boasting about our vaunted educational system, there are less than a dozen schools or colleges in the whole of the United States which offer a first-rate course in Soviet subversion. Is it any wonder that the issue generates so much heat and so little light?

These are deficiencies which no single organization can dispose of. But certainly we in the American Legion and you in the AFL can point them out and encourage and cooperate in their correction.

There must be a better answer to subversive attack than has been given by those who do nothing themselves while warning others to stay safely out of range. The truly innocent have nothing to fear from the laws and conscience of their countrymen. Between the few who will abuse and the few who will surrender their constitutional rights is a great multitude of men and women who prize personal liberty above all else, and they do not need to be saved from themselves nearly so much as they need the example and inspiration of bold and aggressive leadership.

The American Legion, like the AFL, has seen fit to tackle the problem head on. We have learned that anyone who endeavors to translate anti-communism into action is going to draw some fire from window snipers. We don't mind that; we don't mind being called "witch-hunters" by those who should know better. But what does concern us and should concern every American is that there are numerous people who still think of the Communist really as a form of witch.

And then we are asked, "What can I

do? Where does the plain citizen fit into this fight?"

Well, there's one place where even the Reds are vulnerable and where everybody can hit them. That's in the pocketbook. Their organization in this country is paid for largely by contributions from sympathetic "angels" who in turn make their money by selling services or products on the public market.

For several years now, we have urged our membership to break up that cycle by refusing to buy the book or see the movie or otherwise patronize the product or performance that profits the party's helpmates.

It's a pretty effective approach, as indicated by the protests we hear from a few such individuals who find their fat contracts not so easy to renew. Sure, they howl about abused liberties and induced hardship, but it sounds a lot like Abraham Lincoln's story of the young fellow who murdered both his mother and father and then asked for clemency on grounds that he was an orphan.

Anyone who holds to that theory of fighting subversion by perfecting our own institutions should take a close look at some of these poor, underprivileged characters who have kept the party in their finances. It simply doesn't work out that way. While graduates of Gold Coast homes and our very best schools busied themselves singing the Internationale by their swimming pools it was the membership of an AFL Local—forty-and-fifty-dollar-a-week workers—who led the first serious and successful move against Communist influence in Hollywood.

The American Legion maintains that much of the confusion and coddling that have characterized official passes at subversion are due to a failure at the top level to understand that the Soviet conspiracy is a total and world-wide affair. We have responded to military aggression with a quasi-military defense. We have written off the loss of China as a concession to social change. We have tried to counter with material dole an evil crusade that seeks to capture the minds and souls of all mankind.

I submit that the present widespread lack of confidence in the leadership of our State Department is itself a grave indictment of that leadership. Our foreign policies of the last few years have cost us many of the gains and opportunities so hardly won and bought by American blood in World War II. The American veteran has no right and no reason to ignore that fact, he took bold notice of it three weeks ago here in New York by demanding through the American Legion a complete change in the leadership of the State Department.

We have no more control over such actions than have you. But as long as I have the privilege of this office I shall take advantage of every opportunity to make known the position of our organization. As a practical matter, it appears certain now that a large bulk of the American people will not again trust and give united support to our foreign policy until that change is effected.

Our concern is with issues and results—not personalities. We well realize that there is no cheap, no easy way out of the country's involvement in the struggle between east and west. But, surely, there is another alternative besides the cheap and cushioned way.

The Korean war, we believe, must be fought to a military victory. Every additional day that is wasted and every American life that is spent with no determined effort to win that victory represents a futile sacrifice of our national honor and strength. We went into Korea for a just cause. Diplomatic and political dawdling prevented the military from forcing a decision that could—and should—have been won long ago.

Your countrymen and mine are dying in that undeclared war—and they are dying without knowing why. Who has given the answer? Who can give a satisfactory answer? Is it to preserve the fiction of truce talks in which the Communists have had fifteen months to prove their bad faith? Do we hope to wear down the enemy by photographic raids on his bases of supply?

The only way to justify that war is to end it, and that means carrying the war to the enemy with no holds barred. We earnestly believe that the United Nations should authorize immediate bombing of Manchurian bases above the Yalu, and use of the Chinese Nationalist troops by all means . . . and of the atomic weapons as necessary.

When you stop to think that the Nationalist armed forces represent the last real hope of Asiatics for reclaiming China from Communism, it just doesn't make sense to keep them bottled up on Formosa. We have a navy that is perfectly capable of delivering these forces for diversionary attacks or guerilla raids on the mainland. Such a move would at least raise the morale and fitness of Chinese who want to fight on our side; it might even relieve sufficient Communist pressure in Korea to open the way for a final Eighth Army Offensive, which would be truly effective.

We must not make the mistake, however, of relying too heavily in this conflict upon force of arms or the conventional versions of economic and diplomatic power as in the past. More urgent than any of these is the need for developing and launching at the earliest possible date a full-scale ideological offensive at an early date—a war of subversion and infiltration aimed at jarring the Communist grip on its slave states and homeland.

This effort, as the American Legion views it, is a bold departure from anything the American people have ever attempted before. But imperialistic Communism is a greater and bolder evil than we have ever faced before. We must seize the offensive and the initiative. We, too, must aim at the minds and souls of men. We must give to hundreds of millions of Communist victims the help and hope they need to rediscover freedom and reach for it.

The American Legion was born of war. We are not unmindful of the possibility

that many of us may serve again, to satisfy in full our debt to God and Country. But our ambitions, our prayers, our labors are for peace. We stand united with you, humbly and hopefully, in that sacred dedication.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank the Commander of The American Legion for his visit with us this morning and for his impressive and inspiring address which he delivered. I know each of you share with me these sentiments I have expressed. We thank him for coming and we appreciate his visit very, very much.

Now I want to present to you for a moment Mrs. Walker E. Edwards, of the Flag Foundation of America.

MRS. WALKER E. EDWARDS (President-General, Flag Foundation of America)

I am honored to be here to address this great convention. I am happy to be on the same platform once again with you, Mr. Green, who through the years have proved yourself to be a great citizen. This is a significant week for all Americans—"Citizenship Week" when we all reaffirm our pledge of allegiance to our Flag and for the ideals and principles for which it stands. Today in particular is being celebrated throughout the United States because it is Constitution Day.

Under our Constitution we have rights denied to many other people throughout the world—rights for which we can be truly thankful. The United States has become the greatest nation in the world in a little more than a century and a half because under our Constitution there can be no lords and masters.

We started out as a nation from "scratch", but because of the wisdom of our founding fathers and through the toil and ingenuity of a free people we have been able to make our standards of living the highest in the world.

For almost half of our life as a nation the American Federation of Labor has been exercising a tremendous influence toward the success of a progressive people under the American Flag. The toil, labor and blood which we have given has the highest dividends which stockholders in any corporation could possibly envision—the United States of America.

I know that everyone here feels as I do—that it is *grand to be an American*.

If the flag could speak it probably would say something like this: born during the nation's infancy, I have grown *with it*. My *stars* increasing in number—as the country has grown in size; the domain over which I wave *expanding* until the sun—on my flying folds—now *never sets*.

Filled with significance—are my colors of red, white and blue—into which have been woven the strength and courage of American manhood, the love and loyalty of American womanhood.

Stirring—are the stories of my stars and stripes—I represent—the Declaration of Independence—I stand for the Constitution of the United States—I reflect the wealth and grandeur of this *great land of opportunity*—I signify the law of the land—I tell the achievements and progress of the American people—in art and science, culture and literature, invention and commerce, transportation and industry.—I stand for peace and goodwill among the nations of the world—I believe in tolerance—I am the badge of the nation's greatness and the emblem of its destiny.—*Threaten me and millions will spring to my defense.*

Mr. Green, these ideals you have more than exemplified, and on behalf of the Flag Foundation of America I, as President-General, wish to present you with our Citizenship Award.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank you, Mrs. Edwards, for the award you have given me this morning. I shall ever cherish it as one of my most prized possessions.

MRS. EDWARDS: It is an honor, Mr. Green.

Thank you.

INTRODUCTION OF MR. AND MRS. LEON JOUHAUX

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us two very distinguished visitors who came a long way to visit with us at this convention. Most of you already know them by reputation if you do not know them personally. I want you to become acquainted with them, so that when you meet them here in this great City of New York you can greet them and serve them and help them in any way possible.

We hold each of them in high regard and high esteem. As you know, one of them was awarded the World Peace Prize not so long ago, and we, with the workers of the whole world, shared with the one who received that Peace Prize the honor which was conferred upon him.

I now present our good friend, our beloved associate in our labor movement, one who has worked all his life in France and in other countries to promote the cause of labor—Brother Leon Jouhaux and Mrs. Jouhaux, so you may be acquainted with them. Mr. Jouhaux will address the convention sometime later, and I know you will be waiting with deep interest to hear his magnificent and splendid address.

Now I want to present to you one of the fraternal delegates who will address you. He comes from close by. He lives in Canada. We feel that he is almost one of us, because we can scarcely tell where the borderline is between Canada and the United States. Every day and every year and every hour the friendly relationship between the Canadian workers and the American Federation of Labor has increased and grown. It is more perfect, more deeply rooted, more effective now than it has ever been in the history of our two countries.

I am pleased to present to you Brother J. B. Graham, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He is a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

MR. J. B. GRAHAM

(Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished visitors and guests, fellow delegates:

I am very proud and happy to be here today and to bring the warm fraternal greetings of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor. This is a very pleasant duty for me to perform and I am deeply honored and privileged to have this opportunity to speak to you on behalf of the more than five hundred thousand members who are now affiliated to The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Our 67th Convention of the Congress, which began its active and useful history as the national trade union centre of Canada away back in 1873, was held this year in my home city of Winnipeg.

And when I mention the city of Winnipeg I take the opportunity, because the mayor of that city and those who are clothed in the robes of administrative authority, asked me to thank all of you Americans in the trade union movement who came to the rescue of Winnipeg when it was devastated by that serious flood in 1950. When we think of the Brotherhood of Carpenters giving \$50,000, the International Association of Machinists \$25,000, the Molders, the Teamsters and many other international unions giving very generous donations, it is to their everlasting credit that they demonstrated what is meant by the word "brotherhood," in the name of their organizations and by the act of mercy that they performed for people who were stricken at that particular time.

Our conventions in Canada are annual affairs and this year's meeting was one of the most constructive and successful we have held for a long time. Nearly six

hundred delegates attended from as far away as Newfoundland on the east coast and Vancouver Island on the west coast. Delegates were also there from Windsor, Ontario, which is as far south as California and others were in attendance from the flourishing mining areas of northern Manitoba north of the 53rd parallel of latitude.

The convention opened on Monday, the 18th of August. Two weeks later we celebrated Labor Day.

I am not here today to make a few personal remarks and to voice my own opinions, even though I could probably tell you some quite interesting trade union stories which I have gathered up in a career in this movement which extends back over forty years. I have been a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners since 1919. I have been Business Agent of Local 343 in Winnipeg since 1931-51. I have also held government appointments on Boards and Commissions where I have had ample opportunity to see and assist the forward advance of our organizations and our members from frailty, poverty and economic oppression to strength, dignity and a considerable degree of economic and social security.

But as a fraternal delegate elected by the 67th Convention of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to represent them here at your great convention, I feel more as an ambassador and as such I wish to take a few minutes to interpret the thoughts and policies of our movement in Canada to you.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is a great and growing Canadian family. In fact, it is the Greatest Canadian Family. Our affiliated membership, according to official government figures now exceeds 522,000. That makes the Congress the largest single group of organized producers in Canada. It also means that our affiliated members and their families constitute the largest organized group of consumers.

Canada is a rapidly expanding nation. Industrial development is going on in my country on a broad scale. And our trade unions are keeping pace with this growth and expansion both from the standpoint of organization and of effective bargaining.

Oil production in Canada is increasing almost daily. This tremendously significant development which has been centred in the rich fields of Alberta appears now to be spreading to other parts of the country. New and interesting possibilities of oil production are now being investigated in other prairie provinces, in southern Ontario and even as far east as Nova Scotia on the Atlantic coast. Pipelines are under construction or in operation to transport this oil as well as gas to both the Pacific coast and the central industrial areas of Canada.

Your steel mills as well as our will soon be using iron ore from our great Ungava deposits in northern Quebec.

Some of the world's largest electric power developments are now in progress

in more than one part of Canada. One of these in northern British Columbia will supply power for a gigantic plant for the production of aluminum.

Naturally such projects and this current vast expansion of our basic production industries carries with it a further growth of our secondary and supplying industries. Add to this a rapid growth in our population and the need for more and more housing accommodation and you get a strong demand for goods and services of all kinds—and a strong demand for labor.

Our trade unions have been accepting this new challenge and have been remarkably successful in seeing to it that the current expansion in the exploitation of our Canadian resources does not also result in an exploitation of our Canadian workers. Our trade unions have developed effective collective bargaining techniques and have thousands of contracts with employers which provide for better wages, better hours and better working conditions.

You may, perhaps, get a better idea of the unprecedented growth in trade union membership in Canada in recent years if I say that in 1942 we held our Congress convention in Winnipeg. At that time our membership was declared to be just over 164,000. Ten years later, our Winnipeg convention of last month was advised that the official membership figure was over 522,000. That amounts to more than a trebling of our membership in ten years.

As a result the Congress has become very influential and its views and representations are highly respected. Many changes and improvements in laws and regulations governing the lives and activities of working people have been obtained through Congress action.

Our labor relations laws in Canada are not perfect in our opinion, but we have nothing akin to the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is non-partisan in politics. As it says in our official Congress literature, "Its half million members in all provinces and parts of Canada seek changes in laws and policies from all governments. Experience has taught that these necessary changes can be attained best when alignment with any one political party is avoided."

Our labor jurisdiction is divided as between the federal authority and the provinces. Thus we have ten provincial labor relations acts all differing in some respects, and federally, we have the Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act. We have been trying to get uniformity in our labor relations laws and that struggle will go on until we do get uniformity.

Under all of these laws the right of workers in private industry to organize is recognized and the union of their choice may seek and obtain certification. This in turn makes it obligatory upon their employer to bargain with their union and failing an agreement the dispute can be conciliated by officers or boards appointed by the appropriate government in each case. The right to strike is also recognized and strikes called by certified unions after

the law has been complied with are perfectly legal.

In practically all cases these provisions in our labor relations laws apply not only to workers employed in private undertakings but to those employed by cities, towns and other municipalities and to those employed by our Crown corporations. Unfortunately they do not apply to our workers in the public service of the Dominion or in the provinces with the exception of one. But we are determined to have these basic trade union rights accorded to our public service employees for many thousands of these government employees are members of our affiliated organizations, and we are convinced that the time has long since past when they may be regarded as persons apart from our regular citizenry. In fact, we are determined that they shall no longer be considered as second class citizens and that they shall very soon be accorded the full basic trade union rights we have won for others.

As a practical step in this direction and to further aid our affiliated members in government service the Executive Council of the Congress has established the Permanent Committee on Government Employees. This Committee, which numbers among its officers and members, four international union officials, maintains constant contact with government departments and has already been able to obtain substantial improvements in employment regulations and working conditions.

We have made progress in the last year in another direction. Our social security provisions have been improved. Our Unemployment Insurance Act has been amended to provide for higher benefits and the waiting period has been cut from eight to five days. Perhaps, even more important, the principle of paying old age pensions as a right has been accepted by our Federal Government and Parliament. And as a result all Canadians of seventy years of age and over are now receiving \$40 a month without any means test and subject only to a residence rule.

This is not all that we want, however. We are particularly pleased that old age security has now been established as a right but we want the monthly payments increased and the age limits lowered.

On the other hand, we still have a great gap in our social security laws. We as a Congress have been seeking the enactment of a national health insurance scheme covering all Canadians. This effort has been going on for many years. And we are now preparing an all-out effort to accomplish this goal as quickly as possible. Our convention again went on record as favouring and asked the Executive Council to press for "a scheme of government subsidized contributory, national health insurance, which will provide adequate medical, surgical, optical, psychopathic and dental treatment, with appropriate hospital and nursing care, for all who need such services."

What, of course, we are seeking is a measure of comprehensive social security. We believe that every Canadian who is

ready and willing to work should be assured of a job with earnings enough to feed, clothe and house his family, to educate his children and that he should be able to live his life free from the fear of want with medical treatment available when needed and a pension in old age commensurate with Canadian standards. A lot to ask for? No. Just a very reasonable goal which our Congress is aiming at in order that our affiliated membership may enjoy their fair share of the fruits of their labor.

We have, however, taken another forward step in our social legislation this year. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has a Standing Committee Against Racial Discrimination. This committee has been doing an effective job within the ranks of our affiliated membership towards reducing prejudice and creating a better understanding between the various racial and religious groups. It has also been concerned with urging new laws to combat discrimination. And in the Federal jurisdiction this year it has been successful in having the principle that no one should be denied employment on grounds of race, color or creed established. This significant development is contained in an amendment to the Unemployment Insurance Act whereby no placement officer may discriminate in the referral of applicants for jobs under the National Employment Service. And since all applicants for unemployment insurance must register for employment and jobs with the National Employment Service this new regulation will affect many thousands of persons all over Canada every year.

Thus the great social principle of fair employment practices has been established by the Parliament of Canada and it is also observed by law in two of our ten provinces.

I have been trying to give you a quick glimpse at our internal affairs in Canada and of our Congress' efforts to obtain basic social and economic improvements. I have also been trying to indicate where our successes have lain and at the same time where our future efforts must lie.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, however, is not just concerned with internal Canadian matters. It is part and parcel of the great international trade union movement and at all times is prepared to take its full share of the load.

Our Congress has never faltered in its devotion to and advancement of the International Labor Organization since the ILO's inception in 1919. Our Congress believes in the ILO and is doing its part in furthering the significant aims on this UN agency. Especially is this true in the field of technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is likewise very desirous of advancing in a practical way the important work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The Congress sees in the ICFTU a very useful and powerful weapon in our mutual struggle against International Communism.

We in Canada believe in peace, but not

in peace at the price Joe Stalin seems to want us to pay.

We are fully in accord with our country's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are satisfied that the vast sums Canada is now spending upon national defensive measures are wholly necessary. We are convinced that such measures are a necessary part of the short term preservation of world peace albeit that peace may be a very uneasy one.

We in Canada have hopes for peace and we believe that there is a practical way to peace for the people of the world. We are far from convinced that the minds of men can be bought and bound over for any length of time with mere cash or even, on the other hand, with deceitful promises. The road to peace, we believe, lies in the direction of brotherly assistance, of aid extended in the trade union way.

The answer to world strife and discord, to almost world wide poverty, suffering and oppression of working people is not in the slave camp economy of the Soviet dictatorship of International Communism. Neither is the answer in the amassed riches of the privileged few. The answer is in the positive gains in living standards of the working people in all lands through organization and the use of their collective economic strength to better their earnings, hours and working conditions.

We of the International trade union movement of North America know how sound and powerful is the truth of that statement. We know that our democracy at its present stage is not a perfect thing, but we also know how we obtained what freedoms we now enjoy.

We are not all so young or so unmindful that we cannot recall the days when our bargaining powers were not so great or effective as they are now and how in those days we were the virtual slaves of the economic masters of North America. Organization and the effective use of our collective economic strength have brought us up out of that paralytic condition.

The higher earnings, shorter hours and improved working conditions now enjoyed by our members in North America were not a gift from beneficent employers. Every jot and tittle had to be wrung from them. The human freedoms and trade union rights we now exercise were not handed to us as a fatherly gesture of a paternalistic government. We had to wrest every morsel of them from our once antagonistic rulers.

This is the human success story that can be told to the oppressed, the undernourished and the underclothed in the underdeveloped areas of the world. And this story can best be told, in our opinion, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. For through the ICFU workers in other lands may be encouraged to organize and through the exercise of their new found collective strength find the full value of organization. And thus those in the underdeveloped countries may come to turn the deaf ear to the deceitful promise of In-

ternational Communism with the slave camp as its fulfilment, and to learn as we have learned through our own efforts and experience that peace is a way of life not a decree, or a statute, or a treaty.

The services which The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada renders to its affiliated organizations have been greatly expanded and diversified in recent years. In Winnipeg last month a further step in this direction was taken when nearly five hundred delegates met in a pre-convention conference and decided to establish a Union Label Trades Department of the Congress. The constitution of this new Congress Department is modelled after your own similar Department in many respects. Those in our Congress who promote the use of union labels, and there are many organizations who do, are hopeful that our new Department will be of real value in their work and effort.

In these few remarks I have tried to paint a hasty though accurate picture of our attitude, our problems and our successes. I have tried to indicate how our Congress thinks and feels about basic matters close to the hearts and minds of our affiliated organizations. In doing so I hope I have not created the impression that all is well for we have great problems and difficulties to contend with at home.

Our organizations have been able to gain wage increases and our wage level stands considerably higher than ever before; but we have been forced to chase a climbing cost of living. Our government has consistently refused to reimpose the price control measures which were so successful during World War II but which it dropped. Inflation has been the constant thief of our pay roll earnings ever since.

Our Congress is not opposed to immigration for we believe in Canada's future and that we will require more and more people to man our expanding industrial economy. But we have many thousands of unemployed even now in the late summer months. Not only do we experience considerable seasonal unemployment but we are the victims of an even greater fluctuation which I may call cyclical unemployment which idles many thousands in the winter and off-season periods.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has thus asked that the immigration policies of the government be brought out of their haphazard state and planned immigration schemes substituted. And we have asked that immigration be restricted in the winter and off-season months. This has found some favor with the government, but our request that immigration be handled through the Department of Labor with closer consultation with management and ourselves has yet to be favorably answered.

In reviewing our problems and our methods of coping with them, in reciting our successes, and in our consideration of the state of affairs of our own nations and the world at large, we, in my opinion, must not lose sight of our own weaknesses. Your Federation like our Congress

has made great strides in the interests of your affiliated membership. But these great national trade union centres can never be stronger and more influential than your organizations which comprise them. And again, your international union and mine can never be stronger than the local unions and lodges which comprise them.

The real strength of our movement is not alone in money and leadership albeit they are vitally important; the real strength and enduring effectiveness of our unions lies in the loyalty of the individual member back home.

Because we have been mindful of that fundamental truth and because we have been insistent upon serving the truly selfish interests of our own memberships our organizations have grown in numbers and significant influence. Now that we are large and powerful in our respective countries let us not be weaned away from our main purpose.

Whether we believe it or not, we are part and parcel of the greatest and most significant social revolution the world has ever recorded. For through our organizations and our direct democratic efforts we have developed collective economic security to a considerable degree. Certainly we have not completed the task; but we are well on the way. And at the same time we have given the lie to those who claim that economic and social security can only be purchased with the loss of freedom and a return to serfdom. We in the exercise of our hard won trade union rights have extended freedom along with the extension of social and economic security.

What we have of freedom and security, we gained through organization. We in Canada shall go on organizing the unorganized. We shall go on building freedom and security as loyal Canadians and determined trade union brothers until those who would bind us and be our masters become but a tinkling cymbal scarcely heard in the mighty onrush of unfettered humanity.

Again I am happy and proud to be here and to have brought the warm fraternal greetings of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—its officers and affiliated members.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Brother Graham in your name and in your behalf for the fine address which he delivered here today. You will remember it, I know, because it has made, in our regard, a fine impression.

I would like at this time to introduce his wife, Mrs. Graham, who is with him so that you will become acquainted with her.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mrs. Graham.

. . . Mrs. Graham stood and acknowledged the applause of the delegates.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know I can truthfully say that this is an eventful and historic occasion for the American Federation of Labor. We have with us this morning a distinguished visitor, a great General of the Army for years, and now a candidate of a great political party for President of the United States.

I want him to know that we appreciate more than words can express his visit with us this morning. We have been waiting and anticipating with a feeling of pleasure his visit to us, and, I know, his magnificent address which he will deliver.

It is not my purpose now to impose on your time, but I take great pleasure, and it is a great honor to present to you General Eisenhower, candidate for President on the Republican ticket.

THE HONORABLE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President Green, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

The invitation to address your Convention gives me the first opportunity to do something I have long wanted to do. That is, to stand before the American Federation of Labor and say to you directly that the free world will be forever in your debt for your help in winning the war.

When I addressed messages to labor unions during the war, I was very conscious that I wore the uniform of my country. So I stressed but two facts: The first was that we were at war, engaged in a desperate conflict in defense of freedom. The second fact was that the men lying in the fox holes, fighting on the sea, fighting in the air—your own sons, dear ones and comrades—needed the arms, the production, which the working men and women of America alone could provide.

Into those messages I put all the fervor of a man who writes what is close to his heart. But the response was more—far more—than ever could be stirred by one man's appeal. Let me say now, plainly and clearly, the contribution that free American labor made to the winning of the war was beyond all calculation.

This you have proved for all time: Free labor can out-work, out-produce, out-earn and out-do slave labor, whether that slave labor be located in a Nazi Germany or a Communist Russia.

Today our task is less dramatic, but not any less demanding or important. It is to make secure the peace which cost us so dear. Again, labor, together with every other group in America, must play its part in making the free world so strong of heart and sinew that aggression becomes unthinkable.

Your responsibility in that great task is somewhat different than it was while we were at war. So is mine. My role is a

brand new one for me. And I know you will believe this: I would never have taken it on unless I was convinced of one thing—that it was my job to do in the service of America.

Because I come before you today as a civilian, a candidate for the highest office in the land, does not mean that I have anything more to ask of you than if I had appeared here in uniform. Certainly you know me well enough to know I have not come to curry any special favor. I have not come to bid or compete for your endorsement. My views toward labor will be the same as they long have been, regardless of the action taken by the American Federation of Labor at this Convention in the matter of endorsing a Presidential candidate. My guide in this vital matter, as in others, will always remain the same: What is good for America—all America.

Now, my role may have changed but I have not changed.

All of my life I have said what I meant, and meant what I said. No one will change that. All of my life I have had a deep and fundamental faith in my country, in its people, in its principles, and in its spiritual values. No one will change that.

In this new role of mine I have been talking with my fellow-citizens about the great issues of today and the grave problems we will be called upon to meet in the next four years. Everyone is entitled to know what is in my mind and what is in my heart.

Under the heavy hands of men who regard power as their right and not as their responsibility, this nation has come to take counsel of despair. Political leaders have allowed our nation to fall into a war with no plans for its winning. Political leaders have allowed our abhorrence for Communism to divide us, not unite us as it could. And instead of solving domestic problems, political leaders exploit them for narrow partisan ends. I know that millions of members of the A. F. of L. are as fed up with this Washington mess as I am and I know that many of them are going to join me in helping to clean it up.

The blunt truth is that American labor has been smarter and quicker in meeting these problems than has the Administration. For example, I never heard you call the problem of a Communist agent in a high policy-making position "a red herding". On the contrary, you have shown what an understanding of Communism and a determination to oppose it can do to keep organizations free of Communist influence. You have not provided a happy home in which Communists could thrive and advance themselves. Our truly American labor unions have helped greatly in stiffening the American worker's resistance to Communism.

What you want me to discuss, I know, are my views on labor problems. Therefore, at the outset, let me say that I feel strongly that there should be in Washington a government which can command the trust of both labor and employers. We do not have such a government now. To get a government that can be trusted by both

sides requires not more law, but more leadership.

Perhaps in these days of political claims and counter-claims it is not amiss to recall that it was my party which established in law the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. That was first written into statute in the Railway Labor Act of 1926. It was considered a model law, until later administrations began playing politics with it.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act was also passed under my party administration. Both these laws established a basis of legal rights for workers and their unions. On this foundation further legal enactments were built. They helped the American labor movement to grow.

I know well what the growth of the American labor movement has meant in concrete gains.

When I went into the Army 41 years ago I was working in a creamery and refrigeration plant in Kansas. It was a pretty good job for those days. I worked 84 hours a week on the night shift from six to six seven nights a week. But in the years since unions, cooperating with employers, have vastly improved the lot of working men and women.

Today in America unions have a secure place in our industrial life. Only a handful of unreconstructed reactionaries, harbor the ugly thought of breaking unions and of depriving working men or working women of the right to join the union of their choice.

I have no use for those—regardless of their political party—who hold some vain and foolish dream of spinning the clock back to days when unorganized labor was a huddled, almost helpless mass. But it is not only the employer who can exploit workers. Can labor have forgotten the extraordinary proposal of the present Administration for dealing with a threatened railroad strike? It was the demand from the head of the Democrat Party that the strikers be drafted into the Army!

As Chief of Staff, I found myself involved in that affair. That was in the spring of 1946. I had just returned from a tour of inspection in the Pacific. I was trying to get some rest down in Georgia. I got a telephone call from Washington. The message directed that I return to Washington immediately to assume command of the railway strikers, who were going to be drafted into the Army. With a bitter protest, I refused. I was told that I was considered the only soldier with whom the railway workers would even talk. So I agreed to meet with them. But I was a soldier, not a strikebreaker.

So far as I am aware, my opponent in this election did not object to the draft of strikers into the Army. His running mate voted for it. The members of the Republican party in the Senate finally defeated the proposal.

I don't want arbitrary power over either labor or industry. I do not believe that the President of a free nation can have such power without that nation losing its freedom. My opponent made plain on Labor Day that he wanted power,

as President, to compel arbitration. That is exactly what I am against. If you want the basic, irreconcilable difference between his position and mine, there it is. He and his Party embrace compulsion. I reject compulsion!

Let us face up frankly to this problem of strikes. The right of men to leave their jobs is a test of freedom. Hitler suppressed strikes. Stalin suppresses strikes. The drafting of strikers into the Army would suppress strikes. But each also suppresses freedom. There are some things worse, much worse, than strikes. One of them is the loss of freedom.

The time has come to tell our people the truth. Today, on Constitution Day, which commemorates the adoption of our founding document, this truth has special point. Most strikes can be avoided without violating the Constitution either by the illegal seizure of property or by putting strikers into the Army. A great deal can be done which is not now being done, to get labor disputes settled without recourse to strikes.

Certainly there is enough responsible leadership in industry and in the union movement on which to build a firm foundation for labor peace. It is time we got some responsible leadership in government so that we can get on with that job.

As just one example of where that job could begin, consider how woefully inefficient is our federal mediation and conciliation service. It stands aside, in deference to political maneuvering, until disputes have reached the boiling point.

Federal mediation has fallen into such disrepute in America that our people may have forgotten what mediation can do. Serious, dedicated mediation has found solutions to conflicting national interests; it has ended wars. Remember what Ralph Bunche did in mediating between the Arabs and the Jews. Surely no labor problem is as complex, as emotion-filled, as bitterly contested, as the problem he helped solve in bringing into being the new State of Israel. That is what mediation can do. Let us not lose that vision.

Surely we can apply such genuine effort and calm fair-mindedness to labor disputes. We can if we have men in government who are themselves calm and fair-minded.

Preventive medicine has worked wonders in preserving health. Preventive mediation could often anticipate the fever spots in our economy.

For those few disputes which are of national importance and which will survive intensive efforts at mediation—and of these there will be some—I stand with a great labor statesman. He was for voluntarism and against compulsion. I quote his words: "The workers of America adhere to voluntary institutions in preference to compulsory systems which are held to be not only impractical but a menace to their rights, welfare and liberty." Those were the words of the founder and far-sighted leader of the American Federation of Labor, Sam Gompers.

Certainly for this audience I do not have to spell out the fact that there is no quick cure for every labor dispute.

Nor is the dispensation of favors from high places the easy road to winning strikes once they have begun—as the steel workers recently learned.

Injunctions, seizures, and other such devices will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike. Where does the heavy hand of Government intervention push us? It pushes us into the waiting rooms of government officials far removed from the issue. You can guarantee that men so remote from the problem will know practically nothing about it.

Anyone who says he is against injunctions and for seizure as a remedy in national emergencies is talking out of both sides of his mouth. Seizure carries with it the power of injunction in emphatic form. The moment the government seizes the mines or the railroads the courts will grant an injunction against any strike because the strikers have, without their consent, become government employees.

After the railroads were seized, the government obtained one injunction after another against the railroad workers. Railroad workers will tell you as they have told me, that seizure can be a calamity for employees. The type of injunction authorized by seizure is completely unlimited both in time and in scope.

If, in a national emergency declared by Congress, the government does move into a strike situation to secure a resumption of operations, it must at the same time stimulate, not stifle, collective bargaining. There is no other way to attack the dispute which underlies the strike.

Again I say peace—either on the labor front or on the international front—cannot be legislated. It can be secured only when there is mutual respect, a will for peace, and responsible, humane leadership.

An industrial society dedicated to the largest possible measure of economic freedom must keep firm faith in collective bargaining. That process is the best method we have for changing and improving labor conditions and thus helping to raise the American standard of living.

Healthy collective bargaining requires responsible unions and responsible employers. Weak unions cannot be responsible. That alone is sufficient reason for having strong unions.

The contest between labor and industry cannot be abolished without abolishing economic freedom. The role of government is to serve as a referee. It is my hope that we will soon have an administration that will observe the rules of fair play.

Our most miserable failures with collective bargaining in the last 50 years have come when government has abandoned the role of impartial referee and become a participant in the contest. I suppose you men have been waiting for me to say something about the Taft-Hartley Act.—I will tell you exactly how I feel.

I believe that your own Executive Council has stated that it was prepared to take what it called a "realistic" view of amendments to the law. And that is my position, too. I give it to you simply and

zealously. I am in favor, not of repealing, but of amending, that law.

I will not support any amendment which weakens the rights of working men and women. In seeking desirable amendments, I will ask the advice and suggestions of all groups—public, management, and labor. And, gentlemen, I assure you that this invitation of mine will be genuine and in good faith. It will not be one of those empty theatrical gestures so often made in recent years. In my own mind I have complete confidence that this job of amending the law can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of your group will consider the results unreasonable. No such legislation must ever be regarded as final, and in considering amendments to labor legislation, one thing I promise—if I have any executive responsibility labor will have an equal voice with all others.

It is the American way to take what we have and constantly seek to make it better.

Here are some of the principles I think it is important we continue in law: the encouragement of collective bargaining; the right to strike; an advance notice before a strike is called; a requirement that both unions and employers live up to their contracts; the assurance that members of unions get a regular report on their organization's finances.

I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know how the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting, and neither do I. (Applause)

I also think that since patriotic American union leaders must swear that they are not Communists, then the employers with whom they deal should be subject to the same requirement. Ladies and gentlemen, let me explain my view in personal terms. I would not mind every morning swearing an oath of loyalty to the United States of America. I would be proud every night to give my sworn oath that I am not a Communist. But I would resent doing this, and I would resent it bitterly, if I were singled out to do it because I happened to be a veteran, or some one who lived in Kansas, or if I were a labor union official.

I want now to pay tribute to the magnificent work you have done in opposing Communism and Communist influences among working people in other countries. Our American labor organizations have been giving aid and support to their brothers who are fighting Communism where the fight is toughest. The whole free world is in their debt.

The fundamental problems of my recent tour of duty in Europe involved the combatting of Communism. I want publicly to acknowledge the valuable cooperation I got from the American Federation of Labor's representative, Mr. Irving Brown.

He was ably backed up by others, among them Mr. Woll. He is helping over there in the workshops, on the docks, in the mines and in the union halls—in all the places where the battle is the hardest.

We must never forget that American

labor has the strength to help its brothers overseas because our economic system here has enabled it to grow strong. The gains that American workers have made, and the gains they will make in the future, would be impossible without the free, expanding, productive system of American industry. He who is bold enough to ask us to take a substitute for our system strikes directly at the interest of labor. He is dangerous whether he presumes to speak in the name of a union, an ideology, or a political party.

How well you men of labor must know this to be true! Workers always and everywhere have been the chosen targets of the demagogue. How many twisted and ambitious schemers have dreamed of climbing to power on the backs of the workers of the world! They have had these dreams wherever the backs of men have been bowed by poverty and despair.

It is one of America's real marks of greatness that here a man from the ranks of labor is not set apart. He has no class label. We are not a closed society. We are a society of free men, free citizens. We are all—by hand or brain, with skill and strength—workers.

For this reason I resent those who address special slanted appeals to American labor. You are not to be set apart from the rest of your citizenry by special treatment of any kind—either stern or patronizing. To treat you as a special case is to deny the fullness of your dignity as American citizens.

I do not believe that the American worker will ask anything more than justice and fairness from his government.

My pledge to you is simply this: to the limit my judgment can discern, you will always get both justice and fairness from me. I repeat my promise of Labor Day. Moreover, take whatever political action your conscious dictates; I will always try to be a true friend of labor.

These simple ideals of justice and fairness for all are the strength of our whole way of life. They can, however, be imperiled by industrial strife. That strife, degenerating into class war, has destroyed freedom in other countries of the world.

To prevent that strife is one of the great challenges and great duties of government. To prevent it, however, means not just to mourn its outbreak but to attack its underlying causes. One menacing cause today is inflation. In the coming weeks, I shall have plenty to say about fighting this menace. By now, I think one fact should be clear to us all: the men who let that threat develop will not drive it away from the homes of the American worker. This ominous menace will not be dispelled by self-satisfied men who view the votes of American workers as safely in their pockets.

Gentlemen, I was humbly born. I believe I know well the elemental needs and rights of all working men and women. I know them too well to try to make political capital out of every man's concern over social security, housing, workmen's compensation, unemployment insur-

ance, or preserving the value of a savings account.

I have said before, ladies and gentlemen, and I say it again, these measures are the floor that we must put under every American citizen to prevent his falling into a pit of disaster that he did not make himself.

It is cheap and demeaning to try to convert these problems into ammunition for partisan spite or partisan gain. They are problems to whose solution must be pledged the intelligence and the integrity of all Americans of good will.

I bring you no prophecy of doom; neither do I promise Utopia. I do bring you a deep conviction that unlimited opportunities lie ahead for all of us. We are a young people and a young land. The building of America has only begun. We can build an America whose spirit of justice and good will can match our material endowments and the genius of our working men and women.

With God's help, we will do just that.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I thank you once more for the great honor you have done me in inviting me before you. I am grateful.

PRESIDENT GREEN: May I thank you, General, from the bottom of my heart for your official visit with us this morning and for your magnificent and splendid address which you delivered. The response of our delegates was evidence of the fact that they appreciate more than

words can express your visit to this hall this morning. We are grateful to you for coming, and I assure you that careful consideration will be given to every statement you made in your address.

GENERAL EISENHOWER: Thank you.

ESCORT COMMITTEE FOR GOVERNOR CALDWELL,

Federal Civil Defense Administrator

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to appoint a committee to escort Governor Caldwell, Federal Civil Defense Administrator, to the convention hall this afternoon: Brothers William C. Doherty, of the Letter Carriers; George Richardson, of the Fire Fighters; and C. W. Sickles, of the Asbestos Workers.

We have completed the work of this morning's session, and the convention stands adjourned now until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:10 o'clock, p.m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:00 o'clock, p.m.

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTIONS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce a change of assignment in the committees: Brother Irvin Kuenzli of the Teachers to the Committee on Education; Carl J. Megel of the Teachers to the Committee on Organization.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

The White House, Washington, D. C., Sept. 17, 1952—William Green, President, American Federation of Labor, Commodore Hotel:

This year, more than ever, I am happy to send my good wishes to the American Federation of Labor for a successful convention. One of the most heartening as-

pects of the American labor movement has been the increasing awareness on the part of labor of their responsibility to the public welfare. The AFL has been a helpful partner in the big task of building our industrial and military strength. You have been alert to the dangers of Communist aggression and you have been a strong supporter of our programs for peace. I am sure that you will continue to uphold the principles which have made your unions a strong and democratic force in American life.

With every good wish for you now and in the year ahead.

JOHN R. STEELMAN
Assistant to the President.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

Paducah, Kentucky
August 27, 1952

My dear Mr. Green:

I have received and appreciate your very gracious letter of August 15th in-

visiting me to address the Seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor in New York at some time during the Convention beginning September 15th.

While I have always enjoyed the privilege and the honor of addressing the American Federation of Labor at many of its gatherings in the past, I regret that my schedule and program for September will not permit me to accept your invitation and address its forthcoming meeting.

I wish for its deliberations the greatest success, and I hope you will convey my best wishes to the Convention and, through its delegates, to the American Federation of Labor throughout the country.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
ALBEN W. BARKLEY

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Secretary Schneider submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the credentials of Raymond B. Olivier, representing the Alexandria, Va., Central Labor Union, and recommends that the delegate be seated with 1 vote.

We recommend further the seating of the following delegates:

Miguel Garriga, representing the Utica, N. Y., Trades and Labor Assembly with 1 vote.

William Scott, representing the Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union, with 1 vote.

Redmond M. Burr, representing the Ann Arbor, Michigan, Washtenaw County Trades and Labor Council, with 1 vote.

Al Bookman, representing the Dairy Products, Fruit and Vegetable Packers and Repackers' Union No. 21888, New York, N. Y., with 1 vote.

In accordance with telegram received from President William D. Kent of the Flight Engineers' International Association, we recommend the seating of Sidney R. Carter with 9 votes to represent that organization.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SCHNEIDER: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the further partial report of the Credentials Committee.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We are tremendously happy that I am accorded the opportunity and pleasure and privilege to introduce to you a great American, a most impressive speaker, one who has made the trip to this convention for the purpose of bringing us an interesting message. I know all of you appreciate the

visit of our distinguished visitor, and after you have heard his address I know that you will be moved by a feeling of deep appreciation.

So now I want to introduce to you Governor Millard Caldwell, of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. Before he takes his place to speak I want to make the following statement:

The American Federation of Labor accepts its responsibility in the national effort to build a strong civil defense in this country. This is in our own best interests because millions of our members and their families work in the industries and live in the cities which will be the first target of an enemy attack.

We realize that if war comes, the enemy will actually be able to strike atomic blows against our industries and our skilled work force.

We know that in order to keep our production going when the attack comes, we must spend time and effort now in learning the lessons of civil defense for survival.

Labor must cooperate with the Civil Defense agencies of our Federal, State and City Governments. The American Federation of Labor is represented on the National Labor Advisory Committee of the Federal Civil Defense Administration. We are working with that agency in Washington on a national closed-circuit theatre television program in the near future—a program which will be transmitted directly to union leaders and representatives sitting in theatres of many of our major cities.

It will be up to our local leadership and labor councils to work with the civil defense officers in their communities on this as well as other important projects to strengthen ourselves at home.

Now I take great pleasure, as I repeat again, to introduce to you Governor Millard Caldwell, Federal Civil Defense Administrator.

MR. MILLARD CALDWELL

(Federal Civil Defense Administrator)

Thank you, Mr. President.

I should like to say to you that it is a great privilege to be here and to discuss with you one of the most important, essential problems confronting this country today. I emphasize the word "essential."

PROTECT OUR PEOPLE FIRST

"Protect Our People First" is the first thought of everyone concerned with homefront preparedness in America. This is the consensus of opinion of civil defense authorities and all elements of industry in the European countries where workers and industry were subjected to air attack in World War II. These people learned the hard way—from bitter experience.

Unless workers and civilian populations are protected against the dangers and terrors of atomic attack, national morale and the whole war effort could collapse.

President Truman in his message to the 18th National Labor Conference last December, said: "Our national purpose is to build adequate strength to discourage and prevent aggression . . . and we intend to go forward with it until world peace is assured. The success of this program depends primarily upon the skills of America's free workers—upon their adaptability, stamina, standards of living and work, their productivity and their safety."

Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin has insisted repeatedly that our supply of workers, particularly skilled workers, is a precious and indispensable element of our national strength. This element, he says, must be increased and protected at whatever the cost if we are to continue to stand as a bulwark against Communist aggression.

I can assure you that in all the work initiated by the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the prime importance of the protection and welfare of the civilian worker has been given utmost consideration. I can assure you also, that in the councils of the national defense of which civil defense is a major part, there is this same regard for the protection of all of our people.

None of our intensive studies have offered evidence to alter the conclusion that, as vitally important as our industrial facilities are, they are far more easily replaceable than are the trained workers who man them.

Let me say also, that nothing has happened in recent months to alter the conviction of the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that there remains the danger of another great world conflict.

If it comes, there is probability that it will not be known as World War III, but given a more descriptive name, because for the first time in our history, the primary target of enemy attack will not be our armed forces but the people behind the lines on the homefront—the civilian workers, the families of these workers, and the whole of our civilian population.

There are certain other facts and figures which have not changed since the American Federation of Labor met in convention a year ago:

Over half of our population remains concentrated in some sixty critical target areas, a fact as well known to our enemies as to ourselves. Most of these attractive

targets are in the industrial rectangle cornered by Boston, Richmond, St. Louis and Minneapolis. Other concentrations are on the West Coast and in the Gulf area.

One of our typical critical target cities—Cleveland produces 90 percent of all jet engine turbine blades, 100 percent of all crankshafts for submarine diesel engines, and more than 50 percent of all the aluminum and magnesium forgings used in this country.

It is the nation's largest producer of electric welding equipment, the second largest producer of machine tools, the largest producer of gray-iron castings in the world, produces 400 million tons of steel per year, and is the center of production for jigs, fixtures and dies on which our war industries depend.

Cleveland gets 30 cents of every dollar of cost spent on automobile and truck parts, controls 80 percent of the tonnage on the Great Lakes from offices located close together in five downtown office buildings, and ships out more than 40 thousand freight cars of perishables a year.

When the 1950 census was taken, this critical target city had a total population of 914,808 persons. Of these, 706,800 were 14 years of age or over, and the actual count of the total labor force was 406,600 workers, of whom 127,500 were women. It is reasonable to assume that both the total population and total labor force have increased as of today.

If this one city should be blasted, the resultant damage and slow-up to our industrial economy and military defense efforts would be staggering. Without Civil Defense, it could be catastrophic.

Commenting on the seriousness of the situation, Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Acting Chief of Staff of the Air Force, said recently: "Our intelligence people estimate that the Russians can launch today more than 400 TU-4s carrying enough atom and conventional type bombs to hit all of our major metropolitan industrial target areas."

In modern war the enemy will try first to smash our source of supplies. To build up our military defense and neglect our civil defense, is to gamble with the safety of the nation, and to actually invite enemy attack. Soviet leaders could decide to risk an all-out atomic attack on a yet unprepared America, accomplishing the double purpose of knocking out our ability to retaliate and effectively depriving the Western European forces of their major source of armaments.

The AF of L has given the Federal Civil Defense Administration sound cooperation and support during the past year but much more is needed.

The AF of L has 5 representatives on the FCDA's Labor Advisory Committee, which advises us on problems concerning the protection of workers in the event of an enemy attack and on the participation of union workers in the national civil defense program.

This five-man AF of L representation is headed by your President William Green. It includes an old friend, William C. Doherty, Vice-President of AF of L and

President of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. G. Flinn, Grand Lodge Representative, International Association of Machinists; George J. Richardson, Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Fire Fighters, who was appointed by the President to serve on our National Advisory Council; and C. W. Sickles, Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers.

Recently your AF of L News-Reporter carried 10 reminders on how unions can help civil defense. They are worth repeating: "Support civil defense effort—offer facilities; appoint Committees; sponsor discussion groups; train and make speakers available; encourage theater managers to exhibit CD movies; duplicate and distribute CD 'Alert Cards'; sponsor essay contests in public and parochial schools—give prizes—subject: 'Why We Must Have Civil Defense'; publicize in local press 'before' and 'after' stories of every CD activity; have organization purchase and give to city some piece of equipment needed in CD program—anything from siren to radio transmitter (short wave) or ambulance."

Here are a few highlights of current CD progress:

1. Individuals Enrolled

More than three million American people have enrolled in civil defense. Training is underway. These volunteers believe in civil defense and are willing to make personal sacrifices for it.

2. Organization

Every state, territory and hundreds of cities, large and small, have designated civil defense directors and are developing operating civil defense organizations. All states but one and all territories have civil defense legislation. The one exception is operating under an executive order.

3. Public Knowledge

Eighty-seven percent of the people in our major cities know a few of the simple things that must be done to protect themselves under atomic attack. This knowledge is the result of information given them through newspapers, radio, television, magazines, advertising and other media, and public service activities by industry and organizations like yours. Stimulating this has been the circulation by cities and states of over 50 million copies of nine official civil defense public education booklets and leaflets, primarily at local or private expense.

We estimate that 26 million students have learned something about civil defense in the schools. Nearly one million civil defense articles, stories and items have appeared in the press and periodicals, and over 7,000 hours of broadcast time have been contributed to civil defense by radio and television.

The knowledge gained by the public in civil defense self-protection in the past year would save thousands of lives if Russian bombs were dropped today on cities. What's more, virtually all of what

people are doing about self-protection in wartime will also save lives in peacetime

4. Technical Information

Over 2,600,000 copies of 25 administrative guides and manuals have been prepared and distributed by FCDA for the technical guidance of state and local civil defense organizations.

5. Federal Training

Over 3,000 civil defense personnel from every state and territory have attended the Federal Civil Defense Staff College and three technical schools which were authorized by the Congress in Public Law 920. Some 200 cities have been represented in attendance at the regular courses of these schools. Many students came from labor, civic and industrial organizations, and the key agencies of Government. Seventeen civil defense officials have attended from Canada and four from England.

6. Standards

We have set the basic standards and job specifications for personnel and materials needed in civil defense. We have determined requirements both in manpower and equipment for the basic phases of civil defense operations.

We know what is needed and in what quantity, how it can be acquired and at what cost. In other words, we know our goals. We know how to reach them through plans coordinated with the military and other Federal agencies, with the States and with their subdivisions.

7. Attack Warning

The attack warning system can now send an air-raid alert from USAF air defense control centers to 174 key point stations throughout the country in less than two minutes.

8. Contributions Programs

A total of \$32,750,000 was allowed by the Congress for six programs in which the federal government and the states match funds. For medical supplies, FCDA has \$20,000,000; for training and education, \$5,000,000; for attack warning, \$3,000,000; for communications, \$1,500,000; for firefighting, \$2,250,000; and for rescue, \$1,000,000. Each program with the exception of a portion on medical supplies has been fully matched by the states and political subdivisions and the federal portions have been obligated.

9. Federal Reserve Stocks

\$50,000,000 was voted by the Congress for FCDA stockpiling of medical supplies and equipment and \$6,000,000 for stockpiling engineering supplies. To this was added a balance of nearly \$8,000,000 from the medical matching program. To date \$63,000,000 in purchase authorizations have been issued by FCDA for these supplies which will be stocked in federal warehouses, so located as to serve several critical target areas at the same time. All civil defense procurement is coordinated with other government purchasing. This

has prevented competition for scarce items and has resulted in substantial savings.

10. Appropriations

States and cities have appropriated 183 million dollars for civil defense. This is 75 million dollars more than the federal appropriation to date.

11. Federal Agencies

Substantial progress has been made by FCDA in the coordination of its activities with those of other federal agencies. This is in keeping with the directive of congress to make maximum use of existing facilities and to avoid duplication. The aim here is to insure the continuity of essential functions of government in case of attack.

These highlights are only a part of the sound national progress in civil defense. We have moved ahead toward a state of readiness at federal, state and local levels. But much remains to be done before we have real civil defense preparedness.

So it is that along with our praise for what A. F. of L. has done we must add our plea for redoubled efforts by all hands. Your membership should join in a vigorous program to see that there is no facet of homefront preparedness uncovered. A great many A. F. of L. workers have registered for volunteer civil defense service. I hope a great many more will register during the forthcoming civil defense registration campaign.

A thought I would like to leave with you is that an effective civil defense program is a strong force for peace.

There is no inconsistency in this statement. And, it is not based on the fact that civil defense has already in its short life proved itself an invaluable life and property saver in peacetime disasters such as floods, storms, fires, and earthquakes.

The objective of our foreign policy is to do away with war. We are striving to build up our defenses to the point where they will be so strong that no potential enemy will dare test them.

A strong civil defense is a major part of this deterrent program. Civil defense, then, like a strong armed force, is not just a shield but a sword. It can actually help hold the enemy at bay. If the enemy knows that he can demoralize us by an all-out attack on the homefront; if he knows we are not prepared for it; if he knows that our civil defense is ill-manned, ill-trained, ill-equipped, then we're giving him the kind of odds he likes. We're making it possible for him to attack us on the homefront when, from his point of view, it would be neither stupid nor criminal.

But if the enemy knows that millions of Americans are ready to move to action when attack comes; if he knows that we have thousands of rescue squads and tens of thousands of wardens and millions of Americans trained in first-aid; if he knows we have stockpiles of medical supplies and emergency equipment so that we can save many American lives that might otherwise be lost, then the enemy will think twice before launching an attack. According to Lenin himself, an attack under such conditions would be

both stupidity and a crime. A strong civil defense stands side by side with our armed forces as a deterrent to attack and thus helps serve the cause of peace in the world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank our friend very sincerely for his splendid address and for his visit with us this afternoon. It will be a part of our record and it will be decidedly interesting.

Now I am going to call upon one of our capable representatives who has been in Europe for quite a long while as a representative of the American Federation of Labor. He is now known very widely and very extensively in Europe. He has rendered most excellent and valuable service to the cause of labor, and particularly the cause of the American Federation of Labor. You know him, you all know him. His name is Irving Brown, and I take great pleasure in presenting him to you at this time for an address.

MR. IRVING BROWN

(European Representative, American Federation of Labor)

President Green, officers and delegates to the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The general or overall situation of Europe today can be best described as having passed from the 1950 stage of war fear and hysteria to the present almost dangerous state of calm. Relaxation has set in permitting a kind of "luxury thinking" which includes demands for a reduction of the rearmament tempo, a trend towards neutralism and appeasement, and an almost pathological recoiling from any allied program of the initiative based on the ideological offensive towards the Soviet Union.

The fear of an immediate outbreak of war has practically disappeared ever since it became clear that the Korean conflict would remain localized. Europeans now begin to believe that war will not come in the near future and perhaps never. This belief is due to two factors: 1) the absence of any fear of further Soviet aggression and 2) the increased strengthening of western defenses, especially the build up of American military forces on the continent of Europe.

But this retreat from fear does not mean that confidence reigns in Europe today. Defeatism is still a prevalent characteristic in such countries as France and Italy, where people do not believe in their ability or capacity to resist successfully aggression from the East. Rather, there is a kind of luxury type thinking and activity which develops in direct proportion to the increasing military strength of the West.

The sense of urgency about any problem whether political, economic or military is rather low. In the words of the LONDON OBSERVER: "Everybody is now smugly persuading himself that the danger of war has receded and that it is, therefore, possible to go to sleep again. There will be a harsh awakening."

The "harsh awakening" is now being prepared in the city of Moscow where preliminaries are now under way for the Soviet Communist Party Congress to be held on October 5th—the first since 1939. From all indications the calling of such a Congress may lay the basis for new acts of Soviet aggression and for the further toughening of the Soviet-Cominform line throughout the world. In spite of all the sweet and deceptive words of the Communist Party and its stooges, it seems to be clear that this Soviet Congress will confirm in practice that Soviet policy excludes any co-existence with the democratic and non-Communist world. The consequence of this Soviet line will present grave dangers not only to the governments of the democracies but first and foremost to the free trade unions.

This atmosphere of neutralism and appeasement is breeding new so-called "peace" movements. The latter defend peace in the abstract and denounce aggression in general but fail to pinpoint who and what is threatening peace and omit mentioning concretely and specifically the specific acts of Soviet aggression as in Korea. We should beware of any movement which doesn't denounce the system of totalitarianism and slave labor in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe as the main and primary danger to peace in the world. War will not come merely because of an armament race. It will come as long as the dictatorships, unresponsive to the will of the people, remain armed to the teeth while the democracies, responsive to the will of the people, remain weak and disarmed. That was the lesson of 1939 with Mr. Hitler and that is the fundamental fact in 1952 with Mr. Stalin and his reactionary regime of dictatorship and aggression.

While the political and psychological moods of Europeans border on the edge of induced sleep, the economic situation of Europe is one of relative, temporary stability in which American economic aid still plays and must continue to play a vital and essential role. Any cessation or substantial reduction in American economic assistance would create havoc in the European economy and would result in a serious decline in the workers' standards of living. It is extremely doubtful that the French, Italian or German political systems could survive such a blow. For, quite apart from short range considerations, the basic economic dilemma remains unresolved since the dollar gap continues and the stability of western European economy is maintained by what amounts to a form of American subsidy. The economy of Europe, more or less permanently divided, cannot exist without outside support if the present standards of living are to be maintained and the present minimum defense needs are to be met. In the words of one

political leader of Europe: "American aid has stabilized chaos."

The seriousness of this economic state of affairs is further heightened in view of reports which forecast:

- a) Europe's production rate would level off;
- b) The payments situation would worsen because foreign trade would shrink;
- c) Foreign demand for European manufactured goods would decline;
- d) There would be an increase in unemployment in Holland, Belgium, Italy and Denmark;
- e) The volume of United States exports would decline as would American imports of raw materials.

Although everyone concedes the necessity of increasing production in western Europe it must be reported that the official M.S.A. campaign for productivity is not only far from a success but is a danger as long as increased production in European nations is not accompanied by an expansion of mass purchasing power through: 1) a reform of the system of taxation, especially in France and Italy. 2) a reform of the evil restraining practices of both private and public business. 3) the expansion of markets through greater economic equity which would bring about an increase in mass purchasing power or the development of new markets. 4) the creation of a united European economy.

In other words, no fundamental economic problems have been and will not be resolved as long as the question of a European or Atlantic community of economic policy has made little or no progress. The European agreements such as the Schuman Plan and the European Defense Community have been making progress—at least on paper. However, there is still no assurance that these plans will or can succeed or that the agreements signed correspond to the real situation within the borders of each of the signatory nations.

While this shaky economic and political structure of western Europe is slowly attempting to recover, the Communists have suffered major defeats, especially in France but remain an ever present and potential danger due primarily to (1) the existence of Soviet power on the continent accompanied by a threatening aggressive foreign and military policy, and (2) the maintenance of hard core Communist Party organizations especially in France and Italy but even in other European countries where small strategically placed Communist cells can always threaten.

Although all Soviet efforts to crush Berlin have failed, the situation remains serious. The Russians have been engaged for some time in a whole series of moves to seal off completely the eastern zone and increase the Soviet zone's state of militarization. At the same time, new steps have been taken to isolate their sector of Berlin, the aim of which may be a new blockade. Berlin thus remains the one point in Europe where enough actual and potential friction remains so that

anything could happen to disturb the peace of the world.

But the real danger spot in the world today is shifting to the middle East where the failure of western policy is most clearly seen in North Africa, Iran and Egypt. French and British policies in these areas no longer correspond with the reality of events. America's support — either conscious or unconscious — of present British and French policies will be fatal. America must cease dealing through middle men with these nationalist governments and movements. Direct American relations with this part of the world based on a conscious desire to have allies amongst the nationalist masses is indispensable. Otherwise, the Middle East, and therefore, perhaps the whole Moslem-Arab world will go the way of China.

Against this background of conflict and latent threats to peace and freedom, a latent survey of some of the key areas in Europe and the Middle East will help fill in some of the details as to the international situation today.

In western Europe the three decisive countries are France, Italy, and Germany where *Communism has been checked but not defeated*. These three nations actually embracing almost 150 million people constitute what we normally refer to as the European problem. France is the pivot or the geographical center around which most plans for western European political and military unity revolve. Germany with its great industrial Ruhr and an extremely skilled working class is the great industrial heartland of Europe. Italy is the strategic boot jutting out into the sea and one of the key countries for the entire Mediterranean world. A report on these three countries enables one to understand some of the major problems facing the democratic world in the struggle for survival and the defense of freedom.

In France during the last six months developments were marked by three different attempts of the Communist Party through the C.G.T. to precipitate the French workers into mass political action in accordance with Cominform orders. The calls for strike action as a general demonstration occurred on February 12th (to commemorate the anti-Fascist struggle of the 1934 popular front period) and on May 28th and June 4th (against Ridgway and then for the liberation of the C. P. leader Duclos.) The February 12th affair was a more or less peaceful affair while the demonstrations of May 28th and June 4th were characterized by their violent nature and a form of "commando" operations. All three attempts failed demonstrating the validity of what I have reported for over two years that the Communist Party is incapable of getting the masses to follow either its political or economic instructions.

Neither is any other trade union or political group able to galvanize the masses into action for their program or even for any specific, determined objectives. The masses are indifferent, cynical

and in a state of inertia. The 1947 and 1948 strikes were the high point of mass action and ever since there has been a decline in the combativity of the French workers who are tired, exhausted and disgusted with the state of trade unionism and political life. This is reflected in:

- 1) Decline of trade union membership (there are no more than 2,500,000 workers who are paying trade union dues in France today as contrasted to about 7,500,000 in 1945-6).
- 2) Although continuing to lose votes, the C.G.T. remains a majority organization in basic industries whenever voting takes place, but unable to get these self-same workers who vote C.G.T. to follow C.G.T. orders to strike.
- 3) Abstentionism has increased in the trade union vote (although to a lesser degree than in the political vote) plus a slight tendency towards "independence" and "autonomy".
- 4) Non-Communist unions have made slight gains at expense of the C.G.T. in the postal, telephone, telegraph, the railroads, mines, metal, public service, gas and electricity.
 - a) Force Ouvriere has made significant progress in P.T.T., mines, gas and electricity, public services and printers while the record in metals is becoming better, but in railroads they have barely held their own.
 - b) Christians have gained significantly in railroads and in the Paris region of metal industry.
 - c) Independents have shown strength in Parisian metal regions and in ports, especially Marseilles.
 - d) Autonomist groups — unaffiliated to any national centers — are still exceptionally strong amongst teachers, bargemen (inland water transport union).
- 5) C.P. losses amongst workers are not commensurate with the tremendous defeat suffered by the C.G.T. in recent attempted strike actions.

This is still due to the fact that

- a) Workers do not regard other organizations as a worthwhile alternative, since C.G.T. still is considered the "most left" and most anti-government.
- b) C.G.T. still remains for workers the best club to threaten both Government and employers into granting their demands.
- c) Failure of non-Communists to unite into a single trade union force leaves workers with no single attractive alternative and workers are too tired to choose between 5 or 6 different non-Communist trade union centers plus the autonomist unions in various crafts and industries.

- d) The action against the C.G.T. still appears a police versus C.G.T. or C.P. operation which permits the C.P. to continue to exploit the revolutionary ideology of the French workers; not until the workers can see something similar to what occurred in the Renault auto factory, where workers opposed the C.P. will there be a change.
- e) In many areas, C.G.T. leaders manage to ignore going too far overboard on C.P. political orders or camouflage cleverly their political actions by retaining some trade union cover as, for example, in the printers, some ports and outside of Paris in most of the provinces.

On the political side, the Pinay government has enjoyed for several months a relative degree of stability which even led to a split away of 30 deputies from the De Gaulle movement. However, in recent weeks, new difficulties are arising. The franc is falling again. Prices of foodstuffs are mounting. The recent nationwide loan was not a great success. Differences are also beginning to reappear amongst and within the non-Communist parties. It is expected that by October a new crisis will lead to the fall of the Pinay government. At the same time, the entire situation is complicated by the hue and cry of the failure of American off-shore military procurement to live up to expectations. The French are saying that unless additional orders come from the States it will be necessary to either cut the defense budget or seek additional revenue which might cut into social programs. The defense set-up itself is not too brilliant as France struggles to meet its quota of 15 divisions in Europe at the end of this year. It is an amazing thing to see how France has to struggle to reach a goal of 15 army divisions in Europe for 1953 when in 1939 this same country had over 100 divisions mobilized.

While France continues to survive, Germany once again is becoming the industrial power house of Europe. Soviet moves since last March underscore the desire of Stalin to deny this economic prize to the West. The Allies have shown little political initiative and have almost gotten themselves in a position of appearing to oppose national unity. Having overplayed their hand on Western European integration and NATO, the Allies have maneuvered themselves into the anomalous position of rejecting one of the Soviet notes on the basis of Germany's right to integrate itself into European Defense Community and NATO but at the same time actually refusing to allow the Bonn Republic to a part of NATO.

The contractual agreement with Germany comes late and falls short of complete sovereignty and independence. To most Germans—including the workers—American and allied policy appear to result not from conviction or a willing initiative but rather from a spirit of un-

willing concessions dictated by the needs of the cold war with the U.S.S.R.

German Socialist and labor forces still refuse to go along on rearmament and related issues due to this internal opposition to Adenauer, but also primarily because of their demand for settlement of all political questions of equality and sovereignty for Germany, the pushing for free elections and German unity.

As distinct from France, German labor unions are directed by non-Communists. This asset could be one of the greatest guarantees of political and economic stability in Germany just as the reverse has been the case in France. In addition, the Socialist Party of Germany has a solid workers' base as contrasted to the democratic Socialist Parties in France and Italy. These assets on the left have been somewhat wasted by the failure of American policy to take the ideological initiative and offensive vis-a-vis the Soviets and the failure of American diplomats to realize that the Socialist trade union forces of Germany are the most permanent and solid bulwark against Communist and Soviet tentatives. And that Kurt Schumacher, deceased leader of the Socialist Party, was one man in Germany who understood profoundly that there is no such thing as a German or European problem which is not related to, dominated and overshadowed by the Soviet problem. The inability of American officials to understand these basic facts of life about the German Socialist Party accounts in large measure for the ability of the Soviets to remain a threat in Germany. This is true even though Stalin has committed error after error thus preventing any German Communist successes. By the same token these Stalin blunders have permitted democratic forces to survive thus keeping aloft the hope of an eventual democratic Germany.

As for C.P. policy in Germany, the explanation is to be found in the March 1952 Soviet note to the Allies. The Soviet proposition lays the basis for the German C.P. program along the following lines:

1. A unified Germany,
2. Rearmed Germany with a national army,
3. Opposition to any integration of Germany into the European Defense Community,
4. All-out campaign against Adenauer and the West while pursuing a nationalist, popular front line vis-a-vis the Socialists and the nationalists.

Recent communal and provincial elections in Italy demonstrate the continuing, if not growing, strength of the totalitarian forces. Even though most of the elections took place in the South, an area known for its opposition to Communism, the Communists and their allies maintained or slightly improved their position. On the other end of the political yardstick, the fascists and monarchists made tremendous gains. The democratic forces—Christian and Socialists—have lost votes. Thus the

trend away from a clear-cut Christian majority endangers the continuation of political stability in Italy. The national elections which occur next year will become a great test. If the present electoral trend shall continue, the democratic forces will be in the very difficult and uncomfortable minority position of fighting both Fascism and Communism. If there should be any kind of limited united action between the Fascists and the Communists then Italy shall face chaos. The effects of such a development would not be just confined to the borders of Italy but would have serious repercussions on all western plans in the Mediterranean and in Western Europe.

The trade union situation in Italy still remains critical as the Communist-controlled C.G.I.L. retains a majority of the organized workers. As in France, however, the C.P. can no longer lead the masses into any general strike action. The recent attempted railroad strike by the C.P. failed because of the refusal of the non-Communist unions to go along. The leading non-Communist trade union federation, C.I.S.I.L., has been in fact making slow but sure progress. Especially in the metal industry and in the ports and docks, the C.P. decline has been steady and the increase in C.I.S.I.L. strength has been growing. This has been achieved against tremendous odds which include not only the C.P. obstacle but the incomprehension and evil practices of both the employers and the government in the field of labor relationships. If one adds the continuing difficult economic situation and the mass unemployment then the almost impossible problem before the Italian movement can be seen in its proper perspective and focus.

In Southeastern Europe, the free world's defenses contrast most favorably with Western Europe's shaky structure. Here we have an armed bastion built on the unshakable national pride of the people in Greece and Turkey where there are more armed divisions on foot than Western Europe has on paper. Considering the proportion of American aid given to these countries as compared to that granted to Western Europe, the practical results are far more encouraging.

The Greek situation, however, has become complicated once again due to political and economic difficulties. The C.P., reappearing in a new form, has begun to reinfiltate and penetrate the political and trade union life of the country. Benefiting from the amnesty policy of the government, returning Communists released from the jails and prison camps have once again begun to re-establish cells and perfect their organizations so that they can exploit the low economic standards of the workers and get back into leading positions in a number of unions. At the same time, the present Plastiras Party (EPEK) which is in power is honeycombed and surrounded with C.P.'ers and all sorts of fellow-travelers who are actually intervening openly in the trade unions against the present non-Communist leadership. When this un-

holy conspiracy of certain government leaders and C.P. stooges is combined with the growing unemployment and the declining aid from the United States, the position of the democratic world is greatly weakened in an area which is right up against the Iron Curtain. The free trade unionists are put into an impossible position when they must fight the Communists who are aided and abetted by the government representatives and at the same time have to contend with the poverty and misery existing amongst the masses of people. This weakening of the position and the authority of the non-Communist trade union leadership will undermine the strong military position of Greece in the NATO.

On the other hand, Turkey is becoming more and more the shining star in the NATO constellation. With their twenty divisions on foot and their great record in Korea, the Turks are a cocky, proud and tough nation of fighters. But this military reputation is now being matched in the economic and social spheres as the industrialization of the country proceeds apace—supported and nourished by American economic aid which has enabled Turkey to become this year a food exporting nation to the tune of 2,000,000 tons of wheat. Everywhere one goes in this nation whose borders extend for miles along the Soviet frontier, one can see the tremendous economic progress under way.

This economic and military progress is now being paralleled by the development of a trade union organization which in spite of all its elementary beginnings is going to play a great role in the life of the nation. Only a few days ago, I left the port City of Izmir where the foundation congress of the Turkish Federation of Labor was held. This is the first time in the history of Turkey that a national trade union federation exists. Its significance cannot be underestimated since it means that, contrasted with other parts of the Middle East, Turkey will have:

- 1) A democratic, non-Communist trade union leadership coming from the workshops of the nation.
- 2) A trade union movement to defend the economic and social interests of the workers, permitting labor to participate in the humanization of the industrialization process now under way.
- 3) A labor movement which can help in the strengthening of the free trade union and democratic nationalist movement in the Middle East where an unholy combination of Communists and extreme fanatic nationalists is threatening the independence and freedom of the underdeveloped areas.

For these reasons, the entire free world is further strengthened in an area which is continually balanced on the precipice between the world of democracies and that of the totalitarian powers.

In the great Moslem-Arab areas of the Middle East and North Africa, the strug-

gle for national liberation and sovereignty is predominant. This part of the world has become more and more critical as demonstrated most recently by events in Tunisia, Egypt and Iran. And if no change of French foreign policy is forthcoming, the crisis will soon be extended to French Morocco where the present calm is merely the forerunner of new, gathering storms of conflict. The developments in Egypt and Iran reveal how the Soviets are exploiting extremist fanatical nationalism, especially when Allied foreign policy fails to accept and deal with the phenomenon of rising nationalism. Unless the democracies can find a way to work with the non-Communist nationalists in the Arab world, then the unholy alliance of the two fanatical extremists—Communism and the Moslem Brotherhood—will unite to drive out the common enemy. In Iran, the Tudeh Party is in the hands of such a combination. In Egypt, the Communists have successfully penetrated the mass labor movements in textile, maritime, ports and docks, etc. Only in Tunisia and Morocco are the mass movements still in the hands of the non-Communist, democratic nationalists who are and want to remain our allies. French policy, as dictated by its colonialists and contrary to the 1950 declaration of Schuman, French Foreign Minister, is driving these friends of ours into the hands of the fanatical extremists (Communist and Nationalist). In Morocco we have a situation where the French government by refusing to allow the natives to form their own trade unions has forced the Moroccans into the Communist C.G.T. which is free to exist. At the same time, America is building air bases and paying exploitation wages as directed and controlled by the French administration in North Africa. Not until Allied policy changes in North Africa will there be any chance of improving the Middle Eastern situation which remains the most dangerous exposed and threatening area for the democratic world. And there can be a change. The work of the American Federation of Labor in these areas proves that there are millions of potential allies. However, the policies of the Western powers, especially the United States, must so change that we recognize and accept the fact that the nationalist struggle predominates. This is the only way for this critical area of the Moslem world to become a willing, functioning ally of the democratic world rather than an unwilling tool of Soviet imperialism.

While our troubles continue and multiply, Mr. Stalin's headaches in Eastern Europe continue. Mass unrest and mass purges still plague the Bolshevik attempt to integrate completely the satellites into the economic, political and military orbit of the Soviet Union. The stresses and strains in Eastern Europe are not being fully exploited by Allied foreign policy which thus permits Stalin to overcome his difficulties and consolidate his regime in Eastern Europe. In Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Roumania, a conscious American foreign policy directed towards exploiting the differences, both within and between Communists and

Stalin is one of the best guarantees to prevent World War III. Before Stalin succeeds in consolidating his regime and in exterminating all resistance, the West must begin to formulate its political program for the freeing of the satellite nations from Stalinist control. This hope of liberation which we are ostensibly dedicated to keep alive through such media as Voice of America and Radio Free Europe must find its echo in our program for a settlement of the European situation, which must include Eastern Europe as part and parcel of our eventual political demands once we reach the point where we can negotiate from strength with Mr. Stalin or any of his successors.

In the light of what I have attempted to report here today and the problems before the democratic world, I believe America and the democratic world must go forward with a dynamic program which can embrace in part some of the following recommendations:

1. A united European economy plus basic reforms in the tax system and the elimination of restrictive private and public business practices are indispensable to an expanding European market which is the only guarantee that the M.S.A. increased program will not result in unemployment and greater inequality in the national income.
2. Piecemeal American aid—laded out every year—must be replaced by a greater long-term program which can permit the Europeans to plan ahead for several years as a means of tackling the fundamental problems now plaguing the European economy.
3. The American import program must be revised so that Europeans can begin to redress their unfavorable balance of trade with America and thus reduce the dollar gap.
4. Concerning the German situation, our policy should be directed towards,
 - a) Complete equality and sovereignty for the German nation.
 - b) Acceptance of Germany into NATO.
 - c) Active pushing for a united election based on free elections with proper international supervision.
5. A settlement not only of Germany must be sought for but a wider demand for a European settlement should include the holding of free elections, under international supervisions and the evacuation of all foreign troops from Eastern Europe, as indispensable to any fundamental permanent peace arrangements.
6. Our aid program to Greece must be re-examined and revised upward so that the splendid defensive efforts of that nation will not be reduced and the economy not further im-

paired. At the same time, warning should be served on the present government to cease their interference in the trade union situation to the detriment of the non-Communist leadership.

7. Turkey's splendid military and economic program should be further implemented by the participation of the newly founded Turkish Federation of Labor in the decisive agencies directing and controlling the application of American economic aid as well as in the general economic and social life of the nation.
8. America must intervene in the Middle East so as to deal directly and openly with the nationalist movements and governments looking towards an alliance with independent and sovereign nations.
9. In Morocco, the French should at least grant to the Arabs the right to organize their own free unions and thus enable them to withdraw from the C.P.-controlled trade union federation.
10. America must begin to realize that economic aid is not enough in this world-wide struggle of ideological ideas. Along with our economic aid and Point Four programs must go an ideological offensive based on a Point Four Program of Ideas which blasts the myth of the U.S.S.R. as being "left" or a "revolutionary force" and exposes the Stalinist regime as the most reactionary force in the world today.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know that we appreciate the splendid address delivered by Brother Brown. It contains a fund of information, and we will read it in today's proceedings and become better acquainted with the European situation as a result.

Now the Chair is going to call upon Brother Nelson Cruikshank, who represents labor in a very important government position. We know that for some time he served as our labor representative in Paris and did excellent work while there. He has measured up to a high standard of excellency in Washington. I am very glad and very happy to present Nelson Cruikshank for his report.

MR. NELSON CRUIKSHANK
(Labor Adviser, Mutual Security Agency)

I appreciate greatly the opportunity extended to me by President William

Green to report to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor on the part that this great organization is being asked to play in one of the significant foreign relations programs of our Government. Last year I reported to you on European labor activities of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Since that time, ECA has been replaced by the Mutual Security Agency, and I have been transferred from my post in Paris back to Washington, where I now serve as the A. F. of L. Labor Adviser to the new Agency.

It is the responsibility of the two Labor Advisers in the Washington office of our Agency to give counsel on all phases of our mutual security program which impinge upon or involve the interests of labor here and abroad. That labor interest includes particularly the countries of Europe and Southeast Asia which are participating in a mutual effort to develop the military strength and the economic and political stability necessary to enable the community of free nations to withstand the world-wide threat of Communist aggression. As the one nominated for this post by the American Federation of Labor, I deem it to be my primary responsibility to channel the vast experience and wisdom of this great labor federation so that it may be effectively brought to bear on the development of programs and policies of the Mutual Security Agency.

At the outset I wish to express my appreciation to the officers of the American Federation of Labor who have given their counsel and support to this endeavor. It is not as an individual, but as a channel for the policies on international affairs that are hammered out in the halls of the American trade union movement that I can be in any way effective. I believe in the program and policies on international matters which have been developed within and adopted by the American Federation of Labor, and so I honestly believe that in pressing for their implementation within the Agency in which I now serve I am serving the best interests of my country.

This is not to say that in all respects our policies are always put into effective operation or that our point of view always prevails. I would not be honest with you if I claimed this to be the case. But I can say that the viewpoint of labor, along with that of industry, agriculture and other segments of American society, is always taken into consideration, and we participate in the development of the various programs.

The program of foreign aid is now more than 4 years old. While it has gone through various phases, it has had one continuing purpose—that of maintaining freedom in a world where freedom and the rights of individuals are threatened by the menace of Communism. The Mutual Security Act is recognition of the fact that the American people now realize that any threat to the freedom of any people, anywhere, is a threat to their own freedom and secur-

ity. In a very real sense, therefore, there is no program of "foreign aid". In this world there can be only mutual assistance or universal disaster.

Looking back over the 7 years since the end of the second World War, we can see that the present struggle against dictatorship and totalitarianism falls roughly into 3 major and overlapping periods. The first was the period of chaos of 1945 to 1948. There followed the Marshall Plan period of 1948 through 1951. The third period, one of developing a common defense system, began soon after the invasion of South Korea.

During the first period, Communism was clearly on the ascendancy. It was fattening on the devastation and widespread want, both in Europe and in Asia. In Europe, most of the important means of production had been destroyed by war. The armed forces of Western Europe were dispersed, and the United States in a wave of premature optimism had demobilized the greatest army in history. Only the armed might of the Soviet Union remained at battle strength. During this period, also, the Communists came close to gaining complete control over the labor organizations of Western Europe and succeeded in establishing a false world labor front called the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The peoples of the free world, both in America and Europe, rose to the challenge of this threat. This began the second phase. America provided leadership and finances through the Marshall Plan, but the free European countries also responded on their own initiative—a fact which we, in rightful pride of the part we played, are sometimes wont to forget.

Since the first adoption of the Marshall Plan by Congress in 1948, a total of 11 and one-half billion dollars have been invested in the rehabilitation and rebuilding of free Europe. What has this vast expenditure accomplished? By the end of 1951, when the Marshall Plan officially went out of business, industrial production throughout Western Europe had increased 64 per cent above 1947—41 per cent above pre-war. In less than 4 years, steel production had nearly doubled. Coal production, although still slightly below pre-war, had increased 47 per cent above 1947. Food production had risen 24 per cent above 1947, and 9 per cent above the pre-war levels. Production of such crucial materials as aluminum, copper and cement had been expanded by 69 per cent, 31 per cent and 90 per cent respectively over 1947 levels.

The aid extended by America was not confined to material items. In 1949, President Truman made his famous Point Four in his Inaugural Address, which called for the sharing of our technical knowledge and industrial know-how with the underdeveloped countries of the world. A modest but vitally important program is now underway to show the peoples of these areas how best to make use of their natural and human resources. This goes hand-in-hand with the efforts conducted under the Marshall Plan and continuing under the mu-

tual security program for Western Europe under which, during 1951, more than 7,000 visitors were brought to the United States. Many of them were trade unionists. These people saw America as it is. They studied the reasons for our high standards of living and how our unions use their economic power to obtain their share of America's increasing productivity. There were no doors closed and there were no wraps put on the visitors. They went as they pleased. They were left free to comment verbally on what they saw here, to ask questions freely, and to go home and write the kind of reports they wished to write. In acting as hosts to these visitors, our national and international unions, our headquarters office in Washington, and many state and city branches and local unions have had a tremendously important part to play. Foreign relations, once the exclusive affair of diplomats, is being translated into human relations in the shops and homes of America.

The European countries also responded to the challenge. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation was founded, permitting the free nations of Western Europe to combine and cooperate in beating their economic problems. Under this organization, trade barriers have been lowered during the past 4 years so that now nearly 75 per cent of the restrictions which formerly hampered the free movement of goods among the countries of Western Europe have been removed. The result has been that the volume of trade among these countries has practically doubled.

The European nations, on their own initiative, have organized and developed the Schuman Plan. Under this plan, the 6 major continental steel and coal countries have agreed to delegate the portions of their sovereign rights necessary to develop a single production and market area. The significance of this step toward unification can only be fully recognized when we remember that it is these very resources of coal and iron which have for centuries been the cause of conflict and war among these nations.

The working people of Western Europe, through their free trade unions, have on their own initiative cooperated with the free trade union movements of the new world and have shaken off the shackles of the phoney World Federation of Trade Unions and participated in the development of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which now has affiliates from 70 different nations, with a total membership of over 53 million wage-earners. Communism no longer holds an undisputed sway over the loyalty of the working people of Europe and Asia.

The third phase of this great struggle against totalitarianism in our time began with the invasion of South Korea by the Communist-directed armies of North Korea. This act of open aggression made it clear to the free nations of the world that they could not maintain their independence and freedom unless they developed sufficient military strength to discourage aggression or to meet it.

The Marshall Plan had shown the way for economic cooperation. The mutual security program, building on the foundations of the Marshall Plan, is now developing an effective system of mutual defense. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was strengthened and given new life, and additional countries were brought into its membership. Representatives of the free countries of Europe and America met last spring in Lisbon and made plans for the pooling of their military strength.

At the time the first Mutual Security Act was being developed in the American Congress, it was recognized that Communism could not be defeated by military strength alone, but that the social and economic structure of the economies of the free nations had to be strengthened to prevent Communism from winning as a result of internal collapse. During the very time that the American Federation of Labor was in Convention in San Francisco last year, the first Mutual Security Act was being amended in a manner designed to implement this point of view.

I cannot at this time go into detail about the operations of this Act and the Benton and Moody Amendments to which I refer. Suffice it to say here that the Act of 1951 and that of 1952 both include as a guiding policy that the Act shall be administered to encourage the development and strengthening of free trade unions as collective bargaining agencies within suitable countries receiving American aid.

It is our job now to make this policy, which has been adopted twice by the United States Congress, effective. Under these provisions, programs have been developed within our Agency, approved by the State Department and the Defense Department, governing the expenditures of funds for production of military items abroad, increasing the productivity and expanding the production and bringing foreign visitors to our shores to study our methods of production and to share for a time the benefits of our industrial democracy.

We are trying to work out effective programs in these areas. To date we have not fully succeeded by any means, but I think we are on our way. We need greatly to improve our administrative techniques, providing for the fuller participation of labor in these programs, as is indicated in the Report of the Executive Council. We need more and better trained people, drawn from the ranks of labor, to help make these programs meaningful in the day-to-day operations of the Agency.

Delegates to a Convention of the American Federation of Labor need not be told of their crucial role in this cold war against Communism and this hot fight for freedom. For over 30 years the Communist attempts for world conquest have concentrated on gaining control of labor unions. They have not succeeded in America, largely because the leaders of American Federation of Labor unions were sensitive to their purposes and quick to detect their nefarious schemes. As veterans in this fight, you know how to carry it on. However, in places where misery,

want and hunger were the allies of Communism, it has made startling advances. Today our strong and democratic free trade unions in America are challenged with a new world-wide responsibility to help their trade union brothers in foreign lands through their organizations to gain stature, strength and effectiveness. You have given yeoman service in this effort. I know that you will continue to give it in all its many phases, including that part of the battle that we are carrying on through the Mutual Security Agency.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Brother Cruikshank for his message. I know you all appreciate it very greatly.

The Chair now calls upon Secretary Meany for announcements.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY MEANY: The following resolutions, requiring unanimous consent, are presented for your consideration. The special sub-committee of the Executive Council has recommended unanimous consent for these resolutions:

From the Associated Actors and Artistes of America: Foreign Transcription Imports.

From the Delegates of the International Typographical Union; International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; U. S. Copyright Law.

From the National Brotherhood of Pottery: Minimum Wage Pottery Industry in Puerto Rico.

From the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America: Protection of Stained Glass Industry Against Import Competition; Preference to American-Made Mirrors.

I move that unanimous consent be granted these resolutions.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It seems that we have reached the point where we must terminate the work of our convention today because they want to get this hall ready for a dinner tonight. So the convention now stands adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30 o'clock.

At 4:00 o'clock, p.m., the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock, a.m., Thursday, September 18, 1952.

RESOLUTIONS

Here follow Resolutions Nos. 138 to 142 inc.

FOREIGN TRANSCRIPTION IMPORTS

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates George Heller, H. O'Neil Shanks, Pat Somerser, Jack Irving, Associated Actors and Artists of America.

WHEREAS, The import of transcriptions recorded and manufactured outside of the United States at lower labor costs and at sub-standard conditions and also in many cases by non-union performers is constantly on the increase, and

WHEREAS, American labor standards are measured by unfair competition from foreign imports, and

WHEREAS, These foreign made transcriptions compete with transcriptions made and used in this country and which use actors, singers and announcers who are members of the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, The use of these foreign made recordings in this country poses a serious problem of reduction in employment opportunities for A. F. of L. members, and

WHEREAS, Protective measures and a protective tariff are essential to protect the continued employment of A. F. of L. members, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 1952 A. F. of L. Convention go on record as urging the Congress and Executive of the United States to take immediate steps towards protective and remedial legislation to combat the inflow of foreign transcriptions recorded and manufactured outside of the United States, (taking into consideration specific regulatory provisions to allow a certain limited importation of transcribed programs of international cultural exchange value).

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. COPYRIGHT LAW

Resolution No. 139—By the Delegates of the International Typographical Union; International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Delegates of the United States to the Universal Copyright Con-

vention, held in Geneva, Switzerland, in August, 1952, signed the convention at its conclusion, notwithstanding the inclusion of an article which would nullify the manufacturing clause of the United States copyright law so far as works published in the English language by foreign authors are concerned, and

WHEREAS, The Library of Congress had sought previous legislative support for this action by introduction of H. R. 4059 into the House of Representatives but failed to gain the support of the House Judiciary Committee which defeated the bill by a heavy vote, and

WHEREAS, H. R. 4059 was opposed in a public hearing by the printing trades unions of the American Federation of Labor in conformity with the support extended to them by two annual conventions of the Federation in 1950 and 1951 through two resolutions unanimously adopted, both affirming opposition to the UNESCO proposal and declaring against abolition of the manufacturing clause whether through UNESCO or by diplomatic or legislative means, and

WHEREAS, Resolution 108, one of the resolutions adopted by the San Francisco Convention, cited above, declared its firm opposition to the objectionable H. R. 4059, previously mentioned, which was designed to obtain prior congressional approval of Article III of the Universal Copyright Convention which would seriously weaken the manufacturing clause, and

WHEREAS, This bill was defeated in Committee thus attesting also the opposition of Congress rather than its concurrence before the delegates met in Geneva, notwithstanding which clearly affirmed legislative opposition the United States delegates signed the Universal Copyright Convention which contains provisions of H. R. 4059, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its opposition to the elimination or serious weakening of the manufacturing clause of the United States copyright law and in order to render this opposition effective will oppose ratification of the Universal Copyright Convention by the Senate unless and until the offending article is removed from the provisions of the Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MINIMUM WAGE POTTERY INDUSTRY IN PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, Leonard Greco, Robert A. McCann, National Brotherhood of Potters.

WHEREAS, The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 sought to eliminate wages from the field of competition, thus avoiding the breaking down of labor standards by the unfair competitive practice of wage-cutting or lengthening hours of work, and

WHEREAS, The Fair Labor Standards Act further provides for the establishment of minimum wages in Puerto Rico at levels (1) that will not curtail employment in Puerto Rico and (2) that will not permit underselling competing industries on the mainland, and

WHEREAS, Minimum wages in the pottery industry of Puerto Rico were established in 1951 at the low level of 40 cents per hour, and

WHEREAS, The minimum rate in the United States is 75 cents per hour and the average hourly earnings in the mainland pottery industry is approximately \$1.50, thus placing the industry at a competitive disadvantage in the mainland market in the face of lower production costs in Puerto Rico, and

WHEREAS, This is contrary to the express provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act in the threat of serious injury to the mainland pottery workers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge review of the minimum wage rate for the pottery industry in Puerto Rico and its re-establishment at the proper higher level that will remove the present menace to the wage and labor standards of the pottery workers in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTECTION OF STAINED GLASS INDUSTRY AGAINST IMPORT COMPETITION

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian Madsen, Franks Owens, Peter Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The production of stained glass has been developed in the United States by trained craftsmen who possess the highest skills, capable of meeting the most exacting artistic requirement in the production of church windows and with ample capacity to fill the demand for such windows in the country, and

WHEREAS, These craftsmen through their Union enjoy a level of wages in keeping with the exacting artistic standards of their occupation, and

WHEREAS, The growing volume of imported stained glass threatens both the high standards of living and workmanship of the domestic industry as well as the quantity of work available to our craftsmen, through the advantage of lower costs resulting from the lower wages prevailing abroad, and

WHEREAS, The existing tariff rate is utterly without effect toward placing the

imported product on a fair competitive level and hopes of obtaining relief through official governmental agencies are very remote, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend to American clergymen, church officials and architects that they patronize the domestic industry in keeping with fair competitive practices and to assure the maintenance of the established domestic stained glass industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor support fully the endeavor of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America to secure the necessary protection of their members in the stained glass industry against injury from unfair import competition.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PREFERENCE TO AMERICAN-MADE MIRRORS

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian Madsen, Franks Owens, Peter Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Our membership in the glass mirror industry finds its wage standards and its employment menaced by imports from countries where low wages and low labor standards prevail, and

WHEREAS, The rate of duty on these imports is so low that it does not bring the prices of foreign mirrors to a fair competitive level in our market, thus disrupting stable production and the bases for continued employment at satisfactory wages, and

WHEREAS, It has been the experience of labor groups that have sought a remedy through application to federal agencies that their pleas are brushed aside and remedies seldom granted, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled urge upon builders, architects and consumers in general that they give preference to American-made mirrors where the imported product bases its competitive advantage on lower wages and inferior working conditions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend its full support to efforts to obtain a proper and reasonable degree of tariff or similar protection for the wage and labor standards in the glass mirror industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 18, 1952



Report of FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York
September 18, 1952

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock by President Green.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to present to you the Reverend John H. Edwards, Vicar of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, to pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Reverend John H. Edwards, St.
Luke's Episcopal Church)

We shall read the prayer which was written by George Washington for our country.

Almighty God, Who has given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove

ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will.

Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning and pure manners.

Save us from violence, discord and confusion, from pride and arrogance and from every evil way.

Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Imbue with the spirit of wisdom those to whom in Thy name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that through obedience to Thy law we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth.

In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in Thee to fail.

All this we ask through Thy bountiful goodness, Thou who art the ruler and guide and sustainer of all things. Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes the chairman of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Chairman Sims submitted the following report on behalf of the committee.

We, your Committee on Credentials, have examined credentials and recommend the seating of the following with vote:

Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—Joseph P. Cerutti, 1 vote.

In accordance with request from the Building Service Employees' International Union, we recommend the substitution of Thomas Shortman in place of Thomas Burke, previously reported, to represent that organization, with 319 votes.

Your Committee has examined further credentials and recommends the seating of the following:

J. Lawrence Raimist, additional delegate representing the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions, with 43 votes.

Frank C. Burke, representing Federal Labor Union No. 22979, Waltham, Mass., with 1 vote.

Frank R. Thompson, representing the Dover, New Jersey, Central Labor Union, with 1 vote.

Your Committee on Credentials has been requested by the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union to propose the name of A. J. Deandrade in place of Thomas E. Dunwody on the delegation representing that organization, and we recommend the seating of the delegate with 133 votes.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SIMS: I move adoption of this partial report.

... The motion was seconded and carried.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair is pleased to announce the appointment of Brother George Googe, Joseph Keenan and James Brownlow to serve as a committee to escort Director Fowler to the hall.

And another committee composed of Brother James Quinn, Brother Thomas Murray and Brother David Dubinsky to escort Senator Lehman to the hall.

These committees will please take note of their appointment.

The Chair now recognizes Vice President Doherty, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, for a report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: The Committee on Organization is now ready to report. The report will be presented to the convention by the able secretary of the committee, Brother A. Philip Randolph, of the Sleeping Car Porters.

Delegate Philip Randolph, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Mr. President and Delegates:

Three resolutions were referred to your Committee on Organization.

CURTIS PUBLISHING COMPANY

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(Page 46, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution calls for the cooperation of A. F. of L. and all affiliates in the organization of a non-union publishing company in Philadelphia.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution as submitted.

... The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANIES

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates George L. Russ, Charles G. Heisel, Max Shine, Insurance Agents International Union.

(Page 46, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution calls for all-out support of the Insurance Agents' International Union in its current organizing campaign in the United States and Canada.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution.

... The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 47, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution points out the danger of large scale ownership of land and the urgent need for organization of itinerant farm workers.

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution, with the suggestion that it be referred to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to insure effective cooperation of affiliated organizations.

... The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES**(Pages 214-220, Executive Council Report)**

Your Committee on Organization notes that during the past year a number of organizing conferences have been held in various sections of the country to coordinate organizing campaigns. We urge that the holding of such conferences be continued and solicit the wholehearted support of members and officers of all affiliated organizations in supporting programs that are initiated.

Members of your committee realize that a very large part of the time of general organizers must be spent in the servicing of existing organizations as well as in carrying on what might be termed public relations work in addition to making necessary contacts incidental to the establishment of new federal labor unions and central labor bodies.

We note the assistance that has been provided through the Department of Organization to the National Agricultural Workers Union in Louisiana, to the Metal Trades Council in atomic energy plants and to several international unions in Hawaii. The decision of the Executive Council to take necessary steps to safeguard A. F. of L. organizational interest in Puerto Rico is timely.

Members of your committee believe that the Director of Organization O'Reilly and his staff should be commended for their activities during the past year.

Membership figures as listed by Secretary Treasurer Meany show the A. F. of L. membership for 1952 as well in excess of

eight million. This represents an increase of more than a quarter of a million members above 1951.

The fact that A. F. of L. membership now stands at an all time high is a reason for pride. However, delegates, members, and all federation officers must recognize the job of organizing the unorganized is still tremendous. Let us individually and through our organizations dedicate ourselves at this 1952 convention to making 1953 another successful year in the necessary program of strengthening existing organizations and expanding and increasing membership in all parts of the United States and Canada.

... The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY RANDOLPH: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization, Mr. Chairman, and it is signed by the following members:

William C. Doherty, Albert E. Fischer, G. E. Leighty, John F. Burke, Jack Irving, George Husk, Albert A. Greenbaum, John W. Garvey, Hyman Powell, Earl W. Jimerson, James Landriscina, W. J. Bassett, J. Belton Warren, A. Shoemaker, Irvin R. Kuenzli, E. C. James, Lester Washburn, Glenn E. Thom, J. A. Moriarty, C. T. Atkins, Harry Greenberg, Jesse Clark, George D. Welny, A. Philip Randolph, Thomas Dorian, Committee on Organization.

Committee Secretary Randolph moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

FRENCH CABLE COMPANY

President Congress Sept. 15, 1952
AFL Hotel Commodore
New York

Very hearty greetings to our American fellow brothers and wishing success to your great convention. We reaffirm expression of our gratitude and solidarity of Tunisian workers fighting with you and with free workers of whole world for justice, democracy and liberty.

Messadi, Assistant General
Secretary UGTT

Telaviv Jaffo 171 12 1400

1952 Sep. 12

William Green, President
American Federation of Labour Convention
Commodore Hotel
New York

Warmest fraternal greetings from Israel labor organised in Histadrut representing half total population in all walks of life. Have followed with interest and appreciation your steady progress raising standards status American workers and your vigorous struggle for rights labour and dignity individual. We in our part Middle-East particularly conscious need spread extend these values among nations peoples this region and to this end we ready cooperate fully with all genuine labour trade union groups neighbouring countries. Confident that in spirit our traditional friendship and mutual understanding we will continue share our common concern for democratic progress social advancement all peoples in general and Middle East in particular. May your convention mark another stage in American labors forward march and may you personally continue in vigour and in health to exercise those qualities which under your leadership have brought the movement to its present strength and influence.

Mordechai Namir, General Secretary
General Federation Jewish Labour
Israel

Sept. 15, 1952

Cincinnati, Ohio

President William Green and Delegates in Session, Commodore Hotel, Convention Hall American Federation of Labor NYC

Greetings to a most successful convention where the great family of labor gather earnestly and sincerely to make and to hold better conditions for all labor in general. Yours is a grand reunion of labor's old war horses and the young colts of labor who realize that labor needs full cooperation to get over the rough spots on life's highway. We the Hoboes of America, Inc. have recently finished our 44th annual convention in Hamburg, New York, and the 600 delegates as well as our entire membership have gone on record to continue our cooperation with your great labor movement. Our hoboes have for several years past been off the road to aid our government's program for reconversion. Also to work in defense plants and other work during the Korean puzzle and have joined the union at work they were doing. President Green's letter to us was read and greatly appreciated. May we assure you of our continued cooperation and goodwill.

Hobo Executive Board, Ray Martin,
International Secy.

Jeff Davis, King and Emperor
Hoboes of America Knights of the
Road, Inc.

New York, N. Y.

Pres. William Green
American Federation Labor Convention
Hotel Commodore, 42nd St. Lexington
Avenue

In behalf of Negro Labor I send you fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful convention. In the long struggle to make life in the United States reflect more truly the immortal principles expressed in our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution, organized labor has played a most vital and honorable role, the true value of which can only be adequately estimated by the historians of the future. The current world wide struggle between communism on the left, blind reactionism on the right, and the enlightened forces of democracy places a heavy responsibility upon the shoulders of the working class everywhere. Labor must stand immovable on the side of democracy, for it is only by traveling along the high road of democracy can the workers of the world eventually reach their common goals of freedom, justice and equality as human beings regardless of color, religion or birthplace. May your deliberations and decisions in the 71st Convention of the American Federation of Labor result in bringing us closer to that day of our final emancipation from war, economic exploitation, ignorance, racial, and national and religious prejudices.

Fraternally Yours,
Frank R. Crosswaith

Sept. 15, 1952

New York, N. Y.

William Green, Pres.
American Federation of Labor
Commodore Hotel

Greetings to the 71st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The AFL has made great contributions in furthering the principles of industrial democracy for American working people. The work of the AFL has helped to make our country a better place to live. Today the evils of racial discrimination and segregation have assumed a crucial urgency in the national life of our country, not only internally but most significantly in this country's leadership in the fight against communistic totalitarianism. The right to work, the right to provide one's family with security in American life means the right to full and equal membership in a democratic trade union. We fervently hope that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international unions will broaden and extend the principles of trade unionism to all American workers regardless of race, creed and color. We deeply appreciate the fine support your organization has given to the Civil Rights Program of the NAACP. We sincerely hope that cooperation between our respective organizations will be increased and extended in the years to come. Your fight against dis-

crimination and segregation is in the best traditions of the American labor movement of which the American Federation of Labor is the great pioneer.

Walter White, Secy., NAACP

Sept. 15, 1952

Cincinnati, Ohio

William Green
American Federation of Labor
Commodore Hotel

Wishing you and all the delegates a successful Seventy-First Convention. We are looking forward for the answers to the many problems that are confronting us today. God speed, Good luck.

Allied Food Council of Greater Cincinnati

Art Frobe, President

George Procaro, Secretary

New York, N. Y. Sept. 15, 1952

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor Convention
Commodore Hotel

On behalf of the National Committee for Labor Israel with which many of your affiliates throughout the country are identified, we greet and congratulate you. We thank you for your fraternal cooperation in the cause of the Histadrut. This great labor movement is the chief support of the young state of Israel. We look forward confidently to your continued solidarity.

Joseph Schlossberg,
National Chairman
Isaac Hamlin,
National Secretary

New York, N. Y. Sept. 15, 1952

William Green, President
George Meany, Secy.-Treas.
71st Annual Convention, A. F. of L.
Commodore Hotel, N. Y. C.

In behalf of the 120 labor representatives of internationals and local unions who are members of the Trade Union Committee for the support of our institution we wish to extend fraternal greetings and profound appreciation to you, the vice-presidents of the A. F. of L. and delegates assembled for the unstinting moral and financial support this national, free non-sectarian tubercular institution received for the past 44 years. We take the liberty of directing your attention to the special pamphlets distributed at the convention about our humanitarian life saving work. Assuring you of our gratefulness we remain with good wishes for a most successful convention

Geo. Rubln, Chairman
Jos. Belsky, Secretary
R. Schwartz, Supr.
National Trade Union
Committee of the Ex-
Patients Tubercular
Home of Denver, Colo.

New York, N. Y. Sept. 15, 1952

William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Commodore,

Lexington Ave. and 42nd St., N. Y. C.
Greetings from the authors league of America on the occasion of your Seventy-first Annual Convention. We take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the cooperation given us during the past year by American Federation of Labor Unions in the entertainment and communications fields. It is our hope that these cordial relationships and mutual efforts on behalf of workers will continue long into the future.

Rex Stout, President

New York, N. Y. Sept. 17, 1952

William Green, President and
Mr. George Meany, Secy.-Treas.
American Federation of Labor Convention
Commodore Hotel

The National Religion and Labor Foundation sends warmest greetings and prayers for your most successful convention in a long and creative history. May your decisions both merit and receive the blessing of God and the cordial support of freedom loving peoples all over the world.

Rev. Joseph W. Merchant,
Dr Witherspoon Dodge

Directors of the National
Religion and Labor Founda-
tion.

New York, N. Y.

Sept. 16, 1952

George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of
the American Federation of Labor, Com-
modore Hotel.

Best wishes for a successful and har-
monious convention.

Walter J. Smith,
Secretary Treasurer, International
Plate Printers, Die Stampers and
Engravers Union of North America

Istanbul

Sept. 16, 1952

American Federation of Labor, New
York (Commodore Hotel).

Accept our good wishes for successful
convention.

Textile Union,
Istanbul

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Brother Serafino Romualdi, our Latin American Representative, who has done an excellent job in that part of the world. I am very pleased to present him to you—Serafino Romualdi.

MR. SERAFINO ROMUALDI
(Latin American Representative)

I shall not devote my allotted time in relating to you the activities of the American Federation of Labor in Latin America during the past year, nor the accomplishments of the O.R.I.T., the Western Hemisphere branch of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with which we have worked in close collaboration and to which we have given our unstinting support. Both have been amply covered in the Executive Council report.

Perhaps it would serve a better purpose if I attempt to analyze, briefly, the developments in the Latin American social, economic and political climate which have taken place recently, and which have affected, in some cases adversely, the growth of the free trade union movement and the policy of inter-American collaboration advocated by our country.

Our principal enemy, the Communists, have made no significant progress—during the past year—in any of the countries South of the Rio Grande, with the exception of Guatemala, where they are in complete control of the labor movement and apparently influence that Government. They have failed to profit from the overthrow of the Cuban Government by the military coup headed by General Batista, last March, and have so far been unsuccessful in their attempt to play a dominant role in the Government of Bolivia which was set up as a result of the revolution of last April.

Groups of Communists are quite active in some unions in Peru, but unless they receive the support of the Government—as was given them following the military coup of 1948—they will fail in their bid to capture the Confederation of Labor at the reorganization congress scheduled for early next year. I hope the Government of Peru will observe the hands-off policy which it has repeatedly pledged in trade union matters. If so, the forces of free trade-unionism, which have heroically maintained their strength in spite of the many difficulties with which all of you are by now familiar, will give the Communists and their allies the final blow. Furthermore, I am confident the same will happen in Venezuela when the freedom bell will ring again in that country, in spite of years of terror, violence and every conceivable form of persecution by the military dictatorship, with hundreds of leaders and active trade unionists languishing in a jail or concentration camps.

In the key country of Brazil, whose economic and industrial possibilities loom so large in the future development of South America, I am happy to say that the Communist movement has been definitely relegated to a small minority role. In the other countries which I have not mentioned, the Communist prospect is not better—witness, for instance, their dismal failure in the recent presidential elections in Mexico, Ecuador and Chile.

However, if the Communists have failed to make progress, or even to hold their own under their true banner, it cannot be said that they have completely failed in their attempt to infiltrate and influence the various nationalistic and neo-fascist movements that are at present sweeping Latin America. Their main purpose of infiltration is to steer these nationalist and neo-fascist movements along the path of anti-Americanism and bitter opposition to the free labor movement as represented by the ICFTU and its regional affiliate, the O.R.I.T. For this reason the Communists have practically abandoned even the pretense of opposing the efforts of the Argentine Government to bring under its control the labor movement of Latin America. This is done as a prerequisite to bringing all of Latin America, step by step, under the economic and political control of Peron.

In order to succeed with his ambitious plans, Peron has first to discredit our country before the eyes of the Latin people; and then to destroy our influence among the republics of the Western Hemisphere. To this end he has embarked in a gigantic propaganda campaign, based on hatred, falsehoods, prejudice, envy and historical distortion. This campaign, especially directed against the labor movement and the people of our country is being spread by the Government-controlled Argentine Confederation of Labor with the open support of the Argentine Government itself. It has reached in the last few months an unprecedented intensity. Newspapers, bulletins, pamphlets and books are being distributed by the hundreds of thousands, mainly through the offices of the so-called Argentine labor attaches in every country of Latin America.

Our newspapers and magazines have written stories about the viciousness and the slanderous character of this propaganda. Only last week we read in an Associated Press dispatch from Cuba that the distribution of such literature in that country has aroused the local press and is causing concern in Cuban Government circles. A few days ago, the Government of Uruguay announced that it had requested the recall of Argentine Embassy officials for "interfering in local labor matters". They were caught red-handed in an attempt to infiltrate the trade-unions with propaganda against the Government of the United States and the Government of Uruguay itself. An expose of these Argentine activities is currently being published in the Brazilian press, as well as in the press of Costa Rica and a few other countries. In the majority of the cases, however, there is open connivance or complete passivity on the part of the local Government, which either does not care, or does not dare to interfere. Yet this propaganda aims at sabotaging the rearmament efforts of the democratic community, attempts to create dissensions among the member-nations of the American family, advocates the so-called "third neutral position", slanders the heroic United Nations soldiers who are fighting and dying in Korea, and practically con-

done every aggressive move of Soviet imperialism. This is done by emphasizing that the only real danger for Latin America lies in the policies of "North American imperialism", whatever that means.

It would be wrong to assume, I believe, that our Government is indifferent to the damaging effects of such activity. Difficulties have been encountered in many countries in negotiating and having ratified Mutual Military Assistance agreements—which are the necessary corollary to the implementation of the Rio de Janeiro Pact for the defense of the Western Hemisphere to which the Latin-American countries have freely subscribed. These difficulties indicate how far the combined efforts of Communist and neo-Fascist propaganda have succeeded in poisoning the minds of the people and in frightening weak government leaders and legislators into an attitude of passive complicity. Yet, we have not seen any bold move on the part of our Government to counteract this hostile and damaging campaign.

We are using the Voice of America, the U. S. Information Service and other channels of information, to expose, as should be done, the crimes of Communism behind the Iron Curtain; we keep on warning the Latin American people, as should be done, against the perils of Soviet imperialism and Russian aggressive policy. We emphasize, in addition to the blessings of the American way of life, the sacrifices of the American people in helping the free world to rearm and thus maintain peace. However, our official Government policy seems to be publicly unconcerned about the damaging effects of the combined Communist and neo-Fascist anti-American propaganda directed and supported by the Argentine Government. The Voice of America and other information channels maintain complete silence, consistently ignore the slaps and the insults and the psychological and intellectual sabotage of our inter-American defense effort which can be—in the long run—as damaging as actual sabotage of military equipment or industrial plants.

Three governments have changed hands in South America in the last few months. In each case elements which were openly supported by Peron and were in turn Peron's open admirers, have won decisively, in one case by armed revolution, clearly supported by the people, in the other two, by the overwhelming vote of the electorate. It would be simply naïve to expect that in international matters these governments would now cooperate with our Government, as wholeheartedly and as effectively, as the gravity of the international situation requires. I would not be surprised if at least two of them—Chile and Bolivia—will go the way of Argentina and Guatemala, and set up what would amount to an actual anti-U. S., Latin-American bloc, as has already been advocated by one of the leading supporters of General Ibanez. Under the false and ruinous slogans of "national egoism" and "impartial neutrality" this development would in practice

give aid and comfort to the strategy of Russia. The Soviet Union's immediate goal is to prevent, no matter how, as many countries as possible from collaborating with the defense efforts of America and the other free nations of the world.

One consequence of our policy of apparent non-concern over the anti-American campaign of Peron is that the people in Latin America—particularly those living in the countries bordering on Argentina—begin to think that we are actually afraid of Peron, or that we have no arguments to offer to combat his slanderous propaganda. As a result they lean more and more to his side, because in Latin America—as in Asia and in other parts of the world—the man in the street, as well as the man in the government, respects boldness and determination, and, unfortunately, quite often admires demagoguery and braggadocio. While we do not—of course—have to stoop to demagoguery and braggadocio to present our side, I am sure we will make positive gains by adopting a policy of firmness, determination and pride, together with a two-fisted, no-holds-barred campaign of truth, nothing but truth, because truth is our greatest asset and ally!

I do not wish, however, to leave the impression that the growth of nationalism in Latin America is due exclusively to the political factors I have just discussed. Economic causes have much to do with it. In Chile, for instance, the defeat of the democratic government was primarily due to the appalling inflation which has reduced the standard of living of the people to intolerable low levels. The democratic government of Chile has received during the past five years considerable economic assistance from the United States. Financial loans have enabled that country to build modern industrial and electrical power plants. Furthermore, the revenues from the American-owned copper mines have increased to the point of providing for as much as fifty per cent of the national budget. Unfortunately, the benefits of this aid did not seep down to the levels of the wage earners. The man in the street was worse off than ever before. When I visited Chile, last July and August, at the invitation of the Copper Mine Workers' Confederation, the main topic of discussion was this revolt of the people against the government in power, and generally speaking, against the traditional political parties, whether of the right or the left. One could sense a widespread feeling of political nihilism, reminiscent of the days that preceded the rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. On this state of resentment, desperation and messianic expectation, a former dictator rode back into power.

Not much different was the situation in Ecuador before the election, or in Bolivia before the revolution. The lesson to be derived from this experience is that the democratic regimes lose the support of the masses—and are therefore slated for the scrap pile—if they are unable to provide

the people with a higher standard of living.

Another underlying cause of this wave of nationalism in Latin America is the widespread belief that the nationalization of mineral resources will solve all their economic problems. These resources are at present exploited by foreign capital, most of it American. There are indeed serious doubts as to whether at the present stage of technical development, nationalization will be a success in Latin America. But the people who advocate such a measure do not like to be told of its possible failure. They want to make their own experiment; they consider it not only their right but their national duty to regain for their own country the mineral wealth now in foreign hands.

It would be wrong on the part of the Government and the people of the United States to oppose this unquestionable right of the Latin-American people to nationalize their natural resources, if they so desire. No matter how justified our considered belief may be that nationalization would not solve the needs, in Latin America, of higher productivity, expanded marketing, technological improvement, efficient management, and the like—our active opposition to the exercise of such right would identify us in the eyes of the Latin American people with private, and often predatory interests. Nothing could be more disastrous for the future of our foreign policy in that part of the world. What is more, we are faced with what I consider an inevitable, irresistible trend towards some form of nationalization of the properties now in the hands of foreign interests. It would be to our interest to recognize this trend now and act accordingly.

A review and re-evaluation of our diplomatic, political and economic approach to Latin America has been called for by a number of distinguished and informed Americans. I think this review and re-evaluation is quite in order, and as a matter of fact, rather simple. We of the American Federation of Labor have done well, I believe, with the application in national affairs of the political formula: "Reward our friends, defeat our enemies". Perhaps, we may suggest this same formula as the guiding principle of our relationship with Latin America. I am sure that in a short time this policy would bring satisfactory results in the field of inter-American understanding and mutual friendship.

But, what are our terms of reference in defining mutual friendship?

On our part, I believe, we should emphasize our support of the Latin Americans' just and rightful aspirations towards national economic independence; and also, wholehearted support of their struggle to gain higher standards of working and living conditions.

On the part of the Latin American countries, there should be a clear demonstration of their willingness to join with us in the world-wide struggle for the preservation of peace, the defeat of ag-

gression, the strengthening of democracy and the extension of freedom.

This is what our democratic friends in Latin America expect the American labor movement to advocate. This is what the democratic people of Latin America expect of our nation, which they now regard as the beacon light for all the exploited and oppressed, frantically searching through the storms of our time, for the port of their salvation!

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank Brother Romualdi for his address. It is most interesting and educational, I know, and we appreciate it very greatly.

We have with us on the stage this morning a visiting friend from the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions.

I know you would like to meet him and I know that he would be very happy if accorded the privilege of saying just a few words to you. So I am going to present him to you now, Brother Amando Fiorini, member of the Executive Board of the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions. I present him to you now for an address.

MR. AMANDO FIORINI

(Italian Confederation of Trade Unions (C.I.S.L.))

President Green and delegates: It is a great honor for me to bring to this convention the greetings of the Italian free workers organized in the C.I.S.L.

I have read the report of your Executive Committee and I express my pleasure for the accurate evaluation of the Italian situation.

C.I.S.L. thanks you for your efforts. The Italian workers feel that they have in the A. F. of L. a sure friend, and they appreciate your moral and material help for the rebuilding of a free labor movement in Italy.

Our battle is identified with the defense of the free world. Ours is an action for the consolidation of democracy in our country. We are convinced that only the free workers rallying around the banner of their free unions can be the safest and strongest barrier against the return of reactionary trends and totalitarian attempts of any type or color in Italy.

Not only the Italian workers, but the whole nation is grateful to America for her unceasing action aimed at the economic recovery of our country and for the clear-cut resolutions which had authoritative echo also during the last ICFTU Congress, which came out in favor of a revision of the peace treaty imposed on Italy. The same gratitude we want to express to the A. F. of L. for the friendly understanding shown in relation to the Trieste problem, the just solution of which

has so much bearing on the future of Italian democracy.

Our organizational development is slow but sure. Our participation in the general political field is becoming stronger. Our resolutions represent a constant stimulant for the government to follow a clearer pro-labor policy.

We may boast of the following achievements of ours: the establishment of the Productivity Committee, that we alone supported and were able to put through our action for price controls, our endorsement of democratic candidates during our last municipal elections; our ability to stop a reactionary attempt aimed at creating government control of the trade unions.

Our action in the trade union field during this year succeeded in checking the Communists. The employers were compelled to negotiate with us, while the Communists had to sign the agreements we had reached and to renounce their schemes.

It is because we want to keep the initiative in our hands, because we want to be a vigorous and decisive instrument during our coming political elections; it is because we want to provide the Italian workers with a clear-cut choice between the Communists and the free trade unions, that we have welcomed your appeal to create one single united labor body, and I want to assure you delegates here of our solemn pledge to persist in this direction.

Your convention is being held on the eve of a Presidential election which is of concern not only to the United States but to the whole free world. The Italian workers have no doubts. We feel confident that the American labor movement shall be able to decide this battle for the freedom of the whole democratic world.

Long live the solidarity among the free workers of the world! Long live the eternal friendship between America and Italy in the spirit of freedom!

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I can truthfully say that we are extremely fortunate this morning in that we will be privileged to listen to an address by a great outstanding representative of the government. He is serving in an extraordinarily important position with our government, and he has shown by his action and by his interest how well equipped he is for the position which he occupies. I know you are happy with me because he came. We will long remember his visit with us, and we are grateful to him for making the trip from Washington to New York for the purpose of delivering an address to us.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you Henry Fowler, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

MR. HENRY FOWLER

(Director, Office of Defense Mobilization)

Chairman Green and friends: To be able to talk to a group such as this, a national convention of the American Federation of Labor, is a very great privilege for me, for several reasons: First, I would like for you to know that I was raised in a union family. I went to college as a result of union negotiated wages, and I learned from the earliest years from a father who was devoted to one of the great railway unions the value and meaning of the American Federation of Labor as a great institutional bulwark for democracy in this country of ours.

The second reason it is a privilege for me to be here is that it gives me an opportunity to discuss with you and through you, I trust, the millions of members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and their families the most important single task confronting the United States of America today. That task is the mobilization of our armed strength for the defense of America and a free world.

May I take just one minute to give you the message I hope you will carry to your fraternal brothers and friends. It is briefly this:

The Defense Production program was born out of the threat of Communistic aggression in the summer of 1950.

Nothing has happened since to lessen that threat.

We adopted then, a three-year program to reach, if we were granted the time, a state of armed readiness.

We are climbing steadily up the peak that becomes the plateau of preparedness.

When we have reached that state of preparedness, we must work, day by day, to maintain it—for as long as the threat of aggression shall continue.

The danger is that we shall let down. The danger is that, prematurely, we shall think ourselves safe.

Let us abjure lethargy—it is our secret enemy.

Let us impart a sense of wartime urgency to this struggle for peace and security.

Let us ask ourselves and our fellow Americans this question in a thousand different ways—Are we doing enough and doing it fast enough to keep America safe?

On behalf of the many departments and agencies who are engaged in this effort, including a number of men from the American Federation of Labor who are working day by day as government officials to provide labor participation and—I wish there were more—in this defense mobilization program, may I express our appreciation of the continued interest and support of your officers and staff at the national, regional and local

levels, of the many facets of defense mobilization.

In this country, industrial production and preparedness, which serves as the base for national security, is the joint enterprise of Government, industry, and labor. In addition to many representatives of industry and labor who are helping to run the defense mobilization agencies there are tens of thousands of businesses and millions of workers of every type who are the real backbone of defense mobilization. The Government is no more than a catalyzing agency, fusing the joint efforts of Government, industry, labor—and the American people—to make our country secure.

I bespeak your attention in this Convention, and in the many sessions of your international local unions which will follow, to the critical decisions of the future which will determine the size, scope and character of the defense mobilization program. This future is of the greatest importance because as we now approach the achievement of the minimum goals contemplated by the original program, the choices to be made become even more difficult and complex.

In order to appreciate the problems of the future we must understand what we started out to do and what has been done.

Two years ago this month the mobilization effort for our defense and the preservation of peace through strength was initiated. In September 1950, Congress enacted the Defense Production Act, having initiated a series of military appropriations for procurement and construction on a rapidly increasing scale. This action, plus the establishment by the President, of special executive agencies to administer the machinery of mobilization, symbolized the belief of the American people that our nation was in real peril, our way of life threatened, and our national security in the balance. It also symbolized the firm intention of the American people to build up and maintain the strength to stand up against forces of an international Communism which had demonstrated its disregard for world peace and law with the Korean attack. The postwar period of illusion—in which good men hoped for a lasting peace through a beating of swords into plow shares—came to a shattered end. Our basic national conviction was expressed in the declaration of policy in the Defense Production Act to the effect that "the United States is determined to develop and maintain whatever military and economic strength is found to be necessary to promote peace by insuring respect for world law and peaceful settlement of differences among nations."

The program which was launched in 1950 embraced four objectives and one must understand these objectives in order to appreciate what this nation set out to do in the exciting gravity of that summer of awakening.

The first objective was—and still is—the rapid build up of military production and construction, to equip our forces in Korea, and other key points, as well as

our growing armed forces at home, and to help our Allies in the free world in equipping their military forces to resist Communist aggression.

This production program naturally included the provision of sufficient reserve stocks to provide their initial striking and holding forces of minimum proportions, to serve as a shield behind which we could convert our entire economy to total mobilization in the event of all-out war.

The second objective was—and still is—the creation of an adequate military mobilization base—which, as provided and maintained would enable us to swing rapidly from any minimal level of current defense production into all-out military production in the event we should be forced into a total war, without the ham-stringing, bottlenecks that would constrict the timing and size of our effort if we begin from a standing start. Examples of this mobilization base familiar to us all because of previous difficulties we have encountered in other mobilization efforts, including this one, are stockpiles of strategic and critical materials with unusual importance to defense, and special types of equipment and tools not present in large quantities in the civilian economy, which are specialized for the production of key weapons and military equipment and require long lead times to make available.

The third objective was—and still is—the building up of our productive facilities required in increased quantities for our limited mobilization program, and which total war would require in far greater dimensions. The Defense Production Act declared that the task undertaken required not only the diversion of materials from civilian use to defense purposes but the expansion of productive facilities beyond the levels needed to meet the civilian demand; it was felt that this expansion would make it possible for us to superimpose a sizable military production on a civilian economy which in 1950 was strained to the utmost just to produce goods and services which we Americans, used to a high living standard, were buying at record levels. To make our economy capable of carrying the added burden of defense and to ultimately relieve the shortages that an accelerated defense program entailed, we needed more steel, more aluminum, more chemicals, more electric power, more freight cars, ships, more of a whole catalog of things, and an expansion program would make it possible for us to get them.

The last objective was—and still is—that we are to maintain a sound and prosperous civilian economy while facilitating the achievement of the defense objectives. With that type of economy, the economic good health of the country would be better able to support the burden of military production with relatively minor sacrifices, and those equitably distributed. Without the powers provided in the Defense Production Act to allocate materials and facilities in an orderly manner to expand those materials and

facilities which proved to be in short supply as a result of the military build-up, and to control the inflation that is a necessary consequence of any such program unless there is a strong and adequate economic stabilization effort, the economy would have been undermined, tax receipts to finance the mobilization effort would fall off, unemployment would have increased and all the evils of inflation would have undermined and jettisoned our economy in its defense program.

Where do we stand two years later in our progress toward the achievement of these four objectives in the original defense mobilization program.

The last of the objectives has been substantially achieved, namely; the preservation of a sound and prosperous civilian economy in the face of substantial diversions of materials and facilities to rapidly accelerated military and defense supporting production during the past two years. Due to the wise expansion of basic resources and facilities important for defense, the early shortages are being overcome while a well ordered system of distribution of available supplies continues to give military and atomic energy programs their full requirements and a civilian economy an equitable distribution of the remainder. All business indices—such as the rate of failures of manufacturing and distributive enterprise, rate of employment and unemployment, volume of production and tone of the civilian market indicate that through this period of severest shortages and diversions, no sectors of the economy have been subjected to impairment and there has been a minimum strain and dislocation. I am told the rate of unemployment this month is the lowest since World War II. The building trades are busy even in urban areas such as New York where little defense construction was authorized. I saw on the news ticker that there was a labor shortage in Detroit. There is enough copper for the brass mills of the Connecticut Valley. The principal cause of any materials unemployment is the very passing and temporary after effects of the work stoppage in steel.

Another objective, namely; the expansion of our basic resources, needed in increased quantities for defense, is going forward at a gratifying pace. It promises to provide on presently approved projects approximately \$23 billion of privately owned industrial facilities importantly related to the requirements of the economy as increased by defense production and also to provide a part of our mobilization base.

The incentive for this feature of the defense mobilization program has been provided by the use of accelerated tax amortization authorized in the Revenue Act of 1950. It will under present arrangements double our aluminum capacity, give us an increased steel capacity equal to the total size of the steel industry in Great Britain, increase in electric power equal to all that existing from the beginning of the power industry in this

country through 1939, and similarly impressive additions in strength and productive capacity for many other types of materials and products.

Because this defense plant expansion, aided by tax amortization, has been greatly misunderstood, and subject to occasionally sharp criticisms from spokesmen for organized labor, including I might say in all frankness, publications of the American Federation of Labor, I should like for you to understand the facts about this important and key element in our defense mobilization effort. While the governmental authorities should be ready to answer for any abuses that may exist in this program, we and you, and the country at large, have every reason to be gratified and thankful for the wisdom of the Congress in making it possible, and the vision and the responsiveness of private industry in taking advantage of it.

Two years ago Congress passed a law permitting companies which build or expand facilities for defense production to "write-off" the cost of those plants in five years instead of the usual period of about 25 years. Congress reasoned that in a period of high taxes business would need some incentive to build new plants for defense production, particularly in those cases where the market for defense products might severely decrease sometime during the emergency period.

There are two points I want to stress about this program as it has worked out. First, the Government doesn't hand out any money. For example, if a firm is authorized to write-off the cost of a million dollar plant in five years instead of 25, it simply means that it will be able to deduct \$200,000 a year from the income on which it pays taxes. However, if it takes that deduction it will have no deduction for depreciation of those facilities, for the next 20 years and, depending on the tax structure, the Government will eventually recapture most, if not all, of the tax revenue which it postponed during the emergency period.

Second, the tremendous industrial expansion since Korea has resulted in a substantial increase in corporate income. The more corporate income there is, the more tax revenue the Government gets. Therefore, the rapid tax amortization program has actually increased tax revenues by stimulating an extraordinary industrial expansion. And I do not need to remind you, I am sure, that this expansion has been a big factor in creating and maintaining our high level of employment.

As I see it, the tax amortization program stimulates industrial expansion, and thus increases tax revenues, particularly on the higher volume of production made possible, while at the same time allowing individual firms to postpone—and I emphasize the word "postpone"—payment of limited amounts of taxes during the emergency period. Perhaps the necessary expansion would have been made without this tax incentive, but that was a risk that Congress—wisely, I think—did not choose to take.

The tax amortization program has its defects, of course, but it seems to me that it has proved to be a most effective method of helping private industry to achieve the nation's mobilization goals.

I certainly do not believe that this program is a "bonanza" for industry. Instead, I regard it as an effective device for giving defense-related industry a hand without giving it a hand-out.

There were only two ways to get these facilities—either private capital could build them or the Government would have to build them. During World War II the Government undertook the direct construction of plants totaling \$30 billion in value. This time, with the exception of the Atomic Energy Program, there has been no Government plant construction non-arsenal in type. Congress determined that the defense expansion should be accomplished by private capital by recognizing the difficulties of normal depreciation in abnormal times.

These are not normal times. We are seeking abnormal expansion under abnormally high tax rates to meet abnormal requirements. Normal depreciation does not provide adequate recognition of the risks peculiar to abnormal expansion and abnormally high taxes. Among these risks are uncertainty as to the full use of new facilities during the entire emergency, uncertainty as to the level of tax rates during the emergency, and uncertainty as to the economic usefulness after the emergency of the abnormal capacity needed during the emergency.

Industry has applied for tax certification facilities estimated to cost more than \$33 billions. We have granted tax certificates to produce over \$23 billion of new capacity which we regard as necessary in the interest of national defense. Of this amount, however, only 60% of the total investment, or \$13.7 billion, has been certified for accelerated amortization. The increased deductions from taxes which are taken now by accelerated amortization cannot be taken later. No facility can ever receive more depreciation than its cost. With less depreciation remaining after the emergency, taxes for these companies are likely to be higher. In due time, therefore, the taxes that are not collected now will to a great extent be collected later if the company remains in business. At the same time the Treasury is receiving much larger tax revenues from the earnings which have been generated by this expansion.

We have obtained much needed expansion for our economy with its extra defense burden, faced by the threat of increased needs should there be a total war. The cost to the Government, if any, has been slight. The results have been phenomenal. In the bargain, we have avoided the inflationary effects of billions of Government spending for Government owned plants.

Taxes have not been increased because of the tax amortization program. But they would have had to be tremendously increased if the Government had not been

able to get this expansion through the tax amortization program. Either that, or the \$15 to \$20 billion of Government funds it would have taken to build the plants would have meant just that much less in planes, tanks, and guns.

Now let us measure where we stand in the achievement of the other two objectives—provision of military production and a military mobilization base.

With the new funds that Congress made available in July appropriations for military procurement and construction, including military aid, reached a total of \$128 billion, including funds appropriated since Korea and available but unexpended at that time. Approximately \$40 billion worth of military products and facilities have been delivered and approximately an additional \$60 billion has been placed on order. The remainder—\$28 billion is not yet ordered. The rate of deliveries has been steadily accelerated. If we consider all the military programs: the rate of monthly deliveries as of the end of June this year, have been more than 6½ times the rate at the time of the attack on Korea. The curve of deliveries of hard goods production including planes, tanks, ammunition, guns, and the like, has steadily accelerated as procurement became organized, design difficulties were ironed out, production lines established and the flow of manifold parts and components for the long lead—time items filled the pipe lines of production leading to final assembly.

In the last fiscal year the rate of deliveries in this key segment of the military program was three times as great per quarter at the end of the fiscal year as the rate at the beginning.

These hot production lines and the workers that man them, together with the increased resources of highly specialized types of materials and facilities required for their operations, constitute welcome additions to our mobilization base. In addition to providing the weapons currently needed, they put us into a position to move into total mobilization from something more than the standing-start which confronted the nation in the fall of 1950.

But let me emphasize one all important fact in this appraisal of the progress we have made. It would be an error to the point of sheer folly to mistake the alleviation of our worst and early shortages and the buildup of particular phases of our defense production effort for the completion of the mobilization program. In fact, as I have repeatedly tried to emphasize we are only part-way through to the achievement of some of the objectives of this program.

Our accomplishments should not be allowed to obscure the fact that much remains to be done to reach the path that brings us to the plateau of adequate military preparedness. After we have reached that plateau we must forge a national program for sustaining over the long-term future an adequate force in being equipped with the most effective and up-to-date weapons and maintaining a mobil-

ization base still to be completed and rounded.

Let us look at some of the defense production challenges that are ahead.

We must support the current buildup stage in military production maintaining basic production rates of some items and continuing to accelerate the production of other key weapons and equipment, while reducing those in which adequate supplies and reserve stocks have been produced to a sustaining rate. We must not forget that those 60 billion dollars of military procurement and construction still on order, undelivered and in the pipelines, together with the 28 billion dollars yet to be ordered represented weapons and equipment we must have to satisfy the minimum equipment needs of our permanent security force. Special escort for this production through priority and allocation devices must be maintained so that their material and facility needs will continue to be met fully on time and the momentum we have gained will not be lost, regardless of how far we relax these production controls on the civilian economy.

We must develop new organizational techniques and more effective coordination of government, industry and science to assure a constantly improving quality of weapons. We are living in an age of technological revolutions affecting military science as well as civilian life—the offensive and defense implications of electronics, atomic energy, jet propulsion, and petrochemicals, and high-heat alloys to mention a few, are staggering to scientist, and soldier. Means of defense as well as offense must be provided promptly along the most advanced lines that our scientific revolution can make possible. We must meet the problems of obsolescence and change and yet we cannot put off adequate volume-production of the best weapons available today because of the hope or expectation that there will be better ones tomorrow. We must achieve a nice balance between sustained quality superiority and volume-production in the terrible technological competition in which getting behind in the race may spell destruction and defeat. For example, the genius of America must be harnessed up both to deal out retribution and repel attack through ever changing combinations of ever better aircraft, guided missiles and electronic devices. It is my hope that the Office of Defense Mobilization can do more to assure the triumph of a free science in a free system against the slave science that is harnessed for our destruction. I do not know any greater contribution to preserving what Lincoln called “a just and lasting peace” for the Free World.

Let no one be deluded that we can complete and maintain this military shield basic to a 20th century national security without the annual payment of an insurance premium that will come high in the devotion of our best talents, our money and our material resources and require the endowment of our Government with power and authority to maintain some machinery of mobilization that in normal times we would find intolerable.

We must now only maintain the military shield which would be our first striking or holding force, we must round out and maintain our military mobilization base so that we can move swiftly and surely into total mobilization with quantity production of weapons and equipment far beyond the currently projected cold war levels should total aggression envelop the free world.

To do this we must keep the current defense plant expansion program. We must certify selective changes in the current expansion goals, discover the potential or existing pockets, chinks and bottlenecks in our mobilization base, which increased experience enables us to determine.

World War II and the current emergency should have served to teach us at least one lesson, namely, that highly specialized production equipment and machine tools for weapons and special military equipment that requires 18 to 24 months to build cannot be procured in the first months of production build-up; it must be provided for in advance or a controlling bottleneck will result. All the risks of a long and costly war attended by the destruction and absorption of our Allies is an unavoidable alternative to such advance preparation.

We must provide against the potential bottlenecks which would develop in the event of total war in certain types of finishing capacity not available in adequate quantities through conversion of civilian industry.

As the shortages of critical defense materials are relieved, we must accelerate the achievement of our stockpile goals according to some schedule of readiness planning so that we will have the necessary reserves within the country in the event of total aggression. Such advance measures free us from the perils inherent in the interruption of imports and the time-taking longlead time process of development of domestic reserves.

We have much to learn and do in the analogous area of developing reserve stocks of certain types of components, forms and shapes which are peculiarly related to and required in large amounts for military production might present serious bottlenecks in the event the nation was forced to triple, or quadruple its production of key items in a short space of time.

The assessment of total mobilization schedule for various categories and types of scientific and engineering personnel, and skilled labor will reflect ceilings on the production and operation of key weapons and equipment. Advance measures are necessary if availability of certain types of manpower is not to become the bottleneck.

The civilian defense of our key industry centers and other measures of post-attack production preparedness are no longer merely raw material for movie scenarios. They must become a part of our living pattern as the distances and remoteness of the oceans and the arctic wastes melt away before the heat of jet propulsion and supersonic speeds.

A most expensive and at the same time the most necessary part of this military mobilization base is the keeping of certain production lines "hot" and their basic production organizations intact in the daily manufacturing, even on a limited basis, of the long leadtime military weapons. The economy and efficiency of this phase of a continuing mobilization readiness will depend upon increasing the stability and going-concern value of trained teams of government, industry and labor performing the repetitive processes of research and development, design, testing, tooling and quantity production.

For example, there must be built into our economy the production of aircraft, just as their has been built in to it an automotive industry and vaunted efficiency. That phenomena, with its superior and recognized productive merit, was built on a developing mass market. For the time-being at least a large part of that mass market for aircraft must be provided by the military. The complex of the Department of Air, the aircraft, and related industries, such as machine tools and aircraft components, cannot achieve and maintain superiority and efficiency on a feast or famine diet.

Finally, we cannot have an adequate mobilization base, to meet the threat of total war or new aggression in strategic areas without maintaining some organizational machinery in the form of men and authorities able to intensify mobilization rapidly. We may not relish in our mind's eye the mental picture of the firemen in periodic idleness or the bureaucratic controller fondling standby controls, but as one of my associates put it the other day, the free world is a room with shavings all over the floor, and a certain group of ruthless men standing at various windows with lighted matches ready to throw them in when it serves their purpose. We must keep the fire fighters and the fire control equipment handy if we expect to keep our world from going up in the flames of aggression and inflation in the event another match is tossed. We simply cannot afford to permit the Communist incendiaries to undermine our economy by creating another wave of inflation on the heels of a new emergency that finds us without effective laws and organization to put out the kind of fire that burned in the summer and fall of 1950 while the Congress and Executives were organizing the firemen and passing out the hose.

Against this background let us take a forward look. A survey of the increased availability of supplies of materials and industrial equipment, which will become available in the year ahead due to the expansion programs, wisely undertaken in the years just passed, indicates the existence of opportunities to raise our security goals or achieve current security goals faster without any impairment of the civilian economy. Our choice now is not between building our mobilization base and turning out increasing quantities of key weapons and maintaining a healthy civilian economy. There is room now to achieve progress on all these objectives if

the funds and the authority are made available in the period ahead.

The decisions concerning the future of defense production will be made by the nation as a whole, acting through the President and Congress. Whatever the decisions, I should like to venture some comment on how we should arrive at them.

They should be made in the future years of the defense mobilization program as they have been made for the first three years of this program, namely: a determination in the light of the demonstrable security needs of the country based on the advices received from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, measured against the feasibility of achieving the objectives outlined as required for the national security. It should be made in the light of the opinion of the recent officially quoted opinion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as considering "the general period of 1954 to be the most dangerous for the security of the United States in the foreseeable future." They should be made with the knowledge that to face the most critical years for our security in an atmosphere of mounting military production of select key weapons and equipment, of a long leadtime character that cannot be produced on short notice is a great strategic advantage. They should be made in the light of an assessment of Soviet intentions and capabilities as provided by the agencies responsible for collection and assessment of this intelligence. These decisions naturally should include a consideration of the budget and fiscal factors as they relate to the continued maintenance of a sound economy.

They should not be made and they have not been made in the mobilization period—as a result of any desire to maintain artificial levels of defense expenditures merely for the sake of assuring a continued gradual inflation with the pleasant consequences of heavy employment as some sort of military WPA.

These decisions should not be predetermined or foreclosed by picking some attractive budget figure out of a hat on the assumption that the U.S.A. in this critical and dangerous period in world history can afford to devote only this share of that share of its resources to the national security. The question is not only what can we afford for national security? It is also can we afford not to make the provisions determined to be necessary for our security in this struggle for peace. The difference between the wise figure and an arbitrarily chosen figure may be the difference between security and disaster.

One last thought. Our common pride in past progress in defense mobilization is overborne at times by our deep concern, lest the buildup in national strength, plus achievements in handling some of our worst material and equipment shortages, give rise to a false sense of optimism, security and complacency. These attitudes if they emerge in the executive and legislative branches of the Government or in the public mind can retard the completion of our scheduled military buildup, both of

our own forces and those of our Allies in the Free World and prevent our maintaining the shield of strength.

Yet there are unmistakable signs of the emergence of these attitudes. They abound on every side, both here and in Western Europe.

You can look around you in your daily life and see evidences of the danger of a let down. There are many signs—the threat of legislatively enforced stretchouts of defense spending which may provoke the resounding echo across the water in the form of reduced rearmament in Western Europe, and, of course, the natural catering to the wishful thinking of all of us who pay the taxes or bear the weight of Government interference with private affairs that are a necessary consequence of a broad scale defense mobilization program. Unwarranted and indiscriminating resort to the work-stoppage by management and labor affecting key construction operations of an atomic energy installation being built on a hairline schedule, or the production of vitally needed aircraft without resorting to all the processes of mediation, conciliation, and arbitration is one sign that I must not fail to mention merely because you have done me the honor of inviting me here. Undoubtedly one of the strategies of our enemies is based on the likelihood that the United States and its Allies in the free world will seek normalcy in the face of abnormal risks, or put off the achievement of relative readiness until a better day which never comes.

It has been well said recently: "to relax in the clear knowledge that the strength to deter all-out aggression is like building a house without a roof in the hope it will never rain."

History teaches that any lethargy in national preparedness in the face of hostile and ruthless power will be followed by disaster. Lest the fatal sequence of invasion, triumph and lethargy and disaster overtake America, it behooves you and me, and every responsible American to understand just where we stand in our progress toward security. It behooves us to fix definite objectives, challenging in time and scope for our future accomplishments for national security and to hold to these objectives despite the alternating storms and lulls by an enemy who is a master of that art. Only by so doing can the attitudes that give rise to lethargy and confusion of purpose be dispelled. Given a full understanding between the legislative, the executive branches on these common problems, and an appreciation of their nature by the public, which the American Federation of Labor, and its members are a great and important part, our national security objectives can be accomplished.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Mr. Fowler for the splendid address he delivered and for his visit with us and the fine spirit which he has shown toward the American Federation of Labor. As I told you, he occupies a very, very important position with the government. He is the

administrator of a section of the government that is of deep interest to the membership of our great organization. We want to work with him; we want to cooperate with him, and we want to help him and advise him in every way possible. When he goes back to Washington he can carry with him the assurance of full cooperation and support of the American Federation of Labor.

Thank you very much.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Tobin of the Committee on Laws for a report of that committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TOBIN: The secretary of the committee, Eddie Volz, President of the Photo-Engravers, will make the report to you.

Committee Secretary Volz submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

To Officers and Delegates
Seventy-first Convention
American Federation of Labor

Greeting:

Your Committee on Laws had two propositions referred to it, Resolutions No. 73 and 74, appearing on pages 48 and 49 of the first day's proceedings.

Both the foregoing resolutions were given careful consideration by your Committee at a meeting held on September 17 and the following is respectfully submitted:

AMEND A.F.L. CONSTITUTION ARTICLE XI, SECTION I

Resolution No. 73—By Central Labor Council of Honolulu, Hawaii.

(Page 48, First Day's Proceedings)

While not favorable to the foregoing Resolution No. 73, the intent of which is not entirely clear, your Committee is nevertheless aware of some of the difficulties confronting our organizations in Hawaii and recommends that the proposition be referred to the Executive Council for such disposition and action as may appear warranted, after further study.

The Committee moves concurrence in its recommendation.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Tobin, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE POLITICAL EDUCATION ACTIVITY

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 48, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee, while in accord with the intent of the foregoing Resolution No. 74, is nevertheless of the opinion that the purpose sought should be attained through educational means and voluntary approach rather than by the enactment of a law which would be mandatory and may prove difficult of enforcement where questioned or disregarded.

The Committee accordingly recommends non-concurrence in the proposition as submitted and moves that its action be sustained.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Volz, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY VOLZ: Mr. Chairman, that concludes the report of the Committee on Laws. It is signed by the entire committee that participated in the meeting, and we accordingly conclude our report and move that it be adopted as a whole.

Respectfully submitted,

Daniel J. Tobin, Chairman
Edward J. Volz, Secretary
Harry J. Steeper
Francis D. Ford
Leonard Greco
Peter J. Cahill
Emily Jordan
Anthony Matz
Sol Ciento
Sam J. Byers
Luigi Antonini
David Sullivan
H. O'Neill Shanks
James Killen
John P. Redmond
Committee on Laws

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

MUSICAL PRESENTATION BY ILGWU

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to announce that this afternoon at the conclusion of the afternoon session, at about 4:15, there will be presented for the delegates a musical narrative entitled "The Story of Mary Brown." This presentation will be made on the stage which has been erected especially for that purpose, and it will be given in honor of the delegates to this convention. I would like to note that the members of the cast who present this musical narrative to you are all members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Let me repeat again—and I am quite sure you will be interested and entertained by this showing—this will be at the conclusion of the afternoon session. It will take approximately 40 to 45 minutes.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It seems appropriate for me to refer to the fact that our very dear friend who is here this morning to meet us, to greet us and to speak to us has been in public life for quite a long time. During that period he has served in a public capacity in a way that has challenged our admiration. It has been a consistent service, a devoted service. There have been no variations, and the value of that service we cannot estimate so far as labor is concerned.

While serving in New York State he served the people in a wonderful way, and then he went to the Senate of the United States where he has measured up to a very high standard of excellence. As a result of that he has grown in our affection. He occupies a very large place in our esteem and regard. We place him high on our list of friends.

Senator Lehman, because he follows the course he does, can always count on the membership of the American Federation of Labor going to the polls to vote for him on election day. Now I am pleased to present him to you. I know this will be a treat for you, and we are happy because he is here. I present to you a great statesman, a great friend of labor, Senator Herbert H. Lehman, of New York.

**HONORABLE HERBERT H.
LEHMAN**

(United States Senator, New York)

Mr. Green, Mr. Meany, Dan Tobin, David Dubinsky, Tom Murray, Jim Quinn, and my many other friends of the American Federation of Labor: Mr. Green, I want to thank you very sincerely for your very gracious introduction, which I deeply appreciate.

My friends, I am happy to be here and grateful for the opportunity of again addressing the American Federation of Labor, as I have on so many other occasions. For more than 50 years I have been privileged to watch organized labor in this country expanding from very small beginnings. During that period, and particularly in the last 20 years, the growth of organized labor, both in numbers and in influence, has been spectacular. That growth was inevitable, because both in war and in peace organized labor, under responsible leadership has concerned itself wholeheartedly with the interests of the country as a whole. Its influence has been very great, not only in furthering the well-being of its own members, but in firmly building the security, the prosperity and the welfare of the whole nation and of every segment of our population.

I am very proud, my friends, to have been privileged in this effort to be associated in some degree with you during the past half century, and I am very grateful indeed for your many evidences of confidence in me.

From France, where I have just visited, to New York it is less than four days by ship; it is less than five hours by jet-propelled airplane, and less than one-fiftieth of a second by radio. Only a century ago the quickest communication between the European continent and our own was fifteen days.

This tremendous acceleration in the speed of contact between continents, as well as in the power of production, is the chief characteristic of this modern age. Speed and more speed is our slogan. It is our blessing, as it is our burden and responsibility. The whirling wheels of modern machines have produced the turbo-jet and television; at the same time they have given us the atom and hydrogen bombs. Science has given us the prospect of plenty for all; but has confronted us also with the possibility of total destruction and the extinction of civilization itself.

In these anxious hours of world history, both our words and our deeds must be carefully measured. Especially in these days of political decision, when a new President of the United States is to be chosen, Europe and Asia are listening to every speech and statement by our leading candidates and their supporters.

I had hoped that foreign policy would not be an issue in this campaign. In the Congress, questions of foreign policy have

been generally decided without regard to party lines. But now in this campaign, foreign policy has been made an issue.

Nor is foreign policy the only non-partisan question to be pressed into service as a party issue. In a similar category are the questions of civil rights and of civil liberties.

Like foreign policy, these questions, too, go to the roots of our national existence; they play a central part in our security at home and our prestige abroad. But whether we like it or not, these questions, too, have been caught up in partisan politics and will figure in this campaign.

We cannot prevent this. But the American people can insist that political leaders and candidates treat these questions on the highest plane of national interest, and not as mere pawns on the political chess-board.

Thus, political leaders who cynically measure the importance of civil rights by the yardstick of votes alone are playing politics with the moral strength of America in the free world.

What are these civil rights we talk about? They are basic rights, assured by our Constitution to all, but denied, in practice, to many of our citizens . . . denied because of race, color, creed, or national origin. The fight for civil rights is simply the fight against discrimination and bigotry in all its ugly forms. It is the fight for equality in political activity, in the use of public facilities, in educational opportunity, in jobs and employment. It is the fight against lynch law, against public prejudice, against pushing people around because of their race, their color, or their religion.

I do not know how many votes are won or lost by a political party's stand on civil rights. But I do know that more than one and a half billions of colored peoples in the world beyond our borders base their reactions toward America largely on the way we treat our colored citizens and other minorities here at home. And it does not help to point out to these foreign peoples that some of their countries practice some kinds of discrimination, too, or that the Soviet Union is full of slave labor camps. My friends, there is no convincing defense for injustice anywhere, especially in America.

In this closely-knit and interdependent world, in this world where the false prophets of Communism preach if not practice the doctrine of racial equality, in this world of conflict and competition for the allegiance of men's minds, we simply cannot afford, in our own country to tolerate discrimination based on race, color, creed, or national origin, whether in the field of political rights, personal security, educational opportunity, or jobs and employment.

And, I must say that this statement is just as true for a labor union, as for the Government and for private industry. Every organization, private and public, should put its house in order, in this matter of discrimination. And every organization should lend its efforts to the

speedy elimination of this blight from the entire fabric of our national life.

All branches of Government—local, state, and national—must play their necessary parts in this undertaking. Whatever avenues of action are necessary to achieve our goal of no discrimination must be utilized. It is much better that there be some overlapping of our efforts than that there be a gap in our efforts. The Federal Government has the final responsibility to see that the necessary results are achieved without undue delay. It is a Federal responsibility, because this is a question of the constitutional rights of some of our citizens, and also of the most urgent international interest.

The chief roadblock to action in the United States Senate, the filibuster must be struck down. Democracy must not be sacrificed on the altar of unlimited debate. As one candidate for the Presidency so aptly put it—I need not mention his name—"Every man has a right to be heard, but no man has the right to strangle democracy with a single set of vocal chords." The Senate must revise its rules so that the will of the majority, after reasonable debate, may prevail, and not be blocked by the dilatory tactics of a willful minority. I want to emphasize just as strongly as possible, to correct the dishonest statements that have been made, that I do not in any way favor and do not advocate gag rules. All I am fighting for, all my associates in the Senate are fighting for is that cloture can be invoked after free debate lasting many days. I do not care to what party or faction the willful minority belongs. This is a cause in which men of good will of both parties must enroll. I am proud that my party is pledged to this course of action, but the ranks in this crusade are open, and they bear no party label.

So much for civil rights. There is also the question of civil liberties. Whereas civil rights are for the most part economic, physical and material, and are rights denied to some Americans, civil liberties are largely intellectual, mental and spiritual, and are endangered for all Americans.

Civil liberties include the freedom to think, write and speak as one pleases. They are the right to have such friends as one prefers, and above all, to worship God as one chooses. The fight for civil liberties is the never-ending fight against tyranny over the mind and soul.

And now, in the same way as civil rights are being persistently denied to some, civil liberties are being insistently attacked for all. We know, of course, that civil liberties, the most precious of our constitutional privileges, are also the most prone to invasion and assault. That invasion can be insidious. It can parade in the false armor of patriotism. But whatever its approach or disguise, it must be resisted.

Today the greatest and most immediate danger to our civil liberties is from what we call McCarthyism. The deadly and infectious quality of this danger was never so clearly demonstrated as by the results

of the Wisconsin primary election last week, which should be terrifying to every sound, loyal, good American citizen.

The McCarthyites unquestionably have an appeal. They come before the people as super-patriots. They play hard on the natural fears and alarms aroused by Communist successes abroad. They thrive on fear. They revel in it.

Cynical political leaders in our country, who want to profit from McCarthyism while pretending concern over its methods, excuse the iniquitous acts of the McCarthyites as arising from an excess of zeal in a good cause rather than from lack of principle or decency. These political cynics are not much better than the McCarthyites themselves.

And finally there are those timid souls who privately condemn McCarthyism but, who, fearful of political consequences, refuse to speak out in public. These men of little faith are less than fit for the sacred trust of public office which they seek or enjoy.

The McCarthyites say they are fighting Communists. I say they are helping the Communists, even if unconsciously. Indeed, the effect of McCarthyism is to destroy the greatest defenses we have against Communism at home—the people's faith in freedom and their devotion to democratic principles. And abroad, the effect is even more catastrophic. We are held up to ridicule and contempt before the world as a democracy without dignity, and as a free nation with little faith in freedom.

What have we to be afraid of?

Of course there are Communists in this country, as there are everywhere. There were a few in Government. There were some in labor unions, and some, even in private industry. They have done some harm, in Government, in the labor movement and in the country at large. But all Communists who have been discovered as such have been removed from their jobs in the Government, through the processes of the Loyalty program; they have been ousted from positions of leadership in almost all labor unions by the expressed will of the members. There still may be a few Communists undiscovered or undislodged, in Government, in the labor unions, and in private industry. They should be removed from any positions of influence and power, in a proper and legal manner. Political termites who would undermine the foundations of our security and democracy have no claim on our consideration.

But should we throw out the baby with the bath water? Are we in such deadly peril from Communists in this country that we should jettison our judicial processes, turn the Government upside down, paralyze our policies at home and abroad, and make every man prove his loyalty by McCarthyite standards? Is this what we have come to? I do not think so. What are the facts?

The fact is that the Communist design of subversion is being frustrated in most of the vital centers in Europe and elsewhere in the world. And at home, no na-

tion is more secure against effective Communist influence than the United States today.

Our national prosperity and our progress in strengthening our democratic institutions, including labor unions, afford no foothold or comfort to the Communists.

We are going to keep it that way.

You and I know that the chief objective of Communist effort in this country has been and continues to be the infiltration of our labor unions. The Communists have suffered defeat after defeat in this design. The greatest obstacle to Communist success in this country is not McCarthyism, but a strong, free and democratic labor movement, along with the other pro-democratic forces which help to keep the people's faith in freedom firm and strong.

The Communists are not going to get anywhere in this country, as long as the democratic forces are given free play. But let the people be filled with fear, distrust and suspicion, as too many people are already, and let the people lose their confidence in the constitutional processes of democracy, and then, and only then, can the plans of the Communists have a chance for success.

The end and object of McCarthyism is to drive the incumbent political party out of office by leveling unsupported charges of disloyalty against some individuals directly or indirectly connected with Government. That is the cheap and easy way to political power. In that way, the whole fabric of public confidence in Government is torn down. That is really burning the barn down, on the pretext of chasing rats. But I suspect that the McCarthyites are more interested in arson than in treason.

I wish I had time to analyze in detail the techniques that are being used. . . . the technique of the unproved and unprovable charge, of the big lie repeated again and again long after it has been completely disproved, of the lifting of statements out of context, of the public accusations under the protection of congressional immunity, and then the citation of these congressional accusations as proof of the charge, and, finally, by the most devilish technique of all . . . character assassination by association.

This kind of threat to our civil liberties, this threat to our concepts of fair play and human dignity must be met and turned back.

Do not think, my friends of the labor movement, that this sort of attack is reserved only for a few government officials and college professors. This weapon can be used . . . it has been used . . . to attack labor unions and their officers, too. It has been used to strike terror into the movie industry, the radio industry, the stage, the press, and the schools.

It is responsible for such un-American legislation as the Internal Security Act and the Anti-Immigration Act, both passed in the last two years over the President's veto.

That legislation is on the statute books, ready to be used against you and me, and all others who do not agree with some

reactionary orthodoxy subscribed to by these false patriots. Just put an Attorney General in the cabinet who wants to disregard the spirit of the Constitution in favor of the McCarran-Mundt-Nixon-Ferguson Law, and you and all of us will have reason for deep concern.

The labor movement could well be an early victim. And then the schools and the churches. I am convinced that the repressive provisions in these laws now on the statute books are just as dangerous to American labor as the repressive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. And I need not tell you about the Taft-Hartley Act. Just as the Taft-Hartley Act must be repealed—and it must and will be—these other punitive and repressive Acts must also be struck from our statute books, and replaced with sound and reasonable legislation.

All these provisions are of one piece. Study them. They are of the same inspiration. The same forces joined to put them over. Those who pushed hardest for the Taft-Hartley Act were the most fervent in support of the McCarran Security Act and the Anti-Immigration Act. Almost the identical forces block the way to civil rights legislation. Civil rights, civil liberties, and the rights of labor stand or fall together. We are not going to let them fall. We are going to win—we are going to win, for our cause is just and eternally right.

PRESIDENT GREEN: In simple language I want to thank the Senator for his visit here and for his impressive and thrilling address which he delivered to us this morning. I wish that 90 per cent of our United States senators thought the same, voted the same and fought the same in the United States Senate as does our good friend, Senator Lehman.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have with us another distinguished visitor from away off in India. He is here visiting this great city and he is attending our convention. We appreciate that fact very, very much because we interpret his attendance at our convention as evidence of his deep interest in the work of the American Federation of Labor.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you V. B. Karnik, of the National Executive Committee of Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

V. B. KARNIK

(National Executive Committee of Hind Mazdoor Sabha)

President Green and delegates to the Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am ex-

tremely grateful to you for this opportunity that you have given me for bringing to you the cordial greetings of the Indian working class and more particularly of that section of the working class which is organized in the Indian Labor Congress, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, with which I have the honor of being connected.

I bring to you those greetings and I would also like to take this opportunity to express to you our gratitude for the great interest that your organization has taken in the Indian trade union movement. Your organization has maintained an office in our country for the last three years or so, and your representative, Mr. Brown, and Brother Deverall have really rendered us quite a lot of assistance in building the Indian unions on proper lines. I take this opportunity of presenting my gratitude for the work they have done and for the work that your free trade union committee is doing in our country.

I also express the gratitude that we feel for the great economic aid that we are receiving from your country. We receive from you a large amount of aid in the form of wheat, and we are today receiving from you millions of dollars in various other forms of economic aids. I am sure that aid would not have been available to us, and more particularly in this measure, except for the support of the organized American workers and of the American Federation of Labor.

It has been only a few years back that our country became independent. We solved the national problem, but solving the national problem, getting national independence, is not one-half of the task being accomplished. After solving the national problem we are now face to face with the task of solving our economic and social problems. We got national independence, but we have yet to fight for social equality. We have yet to fight for economic equality. That fight has begun, and we of the Indian trade union movement are trying our best to develop that fight in our country with the aid and cooperation of the free trade union movement of the world.

The problem that faces us is extremely complex. We have to build up our country from scratch. We have to build up our industry; we have to build up our agriculture, and more important than all, we have to build up democratic institutions in our country.

If we had been favored with a longer period of time we might have been able to do it ourselves unaided, but circumstances as we are, we are running a race with time when the Communists are on our door steps to exploit our poverty and our misery. We do need the help and cooperation of great organizations like the American Federation of Labor and democratic movements of the world in order to help us accomplish that task as early as possible. If we do not accomplish that task, India may be lost to democracy, and if India is lost to democracy I am afraid the whole of the Asian Continent will be lost to democracy. That is a very big fight that we are up against, and

we are certainly grateful to you for the aid that you have given us, for the economic aid that you are giving us. At the same time we expect from you not merely economic aid, but we expect from you ideological and political aid because the fight against communism is a fight for ideas. It is a fight for the minds of people, for the souls of people. We have to capture the souls and the minds of the Indian masses of the 300 million of our people. We want from you aid and cooperation in that great task.

Therefore, I would like to appeal to you on this occasion, that, apart from the economic aid that you are giving us, you should also consider the possibility of giving us the political, spiritual and ideological aid we need. We want the tools with which we shall be able to combat the menace of communism that is overhanging our country and the whole of the Asian Continent.

Our ways of fighting against communism may be different. We may desire to fight it in a different way. We might lay more emphasis on political and ideological means rather than on military might, but I can assure you that in the fight for democracy, in the fight against totalitarianism and in the fight for the establishment of democracy we are not neutral. We don't believe in neutrality in that fight. We are foursquare with you in the fight for the destruction of totalitarianism and for the establishment of democracy. We are of the opinion that in that fight for democracy and against totalitarianism a stable trade union movement is the greatest bulwark, and we are trying to raise that bulwark in our country. I hope and expect that we shall receive from you that aid and that help which will enable us to build up that bulwark as early as possible.

I thank you, friends, for the opportunity that you have given me of expressing these sentiments and for bringing to you the cordial greetings of the working class of my country.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to take this opportunity to thank our Indian friend very much for his visit and for his fine address just delivered. I know you all appreciate it very deeply.

I now want to present to you Brother Conrad Ilg, who is the Secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation in Switzerland.

I want to introduce him to you to take a bow.

(Mr. Conrad stood and acknowledged the applause of the delegates.)

ANNUAL LABOR MASS

SECRETARY MEANY: I would like to announce that the annual labor Mass for the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention will be celebrated this year at St. Patrick's Cathedral, 50th Street and Fifth Avenue, at 10:00 a.m. on next Sunday, September 21st.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The record now shows that we have completed the work of this morning's session. It is a little early; it isn't quite the hour for adjournment, but if there is no objection the con-

vention will stand recessed until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:10 o'clock, p.m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:00 o'clock, p.m.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:00 o'clock.

ESCORT COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT GREEN: I wish to announce the appointment of the following committee to escort Senator Wayne Morse to the hall this afternoon: Gust Anderson, Portland, Oregon Central Labor Council; J. Howard Hicks, Office Workers, and C. N. Coyle, of the Letter Carriers.

INVITATION TO UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS

Secretary Meany announced that delegates wishing to do so would be welcome to visit United Nations Headquarters, where they might attend some of the meetings of committees if they cared to do so. Delegates desiring to visit the United Nations were asked to contact Miss Fanya Cohn or Toni Sender.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following communications:

Sept. 16, 1952

San Francisco, Calif.

William Green

American Federation of Labor Convention
Hotel Commodore, N. Y. C.

In these times when the dignity of the individual and the freedom of mankind is being besieged from many quarters, the American Federation of Labor is regarded as a stalwart defender of and fighter for mankind's freedom and dignity. I take this opportunity of expressing my best personal regards to the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention. I know that the Convention will be a successful one.

Jack Shelley,
Member of Congress.

Sept. 16, 1952

Washington, D. C.

The President of the Convention of the
American Federation of Labor
Commodore Hotel, N. Y. C.

In the name of the twelve National
Peasant Movements of the captive Euro-

pean countries united in the International Peasant Union, we extend brotherly greetings to American labor upon the occasion of its Seventy-first Convention. We are highly appreciative of the outstanding work that the American Federation of Labor has done in defense of human rights flagrantly violated by the Communist dictatorships, and in the promotion of the international solidarity of free labor. Relying on the close and equal collaboration that exists between American labor and the Peasant organizations, we face the future with confidence believing firmly in the eventual triumph of freedom, democracy and international unity.

International Peasant Union

President: Stanislaw Mikolajczyk

Secretary General: Dr. G. M. Dimitrov

Sept. 15, 1952

Washington, D. C.

Hon. William Green, Pres.

American Federation of Labor Convention
Commodore Hotel, N. Y. C.

Never in the history of our nation has there been a greater need for an adequate program of rehabilitation and employment for our 30,000,000 physically handicapped citizens. This can be done by enactment of our Federal Agency for Handicapped bill, in which the A. F. L. has collaborated and which has failed because primarily Graham A. Barden, Chairman, House Committee on Education and Labor for the past two years has unfairly refused even hearings on this important measure. I hope and urge that the A. F. L. which spearheaded the program establishing both rehabilitation and employment 32 years ago will continue its support and I urge that all internationals lend their full backing, financially and otherwise to our efforts at this critical time. With best wishes for a successful convention and personal regards.

Paul A. Strachan, President
American Federation of the
Physically Handicapped

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

CHAIRMAN WOLL: The committee will

report first on the report of the Executive Council.

INTRODUCTION

(Executive Council's Report, p. 73)

This year, when the American people are preparing to choose a new President and a new Congress, Labor has a special responsibility to drive for the full exercise of their rights as citizens in a democracy by all who work. This, the seventy-first convention of the American Federation of Labor, concurs wholeheartedly in the Executive Council's call for the full exercise of their franchise by the working men and women of America. We ask every affiliate and every member of our Federation to do their part on the coming Election Day to further labor's cause.

Political action is a means to an end. That end is the realization of man's freedom, of opportunity to produce and create in accordance with his choice and the fulfillment of his rights. The foremost of these is the right to join others in the achievement of greater welfare and better living for all.

It is our duty to make secure and inviolate the right of workers to act together for mutual aid, protection and advancement. The exercise of this right is the first, undeferrable and overriding task of organized labor. We are dedicated to the purpose of carrying out the task through self-reliance, independence and joint effort.

To us as trade-unionists the first concern is with human advancement through the voluntary process of collective bargaining. To us as citizens the foremost duty is to make full use of our institutions so that they may better serve freedom, justice and the rights of man.

With this comment, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ISSUANCE OF LOCAL UNION CHARTERS TO PERSONS OUTSIDE OF TRADE JURISDICTION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 94)

At its 1952 meeting the Executive Council designated a committee consisting of Vice President Dubinsky, Vice President McPetridge and Secretary-Treasurer Meany to investigate reports of scattered instances in which International Unions have issued local union charters to persons outside of the International Union's trade jurisdiction. Your Committee commends the committee appointed by the Executive Council for its expeditious attack upon this problem. In the few months since its establishment, this committee has secured

the withdrawal of several local union charters which had been improperly issued. We reiterate the unswerving purpose of the American Federation of Labor to be unrelenting in its efforts to maintain the integrity of our movement and to safeguard it from intrusion by any elements from any source which might seek to subvert the high purposes of trade unionism to their personal gain or to illegal ends.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

LEGAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

(Pages 150-157, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee has read with great interest the Report of the Executive Council on the work of the Office of the General Counsel. This report refers to an important phase of the functioning of the American Federation of Labor and should be read by all. It sets forth in brief form the litigation in which the American Federation of Labor was involved either directly or indirectly. It indicates the legal assistance rendered to A. F. of L. Federal Labor Unions and Councils. Further, it explains the function of the American Federation of Labor's legal staff in interpreting and rendering opinions concerning the numerous complex provisions of the various federal laws in the field of labor relations, including, of course, the Taft-Hartley Act, as well as the many anti-labor laws presently existing in almost all of the states.

Not only must the laws themselves be studied and interpreted, but many court decisions and administrative rulings applying the law must also be considered. Finally, laws proposed before Congress or before the state legislatures often require legal analysis so that their full meaning, scope and effect can be ascertained.

In addition, there is the necessity for representation in court litigation and proceedings before administrative boards and agencies both federal and state. With a continuance of controls and the increase in number of decisions interpreting the federal and state laws, the work of the Office of the General Counsel has again increased during the past year.

Three significant conclusions emerge from this report:

(1) An increased tendency exists on the part of employers to litigate labor questions and bring damage suits against unions, and there is a growing tendency to bring labor issues more and more to legal review and questioning. In addition

to the Taft-Hartley Act, the long forgotten conspiracy and anti-trust laws are being used to harass unions. While it is true that many of the lawsuits which are commenced are absolutely devoid of merit, nevertheless they serve employers a two-fold purpose of dissipating labor's energies and keeping their legal counsel involved in preparations for defense, with consequent loss of time in achieving other goals.

(2) Because of the tendency to resort to litigation, because of the greatly enhanced opportunity for bringing harassing suits under the Taft-Hartley Act and the numerous state anti-labor laws, and because of the growth in size and strength of labor organizations and the greater lengths to which employers are willing to go to offset this increased strength, there is an increased need for the use of great care to avoid conflict with the law. This means, of course, close consultation with the legal staff on almost every phase of labor's external activities, so that labor can be apprized *before* it gets involved in litigation of the legal difficulties and pitfalls which beset its path. In the field of labor relations it is more true than ever that "to be forewarned is to be forearmed."

(3) Grave need exists for a carefully considered over-all revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. More and more employers are learning how to use the Act in the courts and before the boards to labor's disadvantage. Indeed, the Supreme Courts of two states, Alabama and Oregon, have decided that they will entertain private suits for injunction brought by employers in the state courts for claimed violations of the federal law. This, of course, would mean a quick return to the era of "government by injunction," with the thousands of state courts, each interpreting the Taft-Hartley Act to the convenience of those employer interests with which they might be friendly.

The Office of the General Counsel has appealed the Alabama case to the United States Supreme Court where it is hoped a reversal will be obtained. But regardless of whatever success labor might have in the courts, the punitive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act still remain and their elimination is required so that labor may once more draw a breath free from the threat of injunctions, damage suits and administrative intervention.

The Office of the General Counsel is to be thoroughly commended for the successful manner in which it has guided the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated Federal Labor Unions and Councils through the maze of federal and state legislation that presently makes a legal morass of the entire field of industrial relations.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report, as well as the report of the Executive Council on this subject, was unanimously adopted.

DEVELOPMENTS UNDER THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 157)

Concrete evidence is provided by the Executive Council of the way in which recent actions by the courts and the National Labor Relations Board have abridged the rights of workers, imposed ruinous financial burdens upon unions, and have invaded the workers' freedom of association and the right of collective bargaining.

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act is a clear and urgent necessity, not only for the preservation of the rights of labor, but also for the maintenance of sound labor-management relations and of industrial peace. Board procedures and court decisions which today are a burden and a threat to organized labor may tomorrow become the source of the destruction of the labor movement itself if unemployment should become widespread with workers competing for jobs.

Before the 83rd Congress convenes, labor must have ready factual evidence bringing out specifically the injustices, inequities and dangers of the Taft-Hartley Act. This should become the basis for our legislative program in the next Congress whereby the obnoxious, dangerous and unjust provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 could be removed and proposals for sound and equitable enactments could be placed before Congress.

We realize divergent views are entertained by some of our affiliates as how best to meet the emergencies and exigencies experienced under the Taft-Hartley Law and of future difficulties to be experienced. Then, too, differences exist regarding provisions that should replace those of this restrictive law. All are in agreement that unity of approach as well as in spirit are essential to success.

To this end, the Building Trades Department proposed and the Executive Council approved the appointment of a Special Committee representative of every segment of our affiliates as to trade and callings, assigned to make a comprehensive study of experiences had and dangers anticipated, compile and consolidate this knowledge and information, devise and prepare a constructive, fair, and equitable legislative proposal for Congressional consideration and enactment after having received approval by the Executive Council—and to formulate a program to secure the early enactment of such Congressional proposal into law.

We are, indeed, indebted to the Building Trades Department for the submission of this proposal to the officers of the Executive Council for their immediate, responsive and full compliance, and we look with confidence to the cooperation and support of all our affiliated unions in the furtherance of this study and in their support of the program to be outlined to bring about an early, fair, and equitable law.

With these observations we recommend concurrence in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . Committee Chairman Woll moved adoption of this portion of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE TURCO, Newsboys: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this Seventy-first Convention: I am taking this opportunity under this report of the Executive Council to make a plea to you delegates, internationals, federals, State Federations of Labor and all units which come under the American Federation of Labor in that report to take action in this convention to repeal or modify the Taft-Hartley Act.

I only hope you take some action which will make it more unified and more possible by including others which are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at this time.

I listened to Brother Meany's speech last night very intently in which Brother Meany said "Forget the past, let's look at the future."

I only hope that Brother Meany meant what he said, and I hope that the Executive Council of this American Federation of Labor finds ways and means to have a committee to meet and discuss the re-affiliation of the United Mine Workers of America with the American Federation of Labor.

As I talk to you men and women here I have a message from the Miners, and I saw them on last Friday. There is a possibility to have peace, to have an amalgamation and to unite because unless you unite and fight you are going to be destroyed. A house divided against itself will have the roof fall in on it. I tell you now that the United Mine Workers of America, with a committee—not so poisoned and determined as the committee which met on previous occasions—but a committee of conciliation can bring the United Mine Workers of America back to the American Federation of Labor.

Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but you have other organizations which are necessary to this movement, a united labor movement from coast to coast.

Most of you know the history and the cause of the dispute between Lewis, Green, and Murray. You know very well that we have eight million organized workers. I think Brother Green, the chairman of this convention, has a letter which I sent out in 1936 to Brother Green, to Brother Lewis, to each member of the Congressional Districts of the State of Washington and the Senator in the State of Washington, to Miss Perkins, President Roosevelt and the rest of them in Washington. I showed them that unless there was some way and means to avoid the split between the two labor groups, sooner or later there would be strife and bloodshed. On some occasions there was both bloodshed and strife, and we have strife still with us.

I noticed a move this last couple of years within the Federation by the Boiler Makers and the Blacksmiths, which is a great move. I was president of a Blacksmith's local in 1919 in Seattle, Washington, and also vice president of the Metal Trades Council and president of the Metal Trades Council during the war period when those rascals were trying to break us up.

But I am making this appeal to you to leave all personalities and personal grievances aside and bitterness. Go there with a mood for conciliation and I will assure you that you have something which you can defeat not only the Republican Party, the Taft-Hartley Act, but you are going to be united so strong, my friends, that you can defy them even if they turn against us.

That is the question before us. We have got the same case in the State of Washington coming up in our Congressional election. I listened to the speech of the Senator from New York. We have a Senator in Washington who we are going to defeat—Cain. He won't be back in Washington representing the reactionaries. Right now in the State of Washington you have another man who was nominated by the Republican Party, the Congressman-at-large who is more vicious, more bitter against organized labor than McCarthy of Wisconsin. Unless we ourselves unite we cannot do a thing. Unless the President of this Federation and some of

the International Unions—and I see some of them are here in front of me now—get into the Federation of the big State of Washington we cannot do a thing because the other unions are paying the bill and they aren't enjoying the things that they should be in. You can't have unity, you can't do anything unless you clean your own house.

I was surprised when I came here, because it was rumored on the West Coast that Brother Tobin was either sick or was gone and that Dave Beck was going to take over. Much to my surprise I saw Brother Tobin here, and I am glad he is here. But I will tell you now that McCarthyism, Beckism, and the other isms are just as dangerous to you, just as dangerous to this American Federation of Labor. No man can be a member of a board of a \$3,500,000 hotel, no man can travel throughout this land of ours and preach against the things which have passed in this convention at times, no one can trespass upon one union out on strike and make a statement, "We have done this and we can do some more."

I tell you, my friends, all of you, teamsters and otherwise that you cannot go anywhere and see a headline like this—I am a newsboy, Mr. Chairman, and when this headline came out in the papers in Seattle we were forced to holler. It says, "Beck Lashes To The Strikers."

In other places of the newspaper they said, and I quote, that they thought we couldn't make bread and we made bread. And if they think we can't make beer we probably will.

Maybe it is not my duty to call your attention to a lot of those things, but, fellow workers, I was raised in a union where we didn't hold anything back. I was raised in a union where we could express an opinion without fear of gunmen or otherwise, in the coal camps. We were raised in a union in which we were forced to give a financial statement of our expenditures.

I want to say to you that Gompers' name has been mentioned time and time again. If Mr. Gompers could only see what we see, the twenty and thirty thousand dollar a year boys enjoying the

wealth of the land while they were going without it at times, Mr. Gompers would do like Lincoln would do with the Republicans.

Now Mr. Chairman, I make a plea to all of you delegates: Have a committee appointed either from the floor or by the Executive Council to meet with the Miners, to meet with the CIO, to meet with the Longshoremens on the Coast and unite the labor movement. That is the only thing which will solve our difficulties, the only thing that is going to be for the betterment of the workers of the United States and the world.

I thank you.

. . . The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee carried.

. . . The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

WAGE DEVELOPMENTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 161)

The Executive Council presents in detail unchallengeable facts which point unmistakably to the conclusion that anti-inflation controls are now devoted primarily to stabilization of workers' wages. While there has been no relaxation in the control of wages, the Congress has riddled price, rent and credit controls with the outright exemptions and built-in inflationary features demanded by reactionary business interests. The further inflationary rise in consumer prices is the direct result of this sacrifice of the public interest by the reactionary coalition in Congress, to serve selfish, special interests.

In the meantime, the Wage Stabilization Board rules have been tightly applied. Even the vitally important proposal, made by the A. F. of L. members nearly a year ago, to permit wages to keep up with the rising productivity in our economy, has not been carried out. Thus, while the wages of workers have been held down by regulation, the prices of necessities workers must buy to maintain an adequate living have been climbing month-by-month to ever higher peaks.

The American Federation of Labor has given its support to the wage stabilization program as an integral part of a comprehensive anti-inflation program. Wage stabilization would be both ineffective and unjust in the absence of vigorous price, rent and credit controls. It would be untenable to continue to permit wages to be rigidly controlled while prices and rents remain virtually unchecked. The American Federation of

Labor cannot continue to participate in and support the wage stabilization program unless adequate and fully effective controls on prices and rents are restored.

We express our warmest commendation to the A. F. of L. members and staff of the Wage Stabilization Board for a statesmanlike job they have so well done in the interest of all Americans. We also extend our thanks to the Labor Officers in the Office of Price Stabilization for devoted public service. Throughout this work, our representatives have contributed much to the effectiveness of economic stability despite all difficulties inherent in the one-sided stabilization law.

With these comments, your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ATOMIC ENERGY

(Executive Council's Report, Page 175)

On the great strides our country is making in the development of atomic energy depend the security of our nation and the winning of peace for free men. We are also just beginning to realize the new dream of putting atomic energy in the service of human welfare in biology, medicine and as a source of productive power. Labor must assert its leadership in making sure that the broad public interest is fully served in the future developments of atomic policy.

We take this opportunity to pay a solemn tribute to the leadership and vision of the late Senator Brien McMahon, the wise architect of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and the staunch defender of the vital principle of civilian responsibility for the atomic energy program. We honor him also for being the first to bring labor into active participation in the work of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy through the public panel on atomic construction and development. The recommendation of the Executive Council to seek trade-union participation in the work of Atomic Energy Commission meets with our wholehearted concurrence.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 176)

The Employment Act of 1946 was enacted with labor's support as a means

to provide guidance to our government as well as to private groups in successfully meeting post-war economic problems and in helping realize the long term objective of sustained full employment and full production. The key agency in the Executive Branch of the government responsible for the analysis of current economic developments and appraisal of future problems is the Council of Economic Advisers. The Council's reports have been rendered with understanding, judiciousness and balance. We look for uninterrupted and unimpaired continuation of the Council's work in the future.

With these observations, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

OUTLOOK FOR MATERIALS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 177)

The President's Materials Policy Commission recently completed and made public the results of a comprehensive two-year study and evaluation of the nation's long-term requirements of materials needed to sustain expansion and growth. As our country becomes more dependent on the supply of raw materials from abroad, such a survey of the potential supply of materials at home and their prospective need is of special timeliness and importance.

A study of this kind, however, is only the first step. The task is a continuing one and should be carried on by the National Security Resources Board and other appropriate agencies of the government. Resources of our nation are not turned into real wealth until they have been put to productive use. The question of what use we make of materials we have thus becomes even more important. While the urgent problems today are those of national security, long-term considerations are those of national welfare.

The guiding objectives in what we do with our fuels, power, our forests, our metals and other raw materials, are the objectives of full employment and steady growth in the standard of living of our people. How we meet these objectives as a free nation is a challenge that must be successfully met. Labor is ready to assume its share in meeting this challenge. We ask therefore that the officers of our Federation seek effective labor participation in the work of agencies dealing with materials resources and their use.

With this recommendation, we urge adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

(Executive Council's Report, Page 180)

It was with the support of the American Federation of Labor that the system of federal aid to vocational training was established under the Smith-Hughes Act thirty-five years ago. It was also our Federation that was primarily responsible for the enactment of the 1937 law establishing the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship in the U. S. Department of Labor. Throughout the operation of the apprentice training program, the responsibility for determining standards and policies has been fully and properly vested in the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, made up of labor and management representatives, with labor-management responsibilities established in the same way in the states and local communities. Continued maintenance of primary and joint responsibility for training programs in the hands of labor and management is essential.

At the same time, we cannot overestimate the value of the practical services and consultative assistance rendered by the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship.

This Bureau has always been undermanned. The importance of having a reservoir of trained, skilled workers is especially great at this time when there is a critical need for experienced craftsmen in the defense mobilization. Appropriations for the Bureau of Apprenticeship have been slashed by Congress at the very time when its responsibilities have expanded and need for its services has increased. We therefore concur in the Executive Council's recommendation that the Federation seek to obtain appropriation of sufficient funds for the Bureau of Apprenticeship in order to assure that it is able to meet effectively the increased demand for its services.

With these comments and recommendations your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRODUCTIVITY

(Executive Council's Report, Page 160)

Output of goods and services per man-hour in the entire American economy over the past fifty years has been increasing at the rate of almost $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year. In the last two years, productivity of the whole economy has been rising at the record-breaking rate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ percent per year. Unless workers share in productivity gains through higher wages, the nation's standard of living will not rise, buying power will not be available to sustain increased production and economic expansion will halt.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor have called upon the

Wage Stabilization Board to permit wage increases based on increased productivity. As long as wage stabilization is in effect, we must insist on a policy which would permit negotiated productivity increases reflecting in full the annual rate of productivity gains made in the economy as a whole.

A larger challenge lies beyond these immediate considerations. Increasing industrial productivity is a responsibility of workers, as well as of management. Labor must play a constructive and positive part in the improvement of productivity in ways in which the essential interests of workers are safeguarded. While responsibility for each enterprise rests with its management, ways can and should be devised for cooperation, consultation and participation of labor in the improvement of efficiency. And, above all, it is on labor that falls the most vital task of translating, through collective bargaining, productivity gains into a higher standard of living.

Levels of consumption are raised and a higher living standard is built, not by increasing productivity alone but by enabling the workers to share fully in the progress of the economy. A modern wage policy thus becomes an indispensable tool of the nation's progress.

To further this policy, we ask that our affiliates undertake research studies of unit costs, as well as of the related wage, profit, price and production factors bearing on productivity and distribution of its benefits. This would provide basic material which would enable the research staff of the Federation, drawing also on available findings of public and private agencies, to prepare a report on the relation between productivity and wages for consideration of the Executive Council.

With these recommendations, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The Executive Council's report under the head of "Defense Production Act" deals with a number of subjects, and the Committee will report separately on each of these subjects.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 171)

The defense mobilization effort of the last two years has been a national necessity. It has not been dictated either by belligerence or aggressiveness of the American people. The sole reason that prompted our country to embark upon a large-scale program of rearmament has

been not only the threat but the living evidence of aggression and attack by the Communist rulers of the Kremlin upon the free world. The primary targets of the attack have been the weakest points at which the Kremlin could carry on its conquest by remote control, sacrificing in the process the lives of peoples of other countries. But the ultimate objective of that attack is the source of strength of the free world which rests in the United States, its free institutions and its productive capacity.

The American Federation of Labor was among the first to recognize the real nature of this danger and among the first to call upon the American people to back up to the hilt the national mobilization effort. Labor has contributed more than its share toward the national defense program in the past two years and is pledged to continue to do so until our country and the free world are made secure from aggression and until lasting peace is won.

Peacetime mobilization in which the demands for defense production and strategic materials must be balanced against the normal demands of the civilian economy is a trying and a difficult task. It has been aggravated by the severe dislocations worked upon our economy by the speculative demand for raw materials prompted by anticipation of shortages. As the result, allocation of scarce materials necessary for defense, as well as the civilian economy, has been made more difficult. The task of bringing under control inflationary forces, intensified by the initial outbreak of speculation, has gained primary importance in the maintenance of internal stability of our nation.

Although these dislocations have deeply affected the normal development of our country's economic life everywhere, the actual rate of defense expenditures has been kept within tight bounds.

While defense outlays of the government have accounted for the bulk of budget expenditures in the past year, they represented only 15 percent of our total national production and will not exceed more than 17 percent of such production in the presently projected peacetime peak.

A large proportion of this program was completely different from our experience in World War II. In the main, it is a standby program. We are building standby by plants and producing standby equipment while at the same time accumulating a standby stockpile of critical materials, all of these to be ready for an emergency.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Allocation and Supply of Critical Materials.

The main task of developing the sources of supply of materials needed for defense and of allocation of these materials

has been nearly completed. Of the materials in critically short supply at the beginning of the program only copper, steel and aluminum are limited in availability and the shortages of even these metals should be overcome in the matter of months. To accomplish a realistic and equitable distribution of scarce materials has not been an easy task. Labor participation in the Office of Defense Mobilization and in the defense production agencies has done much to facilitate it and to speed it. As we look ahead, we see the possibility of reducing materials and production controls to the minimum. At the same time, we see the necessity of retaining the administrative framework for such controls and authority for them on a standby basis. Only in this way can the country be assured of real preparedness in the event of an emergency which cannot be predicted now but can sweep the nation suddenly at any moment.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Price Controls.

The second and equally vital task involved in defense mobilization has been the maintenance of direct, as well as indirect, controls against inflation. Weak from the start, the legislative basis for the necessary price and other inflation controls has been weakened further and further by the Congress under the pressure of special interests. The result has been a creeping inflation which brought with it a steady upward push of consumer prices beyond the levels justified by considerations of costs or of reasonable profits. Until these pressures on retail prices subside and the creeping rise in the cost of living at the expense of the consumer is halted, price controls should be made effective and continued in force. Evidence is conclusive that if this purpose is to be accomplished price controls will have to be continued beyond the present termination date of April 30, 1953, set by the 82nd Congress.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Wage Controls.

Wage controls were the first to be imposed under the Defense Production Act. Labor is the only group in the nation that has not called upon Congress to either ease the limitation on wages under the wage stabilization program or to accord to wage earners special or privileged

treatment. The system of some 80,000 collective agreements maintained by labor on a voluntary basis throughout the United States has in itself been a powerful stabilizing force with respect to wages. Restrictions placed upon wage negotiations by wage stabilization rules have been onerous, costly to unions, and time-consuming. Yet labor has stood behind the wage stabilization program as a necessary contribution to the fight against inflation and to the nation's economic stability. In the year ahead we look to a time when wage determination by free collective bargaining can become unrestrained and unrestricted. Labor will not submit to continuation of wage controls unless price controls are maintained with sufficient effectiveness to prevent not only in word, but in deed, a further rise in the consumer's living costs.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Inflationary Experiences.

Inflation experience of the past two years has demonstrated conclusively that the inflationary pressures did not originate with wages, but that wages have lagged behind prices. Between June 1950, and February 1951, in the most critical period of inflation, prices of many raw materials went up 25, 100 and even 200 per cent. Wholesale prices of all commodities rose more than 16 per cent. Yet straight time hourly earnings increased only 3.5 per cent. Between the 1951 peak and the Spring of 1952, many wholesale prices showed substantial declines, showing that the costs permitted such downward adjustments. In the same period, retail prices of the same products showed either a small fractional decline or failed to decline at all, with the average consumer price level steadily rising until now. The necessary greater expenditures for defense purposes and the resulting increase in money in circulation, and not increased wage rates, have been responsible for the sustained inflationary pressures. Profit guarantees built into the price control law have enabled producers and distributors to secure higher prices at the expense of consumers.

Although we have nearly approached the peak of the projected obligations for defense expenditures, it will be at least a year before the actual expenditures for defense will reach the high point and level off. Rapidly rising productivity we have been able to maintain in the recent years makes it imperative that our increased ability to produce at lower unit costs be shared with labor in higher wages. Only if the great mass of our wage earners is able to share in the nation's productive progress, will sufficient buying power be sustained to keep the stable growth and economic strength of our nation.

We call for policies which assure the maximum of freedom to our economy,

consistent with demands of national security and the requirements for sure and stable growth. For we must always be mindful that economic disruption, distress and unemployment in our country will spell the defeat of the free world by the Communist menace just as surely as by the force of arms.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

DEFENSE MANPOWER PROGRAM

(Executive Council's Report, Page 177)

Defense mobilization has given rise to many important developments vitally affecting the wage earners of the nation. To help devise practical programs to deal with these problems, a network of labor-management manpower committees has been established by areas and regions throughout the country with equal participation of labor and management. Guided by the national Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee in Washington, this system of direct participation by worker and employer representatives in the shaping of our manpower policies has become an instrument for a truly voluntary manpower program. It has provided a means for labor participation in policy decisions, as well as a source of information to labor regarding current manpower developments. At the same time, it has given an opportunity for employers and unions alike to contribute to the national mobilization effort through their own institutions.

We commend the American Federation of Labor representatives serving on labor-management committees for their contribution to this activity, and urge them to report to the membership they represent important current developments. We hope that in the future these committees will become a source of effective guidance to the government agencies concerned and will also provide a basis of labor-management cooperation in programs that will contribute to sound employment practices and develop future employment opportunities.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TAXATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 202)

Spokesmen for many special interest groups while tacitly admitting the need for the present high level of government

spending, publicly indulge in violent criticism of the high taxes necessary to finance that spending.

The American Federation of Labor has supported reasonable economies in all areas of government spending. However, the Federation recognizes that expenditures for defense constitute the most necessary and economical form of assurance that our democratic institutions may expand and flourish. We recognize that the cost of this assurance when translated into taxes constitutes a severe burden on many of our citizens; we feel this burden is a particular hardship for low paid workers and millions of Americans on fixed incomes and that many aspects of the revenues system continue to operate to the particular advantage of the taxpayers in the middle and upper income brackets.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its consistent recognition of these problems and for the stress it has placed on the importance of relating tax policy and program at all levels of government to broad economic and social developments and needs.

Members of your committee feel that the executive council has been correct in placing emphasis on basing our revenue system on taxes based on the ability-to-pay to the maximum degree possible, for sound economic reasons, as well as because of considerations of equity.

We note with regret that local and state services particularly in the fields of health, welfare and education are becoming increasingly dependent on regressive taxation. This development constitutes a violation of the very principle on which our public schools were founded and state aid has been justified, namely, the need for support by tax funds levied on the basis of ability-to-pay.

We, therefore, strongly commend the Executive Council for its proposal that federal, state and local tax systems be coordinated and urge that in such coordination the financing of education, health and welfare services be given the same priority as defense needs. This may involve a greater use of the Federal taxing power to take care of more of the essential needs of states and localities. Such a program could be developed with safeguards which would guarantee shared tax funds to units of government as a right and not as a handout. While the importance of establishing local and state responsibility for efficient and economical expenditure of funds should be recognized, the need for providing reasonably decent services by eliminating senseless competition in the tax field is equally essential.

With these comments we recommend approval of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will pause now for a short time in the submission of

the report of the Committee on Resolutions and take it up later in a very short time.

I want to take advantage of this opportunity to present to you for just a few remarks Brother Conrad Ilg, the secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation of Berne, Switzerland.

MR. CONRAD ILG

(Secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation, Berne, Switzerland)

President Green, officers, delegates and friends:

I am specially honored in being privileged to convey to your great Convention and your impressive organization the fraternal greetings of the International Metalworkers' Federation, together with my warm personal good wishes. Your kind invitation affords me an opportunity of expressing to you sincere thanks for the splendid help you made available to the European trade-union movement, shattered as it was by brute force, as well as to Europe in its disastrous state of devastation. This expression of gratitude is due to the American trade-union organizations, the American people and the President of the United States of America.

With your permission, I shall make but a few brief observations.

Up till the outbreak of the first World War, the European trade union movement was able, through bitter struggles, to record great spiritual and material achievements. The fact that the trade unions in various European countries fell victims after 1918 to the enemies of liberty and democracy is chiefly attributable to the differing ideologies which had already earlier caused the strife and splits within the movement.

The reasons for these differences in ideology lay in the varying conceptions of the structure of economy or the social order and were thus much more deep-seated than is generally assumed. Even today, despite the vast sacrifice of life and property, they have by no means been overcome, but have grown to reach the proportions of sinister hatred.

These few remarks are intended to show how vast are the problems that face the nations, and above all, the trade unions of the Western Hemisphere.

May I take the liberty of expressing a wish, and that from the bottom of my heart. My wish is that the free trade-union movement of the United States of America may be spared discord and fratricidal strife. May the devastating internal conflicts in labor organizations, which have contributed in no small degree to events in Europe, serve as a lesson.

The incomprehensible events that caused the disintegration not only of the rising

trade-union movement, but also of the states themselves, offer incontrovertible proof that the key problem—capital and labor, or the fitting of the free trade-union movement into its proper place in world economy—can never be solved by the use of force.

In order to solve this key problem, there must be a united trade-union movement in all countries whose institutions are based on liberty and democracy and, above all, the workers must be penetrated with the spirit of unionism and convinced, regardless of all dangers, of the great mission the trade-union movement is called on to fulfill.

If this objective, for which the International Metalworkers' Federation is straining every nerve, is to be attained, the wholehearted efforts of a united trade-union movement in the United States of America will be required. I beg of you to heed my words.

In conclusion, I wish the leaders of your great organization, as well as the organization itself and your Convention, the utmost success.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Brother Ilg for his address. He came a long way to give us this message and I know it came from his heart; it was really a part of him and we deeply appreciate it, I know.

Now we have reached the point that we have hoped for and wished for and looked forward to a number of times since this convention has been in session. Our very dear friend has responded to an invitation to come and visit us, and if we have any one dear friend in America it is this distinguished gentleman who has come here this afternoon. We have no hesitancy in classifying him as our friend, a friend indeed, a wonderful friend under all circumstances, a friend who stands and boldly fights for labor in the halls of Congress. We are happy to have him here with us this afternoon.

It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you now our very dear friend, Senator Morse, who brings to us what I know will be a wonderful message. I present to you now Senator Morse who will address you.

HON. WAYNE MORSE

(United States Senator, Oregon)

President Green, delegates and guests to this great American Federation of Labor Convention:

Last Saturday when Frank Edwards advised me that I probably would be invited to address this convention, I was pleasantly surprised. On Monday morning when I received the invitation from President Green I was greatly honored. It is unnecessary for me to tell you that accepting your invitation was not in my best political interests so far as my standing within the Republican Party is concerned. In the heat of this campaign one must expect to be charged with a lack of political teamwork if he criticizes the calling of any of the plays. He is expected to follow the quarterback signals even when a dazed one is called back into the game out of the showers and starts the team running in the opposite direction away from a touchdown and toward defeat.

Irrespective of personal political consequences, I am grateful for this opportunity to discuss with you some real threats to liberty. You will recall that in a fantastic document of political compromise which came out of Morningside Heights one morning last week, the substitute quarterback now calling the Republican signals and well known for his political fumbles dropped this one: "The greatest threat to liberty today is internal, from the constant growth of big Government, through the constantly increasing power and expanding of the Federal Government." He drew the issue of the campaign as "the issue of liberty against creeping socialization in every domestic field." He stated "the government is taking one third of the people's incomes and thereby one third of their freedom," believe it or not. This document of political compromise relies on victory through the plays of political expediency rather than on the open field running of political principle.

But let me make clear that I do not think a political campaign should be conducted on the basis of the strategy of a football game. Neither do I think it should be conducted on the basis of the military tactics of a military organization. Likewise, I do not accept the notion that if it helps to win, the end justifies the means no matter from what source the political means may come. It is difficult to reconcile platitudinous promises about a crusade for liberty and for decency in government with the records of some of the newly embraced associates in that crusade.

The American people are hungry for political leadership which will not compromise political ethics. Sooner or later they will come to resent the "wolf, wolf" cries of appeal to their fears and the scarecrow arguments of partisanship. Any political victory won by such tactics will prove to be an empty one indeed and will result ultimately in repudiation.

The American people are disturbed about threats to their liberties and there are many such threats abroad throughout our country and throughout the world today. However, the greatest threat to our liberty today is not internal—it is

external. It is the threat of Russian communism. It is a threat which will increase its menacing danger to liberty throughout the world, if the isolationist foreign policy of the reactionaries in both political parties comes to prevail in the Congress of the United States. The greatest issue of this campaign revolves around the question of whether or not the vision and the statesmanship of the foreign policy tenets of the late Arthur Vandenberg are to be reestablished as the hope of the free peoples of the world or whether further compromises are to be made with the isolationists of the Congress.

There is no doubt about the fact that serious mistakes have been made in the field of foreign policy, but for the most part they have been mistakes in judgment in administering the program for checking the aggressive advance of Russian Communism, both in Europe and in Asia. It was no mistake to bring into reality the Vandenberg dream of a North Atlantic Pact, even though the isolationists in the Senate, including the quarterback who voted against it would have you believe otherwise. It was no mistake to strengthen that pact with the sinews of economic and military aid, resulting in the organization of the free nations of Europe into a mutual security program for the defense of freedom. No, the mistakes have not been in the objectives of a mutual defense program in Europe or in a meeting of the challenge of Russian aggression in Asia, through the Korean war. The mistakes for the most part have been in the administration of those policies.

In evaluating those mistakes, one should not discount the obstructive tactics of those in the Congress who voted against the objectives and sought from time to time to scuttle our foreign policy program with isolationist amendments and votes.

As to Asia, we should never have permitted the cause of freedom to become so weakened in Korea prior to the Korean war. There were some of us in the Senate as early as July, 1945, who urged the recognition of the provisional government of Korea, and a guaranteeing of the territorial protection and self-determination of Korea until free elections could be had.

In pleading for the recognition of Korea and the protection of her territorial integrity at the very time we ratified the United Nations as a requisite to keeping faith with the spirit and intent of the United Nations charter, it was pointed out that we cannot have a free world without its being a world of free people. Instead of recognizing the right of Korea to freedom we joined with Russia in partitioning that freedom along the 38th Parallel. We are paying for that mistake in precious American blood.

Obviously we cannot have lasting peace if some peoples are oppressed and others enslaved. The enslavement of millions upon millions of people in the world today by Russian Communism is the greatest threat to our liberty. It calls for the

highest order of statesmanship in designing and administering a foreign policy based upon a mutual security program among the free peoples of the world.

The answer to our mistakes in foreign policy is not to retreat from the objectives of an adequate mutual security defense and the ultimate objective of a system of international justice through law, as Vandenberg envisioned those objectives, but our task is to proceed to correct the administrative mistakes and errors which jeopardize those objectives.

Granted that our foreign policy is based upon the free nations of the world standing together in a program of mutual defense against Communist aggression, we will not protect our liberty or theirs if we weaken the greatest defense weapon we have, namely, the American free economy. We are going to weaken it if we do not insist upon a greater mutuality of co-operation in the mutual security program in Europe and the Korean war in Asia.

What I say now I say with a heavy heart, but it needs to be said. I have just completed a five-weeks inspection tour of American military installations in the Arctic and in Europe, Africa and the Middle East, as far east as Turkey. As a member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, I have come home disturbed and worried about our military program abroad. The objective of that program based upon free nations of the world standing together in mutual defense is sound, but the implementation of it is lacking in that degree of mutuality which is necessary if we are to protect our economy here at home and if we are to maintain the respect and cooperation of allies abroad.

Frankly, the waste of American taxpayers' dollars in that program is appalling and the responsibility for the waste rests primarily upon the military. A thorough review of our military expenditures in Europe and Africa is called for to the end of reducing the cost to the American taxpayer and increasing the participation of our allies in the program. The American taxpayer is paying too much of the bill that ought to be paid by the tax evaders in the countries of some of our allies. Too many American boys are being asked to man military installations in Europe which ought to be manned by our allies.

Mutual security means, and should be made to mean, mutuality of participation in a common program of defense. That is not the case today to the degree that it should be. We are permitting our American military to build up a military organization throughout Europe to a degree that is bound to result in increasing resentment toward us among the civilians of the allied countries. It is feeding the vicious propaganda machine of the Russians. The assigning of so many American military personnel throughout Europe and Africa creates many problems of an economic, social and political sort, which are bound to give

rise to frictions and misunderstandings. We have the right to call upon our allies and they have the duty to supply a much larger share of the manpower for manning military bases which are being built for the most part with our funds.

The saving on that item alone would result in millions of dollars per year. There are many other items of saving that can be made if the Congress will go to work on a review of military expenditures in Europe.

The seriousness of the situation calls upon every member of Congress to vote to appropriate every dollar that is needed for the adequate defense of our country against Russian communism and for an adequate share of our contribution to a mutual security program in Europe. However, the time has come when we must make clear to the top American military officials who request the funds in the first instance that they should stop trying to scare us into making military appropriations greater in amount than sound military defense requires and a sound American economy can support.

If we are in a 100-yard dash toward a war with Russia, which I do not believe is the case, then we are spending millions of dollars for certain types of facilities on our military bases abroad that will be of no value to us in case of an early war with Russia. If, to use my figure of speech further, we are engaged in a marathon which we hope will end at a finish line of peace, then the important thing for the United States is to contribute those military facilities and equipment that would be available to us and our allies in case a war should break out with Russia. The major responsibility of contributing the manpower for those facilities should be assumed by our allies. Incidentally, I think such a program would be the best demonstration to the world for combatting the vicious lying communist propaganda that we are bent on making war against Russia.

In speaking of protecting the greatest defense weapon we have, namely, our American economy, we should keep in mind the fact that our military appropriations now constitute about 75¢ out of every tax dollar. The total cost to the American taxpayer for the present defense program and for past war obligations and for interest on the national debt runs in the neighborhood of 85¢ out of every tax dollar. In a very real sense it can be said that the American economy today is a military economy. None of us objects to that fact to the extent that it is necessary, but that fact should be kept in mind when politicians talk about economy, or talk about the real threat to our liberty being an internal threat. It is my opinion that the basic cause of the economic problems which confront us in these trying days stem from the fact that our military needs necessarily

greatly disrupt the operation of our civilian economy. Therefore it is grossly deceptive to tell the American people that the danger that threatens their liberty is the danger of Socialism. However, let us take a look at that argument.

If there is this great danger to our liberty through Socialism in our country, then the reactionaries ought to be able to spell it out in terms of specific legislation and programs which they would repeal if they came into power. Do they want to repeal the social security program? Do they want to go before the American people and tell them that the economic freedom for the individual which forms the basis of our sound capitalistic system cannot be reconciled with a social security program for our people, thus removing the fear and worry of old age dependency and charity from the homes of America? If such a program of social security aimed at protecting the greatest wealth we have, namely, the human beings that form our American society, is Socialism, then the reactionaries better be told by the American people that they have no fear of that kind of Socialism.

Is our farm support program, along with the soil conservation and agricultural research programs dangerous socialism—threatening the liberty of the American people? If the reactionaries think so, then let them tell the farmers so. They are not indicating that now in this campaign apparently because they heard from the farmers in 1948.

When one reads the "all things to all men" planks of the Republican platform, he is left with a feeling that he has read the description of the psychological twists of a Dr. Jekyll and a Mr. Hyde. But he does not find any forthright program for repeal or discontinuance of the economic and social reforms which have been adopted.

By the elected representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States since the nation-wide economic collapse of the depression period of the early 1930s. If these programs have been Socialistic then let us have the specific recommendations of the reactionaries as to which ones they propose to repeal. The American people are not going to be frightened much longer by the beating of the tom-toms of fear.

Take for example the matter of federal aid for an adequate nation-wide health program, subject to the protective principle of state administration. The reactionaries' apparent endorsement of two Cadillacs for every doctor and adequate medical and hospitalization care for millions of our fellow citizens if and when they can get it, provided they can pay for it, is not the way to meet any threat of Socialism to the private practice of medicine. The way to meet any danger of socializing the medical profession if it

should arise, and I will always fight that danger whenever it arises, is to provide the people of our country with an adequate number of doctors and nurses and hospitals and medical facilities necessary to give all of our people as they need it the constantly improved benefits of medical care and at a reasonable cost.

That is why I have opposed in the Senate any proposal which might be said to be remotely aimed at compulsory health insurance, but I have supported and will continue to support federal aid programs that seek to increase the facilities for the training of doctors and nurses and for the development of improved health facilities throughout the land.

It is no answer to the need for better protection of the health of American citizens to say that they are presently enjoying the highest medical standards in the world. Those standards are of little value if a great many persons in our country cannot enjoy them, due to financial inability, fear of a medical mortgage, or unwillingness to accept medical charity. The health and well-being of our people, the vigor and happiness of our people, the education and high standard of living of our people, constitute our greatest national assets, and in the long run our greatest defense against the threat of Communism.

The people are entitled in this campaign to specific recommendations for the elimination of alleged unnecessary governmental services. Otherwise the cry of Socialism has a hollow sound.

The charge that government is taking one-third of the people's income and thereby one-third of their freedom is so fallacious that the statement constitutes an insult to the intelligence of the American people. With only 15¢ out of every federal tax dollar going to the civilian cost of government, it is absurd to imply that those expenditures are threatening the liberty of the American people. It is deceptive, to say the least, to imply that the specific programs for which these tax dollars are being spent are creating a socialistic threat to our liberty, especially when no bill of particulars for a discontinuance of any of these programs is offered.

There is no doubt about the fact that great savings in administration, improvements in the efficiency of our government, completion of the reorganization of our government along the lines of the Hoover Commission reports can result in the reduction of government expenditures and should be adopted. But that is a far cry from walking out on one of the basic tenets of Lincoln's Republicanism when he pointed out that:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done but what they cannot by individual effort do at all, or do so well by themselves."

And I digress here to say that the junior Senator from Oregon never intends to walk out on the Republicanism of Abraham Lincoln. The only plea today to his

party is to come back to Lincoln Republicanism.

It is all right to crusade against corruption, inefficiency, and bungling in government. It is completely sound to demand that any disloyal or subversive persons who may have infiltrated their way into government service be weeded out by fair hearings which conform to all the safeguards of due process of law, thereby protecting the innocent from persecution. But it is quite another thing in the name of a crusade to shake the faith of the American people in the basic soundness of our government. A victory thus won will be a victory without a triumph.

Yesterday this convention listened to a speech by a great American. We may differ with some of his views on the Taft-Hartley law, but his speech makes clear that he wants the Taft-Hartley law amended to whatever extent is necessary to protect the legitimate rights of the three parties to a labor dispute—the workers and the employers, and the public. The job of amending the law is the job of the Congress and that is why I tell you today, as I told you in Houston in September, 1950, the position taken by the candidates for the Congress on the Taft-Hartley law is of great importance insofar as the adoption of a new and fair labor law is concerned, and don't overlook it on November 4th.

Yesterday the candidate of my party for the Presidency told you the most significant thing that can be said about the unfairness of the Taft-Hartley law when he said: "I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union busting." Neither do I. In that statement he recognized one of the main reasons why some of us in the Senate fought so hard against the passage of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947, because we said then time and time again in our speeches during the debate, what the Republican candidate for the Presidency admitted yesterday, namely, that the Taft-Hartley law can be used to bust unions. It has been so used and what is more, as the investigations of a subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee, of which I am a member, have disclosed so clearly, the Taft-Hartley law has been used effectively to prevent unionization. However, I am willing to rest my case against the Taft-Hartley law on the statements which the Republican candidate for the Presidency made in his speech before you yesterday as to the need for revising the law.

My study of the law satisfies me that when the job of revising it in the interests of fair play is completed, it then will be an academic question as to whether or not the law as it presently stands has not in fact been repealed. However, I do not see why any Republican should choke upon or suffer a brain hemorrhage over the idea that probably the best way to handle the revision of the Taft-Hartley law in the Congress is to walk on the floor of the Senate and offer a substitute to the Na-

tional Labor Relations Act which eliminates the many unfair restrictions on legitimate union activities now present in the Taft-Hartley law. With such a substitute for the National Labor Relations Act, I would be perfectly willing to leave to the experts on semantics the determination of whether the Taft-Hartley law had been repealed or amended.

However, the Republican candidate for the Presidency made observations yesterday on labor problems and labor legislation that should be challenged, because I think he has been ill advised in respect to them. His charge that the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has been woefully ineffective is a grossly unfair one. This week one of the great industrial statesmen of our country, Cyrus Ching, who incidentally is a Republican, is retiring as Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. He has made a great record in that job and he is not deserving of the unwarranted criticism of the Mediation Service which the Republican candidate for the presidency heaped upon him yesterday.

For example, during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1952, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service intervened in approximately 15,000 labor disputes and all were settled with the assistance of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, with the exception of ten major cases which were referred to the Wage Stabilization Board. However, even with respect to the ten cases, the Mediation Service performed very good work in trying to bring the parties together and might have been more successful if it were not for the fact that the Congress had authorized the Wage Stabilization Board to exercise jurisdiction, as it should have, in such major cases that threatened the defense effort. A study of the record of those cases will show that one or both of the parties to the dispute insisted that the case should go to the Wage Stabilization Board for final determination because of the economic issues involved and the final authorization of the Wage Stabilization Board over those issues.

And I digress from manuscript just long enough to point out that I was opposed and still am opposed to taking away from the Wage Stabilization Board the jurisdiction over disputes in such major cases, because you cannot separate the so-called wage issues from other issues involved in most labor disputes, as you know.

However, even in those instances the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service did not wash its hands of those cases. It was available at all times to the members of the Wage Stabilization Board for consultation and assistance. What happened in some of those cases such as the steel case, for example, was that the parties themselves resorted to political pressure and action. No one working in

the field of labor relations has said more often than I have that both industry and labor should keep labor disputes out of the White House for final settlement.

What the Republican candidate for the Presidency did not tell you yesterday is just what is his legislative proposal for the handling of emergency disputes that threaten the health or the security of the nation, such as the steel case. Did he mean to imply that if mediation fails in such cases the parties to the dispute should be allowed to resort to economic action for as long as they care to, while the nation as a whole suffers irreparable injury? Did he mean to imply that men should be required in effect to work 80 days under the employers' terms enforced by a court injunction? He does not meet the issue by saying "if in a national emergency declared by Congress, Government does move into a strike situation to secure a resumption of operations, it must at the same time stimulate, not stifle, collective bargaining. There is no other way to attack the dispute which underlies the strike," he said. Such language is good preaching, but entirely unrealistic when it comes to settling national emergency disputes, as past experience has proved time and time again.

The members of this convention know very well my views on national emergency disputes. You know that if in fact a labor dispute which threatens the security of this nation in a time of crisis, such as this, cannot be settled by the voluntary procedures of collective bargaining, mediation, conciliation, and voluntary arbitration, then it becomes the duty of our representative form of government to intercede and exercise whatever authority of government is necessary to protect the security and welfare of our nation and its people. To intimate to you that such legislation is not necessary may be good politics, but it is not good government policy.

What would the Republican candidate for the Presidency do if confronted with the actual fact of a strike or lockout in an emergency dispute and the parties stubbornly refused to heed the preachments of even the Republican candidate for the Presidency to return to production. The consensus among labor experts seems to be that in order to meet a national emergency there should be some legislation on the books which would provide for a series of alternatives for the handling of such disputes, including, however, the granting of authority to the President of the United States, and only to him, with Congressional approval to ask the Attorney General of the United States to lay the matter before a federal court on the basis of a petition for an injunction. You know as well as I do that it would be a very rare case that would ever reach such a point, if such legislation were on the books and the very rarity of the case would unquestionably justify the exercise of the powers. It is politically popular these days in the midst of a campaign to also decry as a threat to the liberty of the workers of America, proposals for legislation by Congress au-

thorizing token seizure of a plant involved in a national emergency dispute, with such seizure subject to very close Congressional checks and limited to an automatic requirement of renewal at the end of short intervals of time. Such legislation would not violate in any way the decision of the Supreme Court in the steel case. In fact, it would be in keeping with all the due process guarantees of the Constitution.

It was exactly such legislation that I urged the day after the President's token seizure of the steel plants—a seizure under which not a single steel operator was removed from behind a single desk. All that was done in that case in reality was to run up the American flag over the steel plants of America and to call upon the workers and employers to keep faith with their patriotic duty in producing steel for the defense of our country. However, I believed at the time and said so in a speech on the floor of the Senate the day following the seizure that I thought any government seizure, even in such an emergency, should be carried out under Congressional authorization. I proposed a bill to place the seizure under Congressional control. Its immediate passage would have brought the dispute to a quick end.

Before that dispute was over there were three strikes involved in it—the strike of the workers for the economic benefits which the Wage Stabilization Board recommended, the strike of the steel companies for a price increase amounting to about twice what they were entitled to under the price stabilization formula, and the strike of the Congress against passing some mandatory legislation to be used in the settling of such crucial cases. Such mandatory legislation is needed for those rare instances in which one or both parties to such a dispute forget to remember that when the health and security of our nation becomes involved in a labor dispute, then the rights of labor and management are relative ones, subordinate to the welfare of the people of our nation as a whole.

There are other statements in the speech made to you yesterday by the Republican candidate for the Presidency that are confusing, but with his main thesis of desiring to support fair labor legislation on its merits, I am in complete agreement!

Although the Taft-Hartley law is the popular name for the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, a more fitting name would be the Act for the Management of Labor. The destructive potential of the Taft-Hartley law is in low gear—the motor is barely warmed up. This is so because we have been blessed with a thriving, prosperous economy and full employment. On the one hand, employers have ready markets and easily secure high prices for their products. For over a year and a half wage control has slowed increases in wages. In short, many of the economic motives for anti-unionism have been absent during the five years of the Taft-Hartley law.

But this anti-union armored car called the Taft-Hartley law is equipped with not

merely a second and third gear, but a powerful overdrive. Should the United States enter a period of depression and unemployment one provision of the Taft-Hartley law which is manifestly unfair, even in good times, could be used to run over organized labor. It is contained in one sentence, which provides that economic strikers who have been replaced by an employer have no right to participate in labor board elections. Given bad times and unemployment, cheap replacements for strikers would be readily available, and strikers disenfranchised by the thousands. Union members would have the alternative of agreeing to wage cuts and almost any condition a predatory employer would care to impose or face replacement, loss of voting rights and the defeat of his union.

Under the Wagner Act both strikers and their replacements were eligible to vote in NLRB elections. Now the free rider and strike breaker, who himself would often be a victim of circumstances, would be able to displace a striker, regardless of seniority and need.

This, indeed, is the bludgeon which could bring labor to its knees in a depression. Unfortunately the Republican platform, which has much to say on the Taft-Hartley Act, makes no reference to this vicious provision.

It is truly a threat to the liberty of American workers and I am very happy that the Republican candidate for the Presidency indicated clearly in his speech yesterday that he will be completely open-minded in considering the merits of proposals for revision of the act.

I intend to give him my full support and cooperation if he is elected President to meet through legislative reform labor's legitimate objections to the Taft-Hartley law.

In closing, let me say it has not been easy to make this speech, and certainly, from my standpoint, not politically wise. However, in this speech I have kept faith with a pronouncement that I made some months ago that men should be elected to political office, not because of the party label they wear, but because of the principles and policies for which they stand. The average American voter, irrespective of party label, is an independent voter who has rejected that old political platitude "my party right or wrong" and has substituted for it that sound principle of Americanism "my country first and my party second."

It is fallacious to argue that the preservation of a two-party system in America calls for voting a straight party ticket. The interests of America are greater than the partisan interests of party tickets. I am confident that what the candidates stand for in this election will be more determinative of votes than their party affiliation.

Because I would like to see my party come back into power, I hope that more of its candidates will face the issues of this campaign as fairly and courageously

as the Republican candidate for President faced the labor issue in his speech before you yesterday.

But I close by saying to my party, by way of digression from this manuscript at this moment, that during the course of the campaign I propose as an American citizen to judge the candidates on what they say and what they stand for, and I refuse to go along with the theory that in order to win you should be willing to support any and all within your party, when you know that the voting record of many running for the Senate of the United States in that party is not in the best interests of your country.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I can truthfully say that you have demonstrated beyond measure how deeply impressed you were and how thrilled you were with the address just delivered by our great friend, Senator Morse, of Oregon. I am so glad he found it possible to respond to our request, so that in addition to being here he could see in full measure what the workers of America are thinking about. The delegates in this convention on this wonderful occasion have demonstrated what the workers in the field, in the factory, in the mill and the mine think, and how they are terribly, tremendously, inexpressibly disappointed with this notorious Taft-Hartley law and the provisions of Congress on many measures. We shall go home thrilled because of this address. We shall go home feeling that we have a champion in the United States Senate, and when measures of concern to us come up we will find him standing up there bravely, courageously, fighting for the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you, Senator, from the bottom of my heart for your attendance at our convention this afternoon and for this magnificent, inspiring, address which you have delivered to us. We have always held you in high esteem and high regard. That esteem and regard has now increased. You occupy a larger place than ever in our hearts and our affections.

Thank you a thousand times.

The Chair now recognizes Brother David Dubinsky who has an announcement.

VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: Delegates, you have on your tables a booklet which reads "A Musical Narrative, the Story of Mary Brown."

I think it is appropriate to follow after Senator Morse's speech. Seventy girls, garment workers, arose this morning at 4:30 and came here from Pennsylvania in order to present this show, the story of a union, the story of a labor movement, to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor. I am not speaking about a professional show that you are going to see tonight. I am speaking of the show that these garment workers are going to present to you right now.

This was presented last year to our convention and we asked them to rehearse it the last few weeks, and they have all come from Pennsylvania.

I now present the director of this department, who has given the idea, and I hope that you will stay with us for half an hour and you will realize what a piece of labor propaganda is in this performance. I present Brother David Gingold, the director of the Pennsylvania Department.

DIRECTOR GINGOLD: Thank you, Brother Dubinsky.

President Green, Secretary Meany, distinguished officers and delegates to this convention: I deeply appreciate this appearance if only for a few minutes. It is an experience and a privilege that will remain with me for a long time.

As the curtain parts over here you will hear music, singing and narration. All of it, the music, the lyrics and the narrative were conceived and presented by members of our union staff. The members of the chorus and the pantomime group that you will see perform are all workers from our shops, cutters, operators, pressers, finishers and shippers.

In this booklet you see that we call this production "The Story of Mary Brown." Mary Brown is a member of your union, any member. She is the symbol of thousands of men and women that come into our union. We see her through this medium as the new member organized. We see the strike, we see the negotiations, we see them as full fledged unionists working along with others. We try and put others into the union so they, too, may share the opportunity and benefits that come to membership in the union.

Our union has been functioning a long time, but we are very proud that we remain ever young. Ours is a 95 per cent

women membership. It was the custom years ago to say that the woman's place was only at home, that women couldn't man picket lines, that women couldn't build unions. Well, the strength, the effectiveness and the great influence of our International Ladies' Garment Workers Union bears strong witness to the contrary. Several decades of great accomplishments and of historic progress have proven that women also have a very definite and permanent place in the labor movement. Government statistics now prove and show that there are 19 million women in industry, most of them unorganized. In our Garment Workers we strongly believe that they can be organized.

As we approach our national elections we are very happy to see the development of consciousness and the awareness of the political activity on the part of

our great American Federation of Labor. We are very much aware of the fact that now the women in America constitute the greatest number of eligible voters.

These are some of the thoughts that our production tends to provoke. We ask you to face this side of the hall and we also ask you to withhold any applause that you may be tempted to give at the end of each scene until the completion. We are certain you will enjoy it. It is 100 per cent I.L.G.W.; it is 100 per cent American Federation of Labor.

And now we present the story of Mary Brown.

(At this time the show referred to was witnessed by the delegates in attendance at the convention.)

At 5:00 o'clock, p.m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock, a.m., Friday, September 19, 1952.

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 19, 1952



Report of

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York
September 19, 1952

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 9:45 o'clock a. m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to
present to you for the invocation this
morning the Reverend Doctor John Suther-
land Bonnell, of the Fifth Avenue Pres-
byterian Church.

INVOCATION

**(Reverend Doctor John Sutherland
Bonnell, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian
Church)**

Almighty God Who art the head of labor
as well as of rest, let Thy blessing be
upon every effort made to further the

highest interests of all who work with
hand or brain. Especially at this time
guide and bless the American Federation
of Labor in its deliberations.

Grant unto both labor and management
the spirit of patience, and fairness, and
justice. Give them the understanding to
see each other's viewpoint and to seek the
common good of all.

Raise up as leaders of our national life
men of able mind and large heart, men
of integrity who will follow the counsel of
wisdom and righteousness.

Bless every constructive effort that is
made for raising the standard of living
among all ranks of our people, but help us
ever to remember that man does not live
by bread alone. Teach us to use our leisure
and our resources to build fairer homes
and a nobler manhood and womanhood.

Create in this nation a great body of
workers, strong of limb, clear of mind, fair
of temper, conscious of their own inherent
worth as the children of God and dedi-
cated to the establishment on earth of the
kingdom of human brotherhood and peace.

We ask it in the Name of Him Who with calloused hands toiled at the carpenter bench in Nazareth, and Who revealed Thy Fatherly love for all men, even Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair desires to announce the appointment of the following escort committees:

To escort Mr. David Morse, Director General of the International Labor Office: George Lynch, Pattern Makers; Robert Byron, Sheet Metal Workers; and Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

To escort Governor Adlai Stevenson: Daniel J. Tobin, Teamsters; Herman Winter, Bakery and Confectionery Workers; William J. McPetridge, Building Service Employees International Union; and James C. Petrillo, Musicians.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Sims, who will submit a further report on behalf of the Credentials Committee.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Committee Chairman Sims, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that it has received the following credentials and recommends that the delegates be seated:

Watch Workers' Union No. 24369, Watertown, Conn.—Nattia Davis, with 7 votes.

In accordance with request of Window Glass Cutters' League of America, we recommend the substitution of Marcel Boucher, with 16 votes, to represent that organization, in place of George W. Berger, previously reported.

In accordance with the request of the International Molders and Foundry Workers Union we recommend the substitution of Taylor Buchanan, with 109 votes to represent that organization, in place of Chester A. Sample, previously reported.

Committee Chairman Sims moved the adoption of the report. The motion was seconded and carried.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT RESOLUTION

DELEGATE HERRMANN, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman, I have been re-

quested by the delegates from the Typographical Union to ask unanimous consent for the introduction of a non-controversial resolution. It has to do with labor's new daily which the Typographical Union is sponsoring in Charleston, West Virginia.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the request of Delegate Herrmann. All of those who favor the introduction of the resolution will say aye; opposed, no.

The ayes have it, and the resolution may be introduced.

"LABOR'S DAILY"

Resolution No. 143—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Lewis M. Herrmann, John A. Austin, Horace Imeson, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace Reilly, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Organized labor, and particularly the labor press, has agitated for many years regarding the great need for the establishment of a daily newspaper, whose columns should be devoted in their entirety to the cause of labor in this country, and

WHEREAS, The necessity for the launching of a labor daily newspaper has been more evident in recent years, because of the increasing anti-labor editorial trend of most of the nation's daily press, and

WHEREAS, The International Typographical Union, one of the founders of the AFL has launched a daily labor newspaper, to be known as "LABOR'S DAILY" in the city of Charleston, West Virginia, setting a new milestone in the field of labor journalism in America, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting at New York City, September 1952, that we hereby go on record as commending the initiative of the ITU in giving the American trade-union movement a daily newspaper, dedicated to the cause of labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our individual and collective encouragement and support to "Labor's Daily," in order to insure its success and eventually bring about the spread of this publication's influence around the country, as an effective instrument in championing labor's cause, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this Resolution be spread upon the minutes of this convention, forwarded to the officers of the International Typographical Union, the General Manager of "Labor's Daily", and also released to the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

SECRETARY MEANY: On behalf of Brother McDevitt, Director of Labor's League for Political Education, I wish to announce a meeting to-morrow morning of State Federation and Central Body officers to discuss fund raising and organizational problems of the League as they apply to the State Federations and Central Bodies. This is not a meeting of the Administrative Committee. It is a meeting Brother McDevitt is calling of the representatives of State Federations and City Central Bodies who are in attendance at this convention. He would like very much to have all these delegates attend, so that the organizational and fund raising side of the League as it pertains to these bodies can be discussed. The meeting will be in the East Ball Room of the Commodore Hotel at 10:00 o'clock.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany read the following messages:

We greet the convention of the AFL and wish you success and the reinforcement of International trade union cooperation for the welfare of the workers and freedom of all peoples.

U. G. T. T., Tunis

London, Sept. 18, 1952

Secretary-Treasurer Meany, American Federation of Labor Convention, Commodore Hotel, New York

Fraternal greetings and best wishes from British Seafarers. Trust your deliberations are an inspiration to whole of American labor movement and success to your efforts in the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Tom Yates

Paris, Sept. 13, 1952

George Meany, General Secretary, American Federation of Labor—AF of L Bldg., Washington, DC.

We free trade unionists in exile send you our warmest fraternal greetings on occasion of your convention in the darkest moment of our existence. The AFL and Brother Irving Brown extended us a hand of fraternity—and labor solidarity to the millions of trade unionists groaning under the yoke of communist dictatorship behind iron curtain and to our fellow workers risking death and torture to keep alive spirit of liberty and free trade unionism. The AFL and entire American labor move-

ment bring hope and courage. Long live free labor, solidarity throughout the world in this crucial period in world's history. We wish to assure you that labor in the countries enslaved by the Stalinists is holding high the torch of freedom.

Executive Committee, International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile.

Memphis, Tenn. Sept. 18, 1952
American Federation of Labor Convention
Commodore Hotel

Congratulations and best wishes for a successful Convention.

Memphis Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor.

BIOGRAPHY OF PRESIDENT GREEN

SECRETARY MEANY: There is on the table before each delegate this morning a copy of a biography of President Green, consisting of approximately 190 pages, and it is presented to each delegate with the compliments of the American Federation of Labor. A sufficient number of these books have been printed to supply the delegates in attendance at this convention. We have arrangements made for supplying this biography in bulk to State or City Central Bodies who may desire to purchase them for their officers or members, at a price of \$3 per copy in lots of 25 or more. Orders may be placed at the table in the lobby.

PENSION PAMPHLET

SECRETARY MEANY: There is another book on your tables this morning which is very, very important. That book comes out as a result of the action of the American Federation of Labor at its 1950 convention, when a committee was appointed to study various types of pension plans. The purpose of the establishment of this committee was to see if we could collect information in regard to various pension plans that would be useful to our local unions and to our international unions in their collective bargaining dealings with their employers.

More and more we find that pensions, along with various welfare plans, have become the subject of collective bargaining, more so since there have been various types of wage controls, beginning with the controls adopted at the begin-

ning of World War II and carrying through to the present time under the Wage Stabilization Board.

This pamphlet was prepared by the technical staff of the American Federation of Labor, under the sponsorship of the Executive Council, appointed for that purpose. It is being distributed this morning to all of the delegates in attendance at this convention, and of course additional copies can be secured by writing to the American Federation of Labor.

This pamphlet is for the purpose of acquainting any official of a trade union with the various phases of pension plans. It does not recommend any pension plan and does not try to sell the idea of pensions themselves. It is merely for information to show the different types of pension plans, how they work, and to warn against certain pitfalls and certain dangers that lie inherent in the various plans. It is entirely informative and it will be particularly useful, not as casual reading or reading for enjoyment, but it will be useful to any officer of a national or local union who is contemplating engaging in collective bargaining with his employer and including in that collective bargaining a pension plan of any type.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I am pleased to present to you for a report Brother Albert Woll, our Legal Counsel and the representative of our Legal Department. I can truthfully say to you that this report will show that that department has rendered most valuable legal service. I have been closely associated with this department to such a degree as to be familiar with the service rendered by the members of that department. Their work is of a kind and character which does not come in contact with all the members of the American Federation of Labor, but when you become familiar with the work of the department and are able to see the detail of it, then you realize how important it is and how exacting is the service rendered by that department.

Without further ado I present to you Brother Albert Woll, representative of our Legal Department, for his report.

MR. J. ALBERT WOLL

(Chief Counsel, American Federation of Labor)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council, distinguished guests, delegates, ladies and gentlemen: I should first like to thank you, President Green, for your very kind and generous introduction. It is typical of you because you have demonstrated throughout the year that you are kind and generous and gracious. I thank you very much for your introduction.

This is the fifth convention at which I have had the privilege and the pleasure of speaking to you as general counsel for the American Federation of Labor. On these earlier occasions, I have told you that my associates and I were proud to have the opportunity of serving this great federation. I now repeat that expression of deep feeling and pledge anew that we shall, at all times, seek to serve you well and with honor.

This past year, organized labor, gaining in strength despite the appalling burden of repressive legislation, has continued to advance toward its goal of winning for those who toil the opportunity for an ever fuller, richer and nobler life. Although heavily shouldered with the onerous weight of the oppressive Taft-Hartley Act and other federal laws, and impeded by the miring bog of state anti-union laws that seek to engulf it, organized labor, with unconquerable spirit and increasing vitality, has moved forward toward the fulfillment of the very purpose of its being to bring to workers the chance to live as human beings, endowed by their Creator with inherent dignity and graced with an eternal destiny.

And so today, in America, organized labor stands virile and strong, proud of its increasing gains throughout the years—gains which have improved not only the welfare of the workers but of all Americans, including the businessmen and the farmers. Today, organized labor plays an important, constructive and responsible part in the advancement and improvement of our American way of life in all its facets, and in our present great national struggle to win peace and security, not only for ourselves, but for all free peoples.

This progress, made in spite of formidable obstructions, epitomizes the history of organized labor for more than three-quarters of a century—a history of magnificent achievements, despite the company spies and armed thugs, despite the black lists and the lockouts, despite the "yellow dog" contracts and the criminal prosecutions, and in spite of the almost universal use of injunctions. This progress also portends a future of glorious achievement, so long as Labor is not forgetful of the real purpose of its being. For so long as its cause remains just and is pursued with honorable pur-

pose, no man or combination of men, no matter how strong or powerful, can bring Labor to complete and utter destruction.

We of the American Federation of Labor know this. That is why we will have no truck with those who would subvert the aims of Labor and divert its capacity for good to ends that are evil. And that is why we will continue, in the future, as we have in the past, to direct, without deviation from purpose, the full force of this federation's tremendous power to bring about an ever-increasing recognition that individual labor is worthy of honor and has a personal value which raises it above that of the market place.

For several years prior to 1948, and almost to the eve of the national election of that year, organized labor was methodically and systematically being fettered by evilly conceived and cunningly devised anti-union state laws. Their primary effect was to inflict mischief, deprivation and suffering on the workers of America and their families. These laws were many and vicious and by the early part of 1948 were on the statute books of thirty-four states. But then came the election of that year and with it came the expulsion from the federal congress and state capitols and the propulsion into political oblivion of many of those who sought a return to the days of the past—to the days when the working man was regarded merely as a unit of production, a piece of machinery, to be tossed out with impairment of efficiency. As a result of that election the crescendo of anti-union laws that fell about the ears of Labor was reduced and since 1948 little has been added in the way of repressive labor laws. In fact, some have been repealed while others have been invalidated by court decisions.

Many, however, remain to entangle and plague us and until all have been relegated to the limbo of forgotten things, Labor's legal representatives must defend and guard against them with vigor and alertness. This, with the continued cooperation of the many excellent labor attorneys throughout the country, it is our firm purpose to do. In the light of the completely repressive nature of these laws, I think we can say that these efforts have been rewarded with a substantial measure of success.

Illustrative of the repressive nature of these State Laws, the harmful uses to which they are put, their pernicious effect on lawful and proper labor activities and the extent of the legal effort and application necessary to defend against them, is the litigation instituted almost two years ago in the State Court of Texas by the Brown and Root Construction Company. This industrial giant, whose billion-dollar operations dot the globe, is possessed with an anti-union frenzy that would transform free and independent Texans into economic slaves. Its history is one of discrimination against employees for union activity, refusal to deal with unions and the payment of sub-standard wages.

This company obtained, without notice, a blanket restraining order against the American Federation of Labor, its Building Trades Department, some twenty National and International Unions, sixty local union affiliates and the Houston, Austin and Dallas Building Trades Councils. This restraining order forbade, under threat of possible imprisonment, any act of picketing, striking or boycotting against any Brown and Root operation anywhere in the State of Texas. It was sought and obtained under the vicious and unjust union-busting laws of that state, principally its anti-closed shop law, supplemented by its conspiracy and anti-trust statutes. Fettered, impeded and almost reduced to a state of petrification in all of its activities because of this over-night assault, organized labor in Texas struck back in the courts where it sought the removal or at least the modification of this paralyzing order. For six long months thereafter, the Trial Court of that state was the back-drop of an epochal battle for liberty and freedom. Labor again suffered a reverse when that court issued a temporary injunction as broad and as extensive as the original restraining order. But again labor struck back. This time in a higher court, the Texas Intermediate Appellate Court. And this time, it won a heartening victory, for there this all-embracing injunction, which had crippled and brought to a virtual standstill labor activities in the building field in Texas, was drastically modified and abated. Removed from its broad provisions were those bans which prohibited all picketing and striking regardless of the legality of objectives or peacefulness of means, and the injunction was continued in force only against direct violations of specific laws.

This decision, rendered in February of this year, allowed organized labor in Texas some room in which to move and to employ its proper and effective organizing methods. This, of course, did not please the Brown and Root Company and it quickly appealed to the Texas Supreme Court. There the company met its second defeat for in May the decision of the Intermediate Appellate Court was affirmed.

While labor thus gained a substantial victory, it is tempered by several sobering thoughts. For almost two years labor, under these laws of Texas, was wrongfully prevented from carrying on many activities now declared by the highest court of that state to be legal and proper. During these two long years, the Brown and Root Company had a field day, piling up profits and giving the back of its hand to union organizing efforts. Then, too, this victory is only partial for many other activities of labor are still being restrained and will be for some time to come as the case is now back in the Trial Court to be heard, for the first time, on its merits, when the matter of whether or not a permanent injunction should be issued will be considered. Since organized labor is confronted by a very wealthy contracting company with a very anti-union history, it appears probable that several years more may elapse before a final court determina-

tion, conclusive of the issues in this case, will be reached.

We of the Federation's legal staff are well aware of the importance of this litigation and in close association with the very splendid and able local attorneys representing labor's interest in Texas, we will continue our efforts to bring about a happy and successful conclusion to this legal battle which may come to be recognized as one of the most important in the annals of labor union litigation.

This Brown and Root case presents a sad and melancholy story indeed, made even more unfortunate by the fact that it is by no means an isolated tale. It illustrates what almost daily confronts International Unions and affiliated locals whenever they attempt to exercise their rights to real collective bargaining and effective concerted action for the welfare of the workers they represent.

If time permitted, I could list many organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that have had the unhappy experience of being stopped in their tracks or harassed and bedeviled in their progress by state injunctions and damage suits almost every time they attempted economic action designed to obtain for workers better working conditions or a fair share of the fruits of their labor. The wicked and destructive effect of these suits on the interests of the worker and his family, the bitterness they engender between employer and employee and the evil and lamentable impediment they provide to free collective bargaining and union organization is beyond measure. In some aspects, these totally unnecessary and morally unjust laws have, within the geographic confines of their application, a greater capacity for unbridled and unrestrained perniciousness than does that almost universally despised Taft-Hartley Act.

The American Federation of Labor, itself, was made a party defendant in a number of law suits litigated this past year under these state laws. Some sought large money judgments. Fortunately, it has been successful, up to the present time, in defeating these various legal assaults. At the present moment, the American Federation of Labor is engaged in defending in the State Court of Alabama its interests and pocketbook in approximately twenty-nine damage suits recently brought against it and others. Each of these suits seeks punitive damages of \$50,000 or a grand total of almost a million and a half dollars. Motions attacking the jurisdiction of the court to proceed against the federation have been filed and are now awaiting disposition.

Organized labor, I know will never rest until these state laws, along with that Taft-Hartley Law and other obnoxious federal laws cease to be and are remembered only as transitory and ugly records that have been lost in limitless space. Until that day arrives, however, we must continue to fight in the courts of the land each new use of the union-wrecking means these laws furnish.

Turning to the field of federal law, we see the colossus of ignoble legislation—the Taft-Hartley Act. It is Janus-faced. One face smiles benignly on employers. The other scowls and growls at labor. Its arms are multitudinous provisions that reach out octopus-like to seize, hold fast and crush those who seek to exercise their collective strength to bargain on an equal basis with their employer. One arm is labeled "unfair labor practices." Another is labeled "restrictions on union security." Another is labeled "impediments to good faith bargaining." Another is labeled "discretionary, mandatory and national emergency injunctions." Still another is labeled "no vote for replaced economic strikers," and others are labeled variously, "denial of principle of mutual help"; "restrictions on welfare funds and check-off"; "prohibition of political expenditures"; "threat of damage suits" and "eighty-day cooling off periods."

This is the model labor management relations law conjured up in 1947 and proclaimed by its sponsors as the cure-all for labor-management disturbances, the sesame to free collective bargaining, and the impartial arbitrator of the rights and duties of labor and management. It has now been in existence for over five years. During this period of its dismal life, it has proved that its supporters either suffered from myopic vision or were trying to palm off something on the American people. It has convincingly demonstrated to all but those who have an incurable anti-labor mentality that it is incapable of good in the labor management field; that it is unworkable, cumbersome and contradictorily constituted; that it is productive of delay, confusion, suspicion and bitterness; that it is disruptive of peaceful relationships between management and labor; that it is unfair, discriminatory and morally unjust to the millions of working men and women of this country; that it is subversive of our nation's expressed policy of free collective bargaining, with a minimum of interference by government with both employer and employee; that it is truly what President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany and every leader of labor has characterized it—a slave labor law, and that it should be repealed and be replaced by a fair, just, intelligent, workable and honest labor relations law.

Because of the limitation of time, I know you realize with me that I cannot here and now detail the many unfortunate and many lamentable experiences of labor that confirm this appraisal of the Taft-Hartley Act. But such detail before this audience is unnecessary for you have been on the firing line fighting hand to hand with this Act, and you know what it has done, what it is now doing and what it can do in the future.

But I would like, however, to debunk one colossal fraud that is being perpetrated on the American workers by some proponents of this Act in their desperate attempt to prolong its worthless life. It is said that this law is good for the indi-

vidual worker and that it was enacted for his protection and the preservation of his well-being. This is not only stuff and nonsense, but is a trap for the credulous and the naive. The history of organized labor in America gives sufficient answer to this ridiculous and false claim for, if it proves anything, it demonstrates that it is only through association in common cause that workers, over the years, have been able to improve their individual fortunes and well-being. History discloses that all the great economic and social gains of the past, and up to the present day, won by the workers of America, are attributed, not to isolated individual activity, but to the collective activity of great numbers united together under the banners of labor unions. The Taft-Hartley Act, however, as often stated by President Green, is designed "to make strong unions weak and weak unions weaker." If this should result, the individual worker will have lost that which history has taught is essential in his dealing with his employer—the combined strength of his fellow workers, and he will once more be on his own and will be reduced again to that pitiful state of accepting employment under conditions dictated by his employer on a "take it or leave it" basis.

If this is an end devoutly to be desired by the individual worker, then the Taft-Hartley Act is good for him, but I don't think we will find many workers foolish enough to desire that.

Instances of direct injury to the workers are legion. Those having prayerful hopes for an adequate increase in pay to meet rising costs of living, but who have had to return to work with their hopes crushed because the Taft-Hartley Act prevented effective union action, refute the false claim that this law is for their benefit. And so do those unfortunate strikers who have trod the picket line in an attempt to advance their well-being only to see their jobs and pay-checks go to others under sanction of this law, and thereafter, without power to intervene, see these strike breakers, by election, strip their champion, the union, of authority to seek the return of their jobs to them.

Confining ourselves to happenings during this past year, let me call to your attention two specific examples of what the Taft-Hartley Act is doing to the workers. The first is the case of Gamble Enterprises, decided by the United States Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, Ohio early this spring. In this case, the feather-bedding provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act were applied against members of the American Federation of Musicians in Akron, Ohio, who insisted on being given work opportunities when a travelling or "name" band was employed by a theatre owner. These musicians sought no pay without work—no "feather-bedding". They sought real jobs—the performance of actual services, but that, said the court, is forbidden under Taft-Hartley. (I wonder if anyone could convince these musicians that this law, depriving them of opportunities for a livelihood, is a blessing be-

stowed upon them. I can hear them say, "Lord, spare us from such blessings.") Fortunately, this decision is being appealed to the United States Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court grants a review, the American Federation of Labor will seek to file a brief in support of the American Federation of Musicians in this most important case.

The second example I should like to cite of this law's disdain for the well-being of the individual worker, takes us to Long Island, New York. There, a union man employed by the Rockaway News Supply Company to pick up and deliver newspapers and other publications, refused to cross a picket line established by the Nassau County Typographical Union. Because of his exercise of one of labor's traditional and most sacred rights—that of an individual to respect picket lines established by his brother union members, this man's employer fired him. The United States Court of Appeals at New York in May of this year upheld this discharge, stating, in effect, that the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, gave this employee no protection against such discharge. A review of this decision in the United States Supreme Court is also being requested and the American Federation of Labor will seek to file a brief in that court urging its reversal. In the meantime, of course, the unfortunate Rockaway News employee still remains fired.

As I list these injustices, I cannot understand how any American worker can rest until this vicious Taft-Hartley Law is repealed and replaced by a fair, workable and honest labor-management relations law. Labor must get rid of it before it can do more mischief than it has already done. While its mischief has been great over the past five years, its full evil effects have not yet been suffered because America today needs production and more production. But let the need for workers decline and we shall then know this law's almost limitless capacity for the impairment, if not destruction, of the many gains of labor that have so enriched the American way of life over the past years. Evil in itself, this law breeds and encourages more evil. So long as it remains in existence, it furnishes the excuse and the model for enactment of repressive laws in states where none now exist and for the retention and extension of such laws where they now shame the statute books.

While we have been successful in contesting before administrative tribunals and in the courts numerous attempts to utilize the restrictive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and of State anti-union laws, such successes, although heartening, do not cure the total ill. To illustrate, we have managed to narrow, by court decision, the broad prohibition of the Taft-Hartley Act against union political expenditures so that some measure of direct and effective political activity is now possible by organized labor. But full political activity is still forbidden and will continue to be forbidden unless and until the prohibition of this law itself is removed.

During this past year, in the Conway Express case, we secured court approval of a so-called "Hot Cargo" or "Struck Goods" clause which the seamen's organization had extensively used in its contracts as a means of protection against the secondary boycott provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was held by the United States Court of Appeals that under such a clause the union can legally refuse to handle the goods of a struck or unfair employer. Although this decision is of great importance and of tremendous help to organized labor, these secondary boycott provisions, with their application to many situations that cannot be protected by a "Hot Cargo" clause, still remain to impair effective union action against unfair employers.

Vigilant and forceful legal challenge to every attempted use against labor of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, of other anti-union federal legislation, such as the Hobbs Act and the Lea Act, and of the State anti-union laws, is an armor of protection to labor. It is clear, however, that labor's greatest hope for complete and early relief lies with the ballot box and the good-will of the American people who go to the polls.

We went to the people in 1948. We told them of labor's cause and demonstrated its inherent justice. The people responded with an outpouring of votes telling us that they believed in us and were with us. Let us go to them again and again they will respond and rally to our cause, for the hopes and aspirations of the working men and women are in tune with the heart and soul of America.

We are on the eve of our great opportunity. We cannot let it pass us by. If we do, darker days, indeed, may be in store for labor and America. Then we may have, not only the Taft-Hartley Act and other presently existing anti-labor federal and state laws, but further restrictive legislation. This is no dream. It is a real threat. Already many die-hard enemies of labor, who refuse to recognize that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce, have proposed federal legislation to place labor unions under the provisions of the anti-trust laws and to restrict or outlaw industry-wide bargaining. As stated by Secretary-Treasurer Meany in his recent Labor Day radio address, "never before have the decisions at stake in an election had such a direct bearing on the economic and social future of the great masses of people."

The course, therefore, is clear. Much has been said and written about crusades in the coming election. Let labor initiate a crusade—a glorious and victorious crusade, that will reach into every hamlet, town and city of America and will embrace every working man and every working woman of this great nation, a crusade to go to the polls on Election Day and vote—to vote for those who have demonstrated that they love America, love its freedoms and its magnificent way of life and have demonstrated that they believe

in human dignity and want to advance and promote man's opportunity to enrich and ennoble his life and the life of his fellow man. Such a crusade is a real American crusade for it will bring a better life not only to those who toil but to all Americans, whatever their station in life. It is a crusade that will be blessed with the brilliant smile of the infinite Creator of all mankind.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I thank our General Counsel, Albert Woll, sincerely for his educational and most interesting address. We appreciate it very greatly. It will be included in the proceedings of our conventions.

Now I want to present to you our fraternal delegate from Great Britain. He has been sitting here on the stage with us ever since the convention opened its sessions on last Monday, and so you are acquainted with him.

I want him to know we appreciate more than we can express in words his visit to our convention. We are glad he is among those who have maintained an unbroken relationship, the exchange of fraternal delegates between our two great countries, Great Britain and the United States.

I cannot recall when this important procedure began, but I know it was many, many years ago. These two old labor movements have maintained that relationship without a break. Each year we send fraternal delegates to Great Britain and they, in turn, send fraternal delegates to the United States.

That has brought us into a very close and almost religious relationship with each other.

Without further ado I present to you Brother Alf Roberts, member of the Executive Committee British TUC, member of the Governing Body of ILO, and General Secretary of the Cotton Textile Workers of Great Britain, who will now address you.

MR. ALFRED ROBERTS

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President, honored guests and fellow trade unionists: I am neither a Republican nor a Democrat. That may be unfortunate, but I shall be delighted if I can get the

same attention which you gave Senator Morse yesterday afternoon.

It is with a deep sense of the privilege conferred on me by two great democratic trade union movements that I rise to address you as Fraternal Delegate from the British T.U.C. I am honored equally as the representative of that body, and as the guest of the American Federation of Labor. In reading your report and listening to the speeches, I have been more than ever impressed by a sense of that community of principles and of aspirations which was in the first instance responsible for these fraternal exchanges and has kept them going for nearly sixty years.

As many of you know, I am no stranger to your great country. This is my fifth visit since 1937. The American way of life, as reflected in its attitude towards visitors, is familiar to me, and I may say that on this occasion the traditionally high standard of American hospitality has been fully maintained.

Now it is my duty to report to you on the state of British trade unionism. You may judge of the strength of its constitution by the fact that this year membership is higher than ever before, with a total of more than eight million members. We and you are, in fact, numerically the strongest trade union centers in the free world.

The greater our strength, the more seriously it behooves us to take our responsibilities, and I am going to say something about the way in which our movement has dealt with the problems which have arisen during the past twelve months. Perhaps I should say the new aspects of those problems which have been with us continuously since the end of World War II, because it is quite clear from the course of events during the past twelve months that we are still a long way from the end of the road to peace and recovery. At the same time, there are unmistakable signs that the firm alliance of democratic forces in the world has given pause to the aggressors, and this should encourage all of us to maintain our efforts until we can be confident that the moment of danger has passed, and the tension can be relaxed.

For Britain the main concern is to make our contribution to the common defense of the free world without unduly impairing our economic strength. I should like here to call attention to the statement on rearmament issued by our General Council last May—a declaration which re-affirmed the policy which was launched in 1950 and which is consistent with the patient work undertaken by the T.U.C. over many years in the pursuit of peace and the defense of freedom.

In this statement which was approved and endorsed by our recent annual Congress we set out clearly our conviction that rearmament is an inescapable necessity, and must have high priority. We say in part: "The peoples of the free democracies are wholly intent upon the preservation of peace. They abhor war. They will resort to it only in defense of the freedoms

which they have built up over centuries of struggle, or in loyalty to principles developed within the United Nations, to make it clear that aggression will not be tolerated.

"Because of their conviction that the United Nations and the Defense Pacts for which it provides, must have the power of arms to enforce peace, trade unionists, along with all others who believe in the democratic way of life have recognized, and overwhelmingly agreed upon, the immediate necessity of rearmament."

We recognize that peace can only be secured within the framework of collective security, and are satisfied that the steps taken by the Western Nations throughout the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the developing military and political arrangements of the European Defense Community, are in furtherance of that policy. And after careful weighing of all the circumstances we adhered to our view that Germany and Japan should make some contribution to the deterrence of aggression. The great economic and political instruments, the network of treaties which have been evolved over the past five years, are the background of the system of economic rehabilitation and mutual security to which successive annual Congresses have given wholehearted support and to which the British nation, irrespective of party, is committed. It is inevitable that there should be teething troubles and infantile disorders, but the international organizations which have been formed are living and breathing and gaining strength. The arms program is only a part, but an essential part, of the system of treaties to which we as a nation are a party. The General Council believes, and our Congress two weeks ago endorsed the view, that it would be a confession of incapacity and irresponsibility if, even by inference we, as a trade union movement questioned the basic rightness of the policy we deliberately embarked upon two years ago.

That policy has in fact not been in question except by those disruptive elements whose opposition to rearmament is as well known as is the reason for their opposition. There is in fact far less opposition to rearmament than is generally assumed. It is rather the practicability of the program together with its effect on our economy which has been the subject of discussion and disagreement. Those differences of opinion have been magnified out of all proportion by the press both at home and abroad, and it is deplorable that the popular habit of attaching labels according to the opinions expressed should make British people either Bevanites or anti-Bevanites and thus give undue prominence to one man and his opinions and impute wrong motives to others because they express doubts about the possibility of fulfilling the original program.

I assert without fear of contradiction that the overwhelming mass of the British people are in favor of making their maximum contribution to the defense of the free world. We have said as a trade union movement that the size of that contribu-

tion should be as high as is physically and financially possible. You in this great country need strong allies, but that strength must be economic as well as military.

For any country to carry through a massive rearmament plan to the point of economic collapse would be a major disaster both for itself and its allies. Our firm conviction remains, however, that the greatest possible measure of rearmament must be carried out within the limits of our power to find the means.

Towards the end of last year there was a grave deterioration in our our balance of payments position and in August of this year the General Council issued a statement on the economic situation which had a wide press. Comment on this statement naturally varied according to the political angle of the commentator, but there was general agreement that as an analysis of prevailing conditions and factors it was one of the most important and significant pronouncements from any public body in Britain. It is interesting to note that in this statement we listed rearmament as the third cause for the economic crisis. The first cause is the gradual relative weakening of Britain's financial and industrial position during the last fifty years, a decline to be attributed partly to industrial progress in other countries, but to a major extent to the financial sacrifices (including the sale of almost all our overseas investments) which we made in two World Wars. The second and more immediate cause is, in our view, the fading out of the enormous pent up demand for manufactured goods which followed the end of World War II, during which such large scale competitors as Germany and Japan had been out of the running.

It was clear to us that the resultant situation was one which trade unionists, of all people, would have to face realistically, and it was because of this that we felt it imperative to direct the attention of our affiliated unions—particularly those under pressure from their members for wage increases—to the hard facts of the situation.

The key to the problem, as we saw it, was the need for increased production and exports. But we had to point out that it was not enough merely to produce more goods. Those goods had to be sold abroad in the teeth of developing competition. Costs are still rising and the need for greater productive efficiency in our industries grows daily more urgent. We asked our members to face the hard but unpalatable fact that high costs might so force up the prices of our exports as to make them unsalable.

At the same time the Trades Union Congress is resolute that the solution is not to be found by interfering with the accepted method of wage determination. Any such interference would seriously endanger the basis of industrial peace, and the resulting disturbance would impose a grave check upon the prospects of national recovery. Nor does it follow

when the prices of the necessities of life are rising that wage earners, and particularly those whose incomes are not high enough to enable them to make ends meet, are not justified in seeking wage increases.

Our immediate economic problems constitute a danger which threatens everyone and we, as trade unionists, cannot contract out of the difficulties which face the community as a whole. We have a special responsibility as a powerful trade union movement to ensure that by our own actions we do not worsen an already precarious position.

Action by the trade unions alone, however, will not solve our problems; we have insisted that the Government and all other sections of the community must play their part in promoting national recovery and we have indicated some of the steps which we believe are essential to this end.

Our long term economic problem can be stated in simple terms. We must purchase the vast bulk of our raw materials and a very substantial proportion of our food from abroad. We must pay for these by selling abroad enough goods and services to balance our purchases. If we cannot sell our goods in sufficient quantity because of high prices; import cuts, such as have now been made by several countries; or because of artificial barriers to trade, we shall be forced to cut still further our purchases of food and raw materials. This will inevitably lead to a lower standard of living and very soon to mass unemployment and I need not remind you what this would mean to the workers we represent. It is because of these dangers that the T.U.C. is determined to do whatever lies in our power to achieve economic stability and I am confident that we shall have your sympathy and support in our difficult task.

If I may digress a little at this point, I would like to repeat here something which I said last year as President of the T.U.C. On behalf of the T.U. movement and the vast majority of the British people, I would like to say a heartfelt "thank you" to the American people and especially to the A. F. of L. for their consistent support of that great act of constructive statesmanship, the Marshall Plan for the economic recovery of Europe. It took seven years after the first World War for Western Europe to regain its prewar level of production. With Marshall Aid, it took less than three years to raise industrial production 47% above the level at which it stood before the second World War. These figures speak for themselves and I am glad to have this opportunity of paying my tribute on American soil to those who helped us so magnificently.

I would also like to make my acknowledgement of the benefits that ensued to my country as a result of the studies carried out in the U.S.A. by the teams sent out by the Anglo-American Council on Productivity. The reports of these

teams received the closest attention from all sections of industry in Britain—certainly from trade union organizations—and there is no doubt that the knowledge imparted as to the "know-how" of American industry was a considerable stimulus to progressive elements in our own industries.

The Anglo-American Council on Productivity has completed its job and steps are now being taken to set up a British Productivity Council which will do similar work in our own country. We are participating actively and financially in the establishment of this organization which will continue to promote higher productivity and develop some of the work done by the Anglo-American Council.

Our movement, with its long tradition of interest in international affairs has, during the year, gone all out to assist the trade union movements of the free world. Our annual report shows that contributions promised to the Regional Activities Fund of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions from the T.U.C. and its affiliated unions totalled \$320,000. At the same time our movement has contributed substantially to the appeal of the I.C.F.T.U. for funds to assist trade unionism in France and Italy—two countries where the free trade unions are encountering exceptional difficulties.

We have continued to assist the Colonial trade union centers, firstly by the supply of office equipment to those in urgent need and secondly by furthering by various means their educational advancement. All these activities are directly in support of the objectives of the I.C.F.T.U.

It is of paramount importance, I believe, that the work of the I.C.F.T.U. should grow and expand. Ideologies cannot be destroyed by negative policies. It is the positive policy upon which we must concentrate to the limit of our capacity—the elimination of those conditions which create Communism and upon which Communism thrives.

The free trade union movement is, I believe, the only force in the world which understands and can effectively combat the evil of Communism, but it must have the support and active cooperation of Governments and of all other sections of the community if it is to accomplish its historic task. It is true that many Governments have done a great deal in promoting peaceful reconstruction and in aiding the economic development of underdeveloped and backward areas. I wish that employers throughout the free world, as one of the sections I have referred to, had been more helpful and cooperative in the many fields of international activity in which they purport to play a part.

The need and expressed desire for higher social and living standards was a compelling factor in the establishment of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. There is one of these agencies which is the oldest of all and which has always had the

enthusiastic support of the British T.U.C. I refer to the I.L.O. I hope you will be patient with me if I speak for a minute or two about an organization which is very dear to my heart.

The I.L.O. is of particular importance to workers because of its tripartite character. There are eight workers' representatives on the Governing Body, of whom I have the honor to be one, and I wish to pay my tribute here to two of my colleagues on that Body, Leon Jouhaux who is with us here, has been a member since the I.L.O. was first formed in 1919. The workers of the world owe him a deep debt of gratitude for what he has done on their behalf. The other is your own Phil Delaney, who has done a great job of work during the past four years. I am proud to call him my friend as well as my colleague.

Despite 32 years of progress in the social field, the preamble to the Constitution is still valid.

"Universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice."

Let me quote some extracts from the Declaration of Philadelphia, (which is now incorporated in the Constitution) to show that the whole field of social policy is within the province of the I.L.O.

"All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material wellbeing and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security, and equal opportunity."

"The attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible just constitutes the central aim of national and international policy."

In the pursuance of these aims the I.L.O. is furthering schemes of international co-operation in many forms. The primary purpose of its expanded program of technical assistance is to help underdeveloped countries to strengthen their national economies through the development of industries and agriculture with a view to promoting their economic and political independence in the spirit of the charter of the U. N. and to ensure the attainment of higher levels of economic and social welfare for their entire population.

There are many other activities of the I.L.O., indeed, too many for me to list adequately, but all of which have for their objective the achievement of universal social justice. It is a matter of some concern, even alarm, to us who are closely associated with its work that the financial provisions for this work are being restricted by Governmental proposals to cut down expenditures—proposals which are invariably backed by the employers' representatives. The workers' group at the Conference last June felt so strongly about this that a resolution was unanimously adopted drawing the attention of national trade union centers to the dangers inherent in this policy of restriction, and calling for representations to be made to the various governments.

You and we are well aware of the present burden on the economies of the free world, but in the search for an enduring peace, it is essential that a wise balance be struck between the requirements of defense, of economic development and social advance.

And now I must not take up any more of your time, although there is much I could tell you of our many activities, particularly in the field of education and social welfare. I am glad to have this opportunity of meeting many old friends and making new ones. I am glad to have been able to act as one of the many ambassadors of good will which our two organizations have exchanged over so long a period of time. A community of interests and an identity of purpose are the links which bind us together in a great international brotherhood. It is my fervent hope that those ties will become ever closer in the years that lie ahead.

May I say here, how much we, back home, appreciated Charlie McGowan's report to last year's Convention on his visit to our 83rd Congress.

I shall take back with me from this Convention a deep sense of the friendship and comradeship which I have found and the knowledge that the only differences between us are those which exist in the best regulated families.

I wish you good luck and God speed in your efforts to establish both at home and abroad a real brotherhood of man.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to thank you sincerely, on behalf of the delegates, for your visit with us and for this magnificent address which you have just delivered. You may report to the officers and members of the great British Trades Union Congress that it is the fixed determination and purpose of the membership of the American Federation of Labor to maintain this warm and cordial fraternal relationship between your Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. It is established now upon an enduring basis. We do not think there is anything that can affect it, modify it or destroy it. We are determined to keep close watch and to hold fast and to allow no personal differences to arise to interfere with that splendid relationship that has existed for so many years.

We thank you for coming to America. We hope you will enjoy your visit here and that you will have a safe and happy return to your homeland.

Now I am pleased to present to you a distinguished speaker who comes from abroad. He has traveled all the way from

Geneva, Switzerland, to bring to us a message. That's a long trip, and we are happy because he has come. He is Director General of the International Labor Office and has been serving in that capacity for quite some time. He served here in the United States as the Under-Secretary of Labor in a very valuable and most satisfactory way, and then was designated to serve as Director-General of the International Labor Office. You know to whom I refer. He is one whom we have all admired and whom we have held in high regard and high esteem. I refer to David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labor Organization—Director-General Morse.

DAVID A. MORSE

(Director General, International Labor Office)

President Green, members of the Executive Council, delegates to the Seventy-First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Four years ago I left my post as Under-Secretary of Labor of the United States to become the Director-General of the International Labor Office. I made this change with the support and encouragement of the workers and employers of the free world. I am proud that I had the specific encouragement of the American Federation of Labor.

We were fully conscious at that time of the urgent problems that faced us at home and that would appear upon the horizon later. But we also agreed, you and I, that there was an imperative job to be done in the field of international labor affairs—work of importance both to the world and to the United States.

We were guided by the spirit of Samuel Gompers, the same spirit that in 1919 helped lay the foundation for the International Labor Organization. With his colleagues from other lands he had the vision to set it on the path it has followed since.

In 1934, at your urging, the United States joined the I.L.O., proving that blind isolationism was on the retreat. Since then, the international representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been at our side. There was Bob Watt, and then Frank Fenton; now it is Phil Delaney. I want to thank you for sending Phil with his vigor, good conscience and intelligence to help the I.L.O. hold to its aims in difficult times. I would like also to thank the many other representatives of the American Federation of Labor who have participated so constructively in the work of the I.L.O.

I have come today to give you the main lines that we are moving along as

we struggle with labor and social problems throughout the world and as we battle for a redress of those ills which make peace more difficult of achievement. I want to lay before you the thinking that has guided me and the steps that we in the I.L.O. are taking. And then I hope for your continued enlightened participation with us as we go forward into the future.

Such participation will warm the hearts of your brothers abroad on the firing line of freedom. You cannot overestimate the influence in other countries of your achievements here. The world knows how you have brought the good things of life to your members. Your success has given you a unique opportunity for leadership in the international labor movement.

The high caliber of your fellow trade unions abroad makes the responsibility of leadership no light thing. You should treasure the new confidence that is being vested in you. Your colleagues overseas have been tested by the flames of war and oppression on a scale we Americans will, I trust, never know. Their contributions have been the greater because their lot has been harder.

In many countries these pressures have led trade unions to sponsor and ally themselves with narrowly sectarian political parties.

At the most recent I.L.O. general conference in June, the leaders of unions from other countries joined with you to pass a remarkable resolution. They turned from their old traditions and called for the separation of trade unionism from the state. It was the highest tribute I know that could be paid to the intellectual leadership of the American Federation of Labor and the other outstanding representatives of trade unions from abroad.

You must and will use that leadership in facing today's problems. The great threat is totalitarianism.

Only in an open world can we hit our target of lasting peace through social justice. An open world is one in which ideas, information and dreams of human betterment can be freely exchanged. It is one where individuals can move, from job to job and from place to place, where economic, intellectual and spiritual freedom is a living fact, where the individual can in full dignity realize his opportunities.

The blight that now threatens the world is creeping forth from the areas where political, religious and civil liberties have been liquidated. In those areas men are fearful and miserable in spirit.

We know now that men will more readily accept totalitarian slogans when they live in ignorance and when their bellies are empty, their families are unclothed and their children sick. It becomes the business of free men everywhere to enable them to help themselves; to feed, clothe and educate themselves. At the same time we must free them to do this by reviving political and spiritual

values in the countries where the light of liberty has either been extinguished, dimmed or never shone.

We in the I.L.O. are constantly redefining ourselves to this ideal of freedom. Otherwise our efforts would be unrealistic and our machine of little value. We know, as you do, that the work for social justice must be grounded on the realities of life; that it must be carried on in the factories, in the offices, farms, schools and homes.

We in the I.L.O. do internationally what you yourselves are doing in the United States and Canada. We labor to raise the standard of living of working men and women. We know that low standards in one place affect standards elsewhere. American trade unionists are familiar, for instance, with the problem of North-South wage differentials in this country. Differences between countries pose the same problem.

We recognize that establishing adequate standards in all countries saves the worker from becoming a meaningless cipher in the competition for profit. We know that raising standards increases buying power and creates new jobs. We know too that in helping to build sound economies in less favored countries we lessen their dependence on America and the American taxpayer.

The people of the world are in search of peace, dignity and security. They are not in search of a handout or merely rifles for defense. They as we have pride and sensitivities. They want to see the American economy healthy, able to avoid the catastrophic peaks of inflation and valleys of depression. They know that breadlines or high prices on this continent are a prelude to more misery and despair in Europe and Asia as well. They have a stake in the success of our economy, just as we have a stake in theirs. They know that an economically and spiritually sound America joined freely and as equal partner with sovereign states elsewhere searching cooperatively to break down the obstacles which now separate men and countries is the only way to peace.

I have learned these things more fully since becoming an international civil servant. I do not believe it will be taken amiss if I say that each American must keep this image constantly in mind if he is to discharge his great responsibility in the world today. There is one point I would like to make here that I believe worth stressing. The I.L.O. is an international showcase. The tripartite structure of the I.L.O. provides that our sixty-six member countries send representatives of employers, workers and governments to our meetings. Each in his own way, the American delegates present the merits of competitive enterprise. The United States puts its wares on full display and for sale in the open market. But the American delegates find that other delegates favor other systems and they too display their wares.

This international showcase is one important way in which men come to know each other and forge links of understanding without which international advancement and lasting peace are impossible to achieve.

It is a fallacy to assume that conditions in the United States and Canada are always the best possible. Your own incessant endeavors for your members show that you think there is room for constant improvement. The I.L.O. has often, in raising worldwide standards, helped American workers.

In maritime matters, for example, international labor conventions cover such subjects as the repatriation of stranded seamen, unemployment compensation following shipwreck, food aboard ship and the qualifications of the men who cook it, and many other matters important to those spending long days at sea.

The seafarers would agree, I think, that I.L.O. maritime activity, in raising standards elsewhere, helps American seamen by eliminating the type of competition that seeks to profit at the expense of the seaman's safety, health and conditions of employment.

When I.L.O. legislative activity takes place in fields where American standards are the best, our work is still of direct concern to American labor. Partly this is a matter of protecting your members from the competition of sweated labor in other countries. Partly it concerns extending your own achievements to your brothers abroad and strengthening those achievements by giving them international sanction.

We all know, of course, that high-level agreements and legislation are no cure-alls for what ails us. There is no substitute for the democratic and collective action of the workers.

While the seeking of agreement on international labor standards is a basic part of I.L.O. work, it is by no means the sole aim of our existence. We are operational as well, not only as part of our own long tradition, but also within the framework of the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.

Here is a place where the I.L.O. is one of the chief mediums through which America is demonstrating the type of leadership that the world fully appreciates and benefits from. The I.L.O. is making American production experience and techniques available through our experts, meetings and publications. The purpose is to help others produce more for themselves, to help them become prosperous markets for goods from other countries.

Increasing productivity must not and need not be based on sweated labor. Decent working conditions must be assured; the problem beyond that is to make sure that the worker gets the proper share of his greater output.

Workers elsewhere have noted that American unions have understood this

point. Your economic gains are based on an output generally higher, industry by industry, than in equivalent industries abroad. As a result, they are becoming more and more interested in increasing output by improving methods of production.

They hope that this may enable the free world to carry the extra burden of defense without a decline in living standards. Thanks to your example, they realize that in the advance toward ever increasing productivity employers and other groups in a community are not necessarily in conflict.

All they ask is that due care be taken to insure a fair distribution of the gains from higher productivity. They recognize that if we protect the interests of workers displaced from their jobs by new machines and new processes, then the workers themselves will have much to gain from the improved techniques.

Of course, the point of view that increased productivity benefits all sections of the community is nowhere as widespread as it is in America. The I.L.O. in its publications and in its operational activities is preaching the gospel of increasing productivity, leaning heavily where warranted on the American experience.

It is my conviction that one of the direct causes of world tension today is the regional differences in productivity. The hardest labor of the average Asian or Middle Eastern worker results in less output than that of his European counterpart. And neither can compare with the American and the Canadian.

The worker in the less productive and developed countries feels more and more that he is being robbed of his birthright. He contrasts his own miserable poverty and future with the relative affluence of his neighbors in more fortunate lands.

The result is explosive bitterness. Demagogues set class against class, country against country and continent against continent. At the root of it all is the sharp contrast between sterility and the abundance that is due to productivity and accessibility to materials for production.

The I.L.O. is tackling this problem with all the vigor that our limited means permit. If we succeed our success will have far-reaching consequences. Therefore, we are engaged in much diverse action, as improving the organization of industrial plants in India, improving training facilities in Greece, increasing productive efficiency in Israel, organizing employment services in Peru. We urge governments to open up new industries for the technologically unemployed, and we constantly point out that the workers must receive a fair share of increased production.

Unless international effort succeeds on this front I fear that the tensions that threaten stability in the Near and Middle East, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere will erupt into outbursts that can be of aid and comfort only to those who would

make a mockery of the democratic process and of man's struggle for freedom and peace.

The work of the I.L.O. has obvious significance for the United States, Canada and the other developed countries. Your productivity must not slacken, for upon your continuous economic health depends the strength and success of our effort.

In this connection it is, of course, essential to note that when the defense program levels off there will be the danger of a sudden drop in production and employment in construction and heavy industry. The workers have much to lose from inflation, but a deflation resulting from a sudden decline in these industries is depression itself. We know that even today, in some consumer goods industries, unemployment is increasing.

How America meets this impending crisis will be the test of its world leadership. I am confident that America will pass the test with success and honor.

I don't believe that a catastrophic deflation is inevitable. Continuous observation and study of what is happening throughout the world and foresight to plan for action in advance of the need will go a long way toward preserving the economic stability of the free world.

Much of any drop in production and employment can be matched by creating a bigger market for consumers' goods. As the building of new factories declines, America must transfer its building capacity to the construction of new homes. As the output of machinery falls off, there must be produced more durable goods for consumers.

The industrial countries should consider the vast markets that exist in underdeveloped countries. There they can supply the capital equipment that is of such vital importance in overcoming poverty. The result is more jobs here and economic and spiritual salvation there.

I urge you to use the I.L.O. even more fully in the future than you have in the past. I urge you to seize upon it as an instrument of peace in which you have a full voice with governments and management. I pray that together we can through this great international effort make our essential contribution to the lessening of international tensions. In this way men and women everywhere and the governments which serve them can turn the dollars of defense to more constructive ends—the conquering of hunger and misery wherever it exists.

In our efforts to achieve this goal we will be combining our hope for human freedom and prosperity with enlightened self-interest in the way that you of the American Federation of Labor have demonstrated to be fundamentally sound—the way of free men in a free world.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know you all deeply appreciate this fine address, and because of that fact I want to thank our

good friend for the submission of this most interesting speech. He, too, came from far across the seas to bring us this message, and that increases its value to us. I hope he will have a happy visit here and a safe return home.

I want to present to you now another distinguished visitor. You have met him here. Most of you, I know, are acquainted with him. He has been here during practically all of the sessions of our convention. He is serving as the General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He was selected by it and other countries to serve in this very exciting and honorable position a year or more ago, and he has measured up to their requirements in a wonderful way, rendered an excellent job and is doing a fine piece of work. We are happy to give him our cooperation and our support.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Brother J. H. Oldenbroek, General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

MR. J. H. OLDENBROEK

(General Secretary, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)

President Green, Secretary Meany, members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, delegates and guests:

My first duty is to thank the Executive Council for the kind invitation issued to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (the ICTU) to send a representative to this convention and to address you on behalf of the International of which you form an integral and—I should add—a very substantial and indispensable part. There can be no doubt that the American Federation of Labor is now the largest organization among the 100 or so that belong to the ICTU. It is on behalf of these affiliated organizations and in the name of the Executive Board of the ICTU that I bring you warm and affectionate greetings from the workers of so many lands.

The report of your Executive Council rightly claims that the A. F. of L. played a preponderant part in the establishment of our new free trade union international founded in London less than three years ago. It is, therefore, only natural that you should ever since have displayed a very active interest in the ICTU's work. It is our fervent desire that all our affiliated bodies, whether large or small, play

their full part in the international movement, as we want to be a living international, able to do an effective job of work on the day-to-day problems facing us as well as on the long-term issues.

The workers of the whole world, and those of Europe in particular, owe a debt of gratitude to the American nation in general and to the American trade union movement in particular for the way in which the American people have sustained them in their hour of need throughout and after the second World War. Through UNRRA and through the Economic Recovery Program, the United States has come to the rescue of hundreds of millions of people who would otherwise have starved, who would otherwise not have been able to recover their economies, and who would otherwise have fallen an easy prey to Communist demagoguery, infiltration, treason, and aggression.

In Europe the recently ended Economic Recovery Program still goes under the name of former Secretary of State, General Marshall. He is the symbol of American generosity and has won a place in the hearts and minds of all freedom-loving Europeans; his name will go down in the history of every one of the countries who benefited so much from the Marshall Plan. I shall not give you the figures—although I have them with me—for many of them are contained in your Executive Council's report. So much is certain: the Marshall Plan has been a complete success, a success going far beyond original expectations. In its implementation American trade unionists have played a great part.

You will remember that the rejection by the W.F.T.U. of the Marshall Plan was that last straw which broke the camel's back and led to the withdrawal of all the free unions. It would be interesting to repeat what the Communists said at the time and why the Kremlin forbade Czechoslovakia to be incorporated into the Marshall Plan.

Reports reaching us daily show the trend in the satellite countries. In Czechoslovakia the workers are being ruthlessly exploited on behalf of Soviet Russia and especially for the Soviet war machine. It is obvious that Soviet Russia doesn't permit the Czechoslovakian workers to improve or even to maintain their living standards. They have to be lowered to the Russian level and even to be pushed below it. All trade is controlled by Russia, which fixes the prices for imports and exports and so steals from the workers of Czechoslovakia the fruits of their labor. That is true of Czechoslovakia where the whole of the captive union leadership was the other day dismissed by a stroke of the pen because they were unable to make the workers produce more for less wages. It is equally true of Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania. In these circumstances, is it to be wondered that the workers of the satellite countries would much prefer the Marshall Plan to the Stalin Plan—that with the means at their disposal they are resisting their slave drivers and are longing for the moment when they will be able

to take their places again in the free labor movement? What Mr. Harriman said the other day is true: the Soviets are facing tremendous problems which they are unable to solve and they resort to ruthless oppression, especially through concentration camps and forced labor camps.

The ICFTU is in effect a young organization still grappling with problems inherent in every international federation which is only slowly able to build up its machinery. Yet we have made, in a comparatively short period, considerable progress as the record shows. At the time of our birth we had fifty affiliated countries with an aggregate membership of forty-eight million. Today we have seventy countries in the ICFTU, and the total membership is nearing the fifty-four million mark. We are still growing rapidly. The other day we received an application from the newly-established trade union center in Turkey, lying on the very border of the totalitarian colossus. The American Federation of Labor and the ICFTU have been instrumental in furthering the establishment of a free trade union center in Turkey. Irving Brown was our first emissary to that country, followed by visits by a member of the ICFTU staff.

Seventy countries—that means a world organization, and indeed we count our members in all the continents. But the membership is unevenly divided over the globe. Both in the Americas and in Europe we have twenty-three million members, but in Africa and in Asia the position is a different one, and the same applies, as you all know, to the southern part of this great continent, Latin America.

It is the obvious task of the ICFTU to render assistance to all regions and to all countries where trade unionism is weak and where, moreover, an unrelenting struggle must be carried on against totalitarian forms of government, government-controlled unions, Communist infiltration, bad conditions and a poor economic structure.

This is what we are doing, this is why we have promoted the establishment of regional machinery in different parts of the world so that the people of these areas may themselves, with the assistance and the advice of the ICFTU, develop their own organizations. Tremendously important work of organization and education and pressure on the powers that be are necessary so that we may achieve our objectives with the least possible delay.

Our work with the international agencies has been a major part of our work and program. We have functioned continuously and effectively within the International Labor Organization, within the specialized United Nations agencies—UNESCO and above all in the Economic and Social Council—and forcefully presented the viewpoint of international free labor before the governments of the world. In this connection, I want to single out the outstanding job that Vice-President Matthew Woll, ICFTU consultant to the

United Nations, did before the Economic and Social Council in an *exposé* of the Soviet slave labor system in Russia and China. It was a moving statement and Brother Woll eloquently represented the voice of free trade unionism against totalitarianism.

It is obvious that the ICFTU—whose annual budget amounts to only just over \$400,000 out of which it has to maintain offices in Brussels, in Geneva (for relations with the International Labor Organization) in New York (for relations with the United Nations and the American Press)—with a total staff of some 80 persons—is unable to finance regional activities out of its ordinary resources. It is gratifying to note that a number of affiliated organizations as well as international trade secretariats are contributing towards the ICFTU regional activities fund for which an annual sum of \$250,000 is being collected for the exclusive purpose of assisting the trade union movement in the underdeveloped areas of the world. This work is gathering momentum and is being stepped up as fast as humanly possible.

I would like in this connection to stress two important points. The first is our active cooperation in this field with the international trade secretariats whose autonomy we are resolved to respect and to maintain. The other is that the success of our efforts will in the final analysis depend upon the hard work which the workers themselves are willing to put in. No success can be expected unless they are prepared to make sacrifices for the purpose of establishing continuous and viable trade union organizations. To my knowledge, nowhere in the world has free trade unionism been able to make headway without the devotion of its pioneers, and in the now-developed countries the story is everywhere the same; the sacrifices were made by those who were living in deplorable circumstances and yet were able to win through.

Our constituent Congress was a Congress well prepared, and there emanated from it a constitution and a program which will determine and inspire our activities for a long time to come. I can fairly say that at no time has the ICFTU in any way compromised its principles. It is our principle that all peoples shall be entitled to self-government, that all nations shall have the right of self-determination. This has become a burning question in North Africa. As you know, I am referring to Tunisia. The ICFTU has given every possible support to our Tunisian friends, and it will continue to do so, but we still hope that it will be possible to reach a settlement. That requires a willingness to negotiate on both sides, but it should be negotiation on a footing of equality through duly accredited representatives and not through puppets chosen by the French government. Let us hope, therefore, that at the eleventh hour a new approach will be made.

Similarly, we have taken a stand on the question of federation of certain African territories and taken the line that the

Europeans in these areas have no right to force through federation against the will of the African population.

We have raised a strong protest against racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa.

We are the International of free labor. We are not beholden to any government or to any outside force. We shall serve the cause of freedom everywhere in the world, and so we have protested against the violation of trade union rights in Czechoslovakia, in Argentina, in Venezuela. We shall not make pacts with dictatorships of any kind, and we therefore continue to oppose the Franco regime in Spain. Franco is now trying to get into UNESCO. We shall fight his application and admission until the end.

Of course, in dealing with non-self-governing territories and other territories as well, we ought not to lend our ear to nationalist groups which represent anti-democratic movements. We ought to condemn extreme nationalism, which is always reactionary and which, moreover, blames others for its own shortcomings. These extreme nationalists use the bogey of American imperialism to catch votes in order to be able to set up a dictatorship. I am thinking of what happened in Chile the other day. We should pledge ourselves that we will do everything in our power to insure that the freedom of the free trade union movement of Chile not be interfered with.

It is our desire to serve the cause of peace in the world, but we do not fall for the insincere—nay the vicious—peace propaganda by Communists and fellow travelers. We are supporting NATO with which we maintain relations with a view to dealing with all questions of an economic and social character coming within the purview of that organization. While we support rearmament for defense purposes, behind the iron curtain war is being glorified. There are many proofs of this, but I have no time to quote them. However, here is one of them. The Russian Literary Gazette wrote on June 21, 1951:

"The highest, most noble qualities of the people's spirit are revealed in the bloody trials of battle, in the soldier's arduous task."

Does this ring a bell? Wasn't this what Hitler said?

In Russia, the whole people is being mobilized, and this is what we read in the Soviet trade union paper "Trud" on May 25, 1952:

"It is proposed that trade union organizations, in cooperation with the organizations of DOSAAF (which is the Public Society for Cooperation with the Armed Forces) improve work in drawing the broad masses of the working people into the society and disseminating military and technical knowledge. They should give lectures and reports, hold meetings devoted to special themes and

organize exhibits and displays reflecting the development and achievements of Soviet military technology and the work of DOSAAF. It is recommended that trade union and economic organizations help DOSAAF organizations in forming classes, installing rifle ranges, parachute towers, water sports stations and sport facilities and acquiring educational materials, visual aids and other items of training equipment. The trade unions' public sports societies should work with DOSAAF in organizing sports meets and competitions."

I don't think they are just training for the next Olympic games!

In Hungary the secretary of the Communist youth movement wrote that children's minds should not be poisoned with pacifist ideas. The following is a description in a Czechoslovakian paper of the reason why a priest was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment:

"Jitka Klapalova and her little friends at school are deeply worried. They have heard and read of the beastly deeds of the American aggressors in Korea, they have seen snapshots of American bombs filled with contaminated insects. They most heartily despise the American murderers. And now, while being lectured on religion, they are made to learn: 'Thou shalt not kill' and 'Thou shalt love even thy enemies!' The conscience of the children is becoming filled with uncomfortable questions. Pioneer Josef Micka wants to speak and asks the religion master the following question: 'Should we also love the American fascists who are assassinating the Korean children?' Pastor Marsalek answers that the Church bids one to love even one's enemies. The children do not agree. Now the tenseness between them and Marsalek grows. He presents religion, in school, in such a way that the children are soon aware of the fact that he hates the new Republic.

"The subversive activities of Pastor Marsalek while lecturing have now reached the point where he is summoned to Court in Jihlava. He ridiculed the struggle for Peace to the children, and found excuses for the American Barbarians. He was doing so in a very clear way, but failed altogether to mislead the children, the majority of whom were pioneers. He was punished according to his merits."

It would seem to me that the whole free world and especially the free trade union movement everywhere should make these facts known so that nobody has any more doubts in his mind.

Only the strength of the preparedness of the free world to resist aggression, will prevent the aggressor from unleashing the third World War.

It is an urgent task to weed out the fifth column in all countries.

Democracy is stronger, but we ought to see to it that democrats are not divided within their own ranks in the face of the threat which is hanging over us.

If, as I believe, the Stockholm Peace Appeal is petering out, then we are faced with another united front stunt from the Communists. They will launch that campaign at the time when the Soviet Bloc has reached its potential military output and when it will be their tactics to hamper the defense effort of the western democracies. They will launch an appeal for the improvement of economic conditions and of social services. Why don't they try to do something for their own members in the dictatorship countries? The World Federation of Trade Unions is to hold a congress on social security. Are they going to repudiate the Czechoslovakian Prime Minister's statement of November 11, 1951:

"Damage to a worker's health is not so serious as economic damage to production."

Well, we have been warned, and we have only one answer: Get out! That answer must be given by all the affiliated organizations of the ICFTU in the same way as we did on the occasion of our Milan Congress.

The ICFTU may look back upon a period of fruitful activities. Obviously, there can be no question of complacency. A tremendous task is in front of us which will require much hard work. The success of that work will be determined by the unity within our own ranks. There is still considerable room for improvement in our young organization, and I would be the last to deny it. I am confident that the ICFTU will continually strive to do better and we may therefore look forward to the future with confidence.

I am extremely grateful for being afforded the opportunity to address this convention, and in concluding I wish to recall the cordial relations which I have been able to maintain with the officers of this great American Federation of Labor both during and after the war when, during a period of utter confusion in the international trade union world, we saw eye to eye on the necessity of the free trade unions severing their unholy alliance with the so-called "unions" of the Communist dictatorships. It was in those days, filled with anxiety, that bonds of friendship and comradeship were forged in the common struggle for freedom, bonds which, I feel sure, will never be broken. In this spirit I thank you for all you have done and for your continued support so that we may implement everywhere "Bread, Peace, and Freedom" and the victory of Free Labor in a Free World.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Brother Oldenbroek for this splendid address which he has just now delivered. I am sure we have all gained a new im-

pression of the qualifications and the ability of Brother Oldenbroek to serve the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He is doing a splendid job there in a highly satisfactory way.

We thank him for his journey from Brussels to New York City to bring this

message, and we wish him a happy visit and a safe return to his homeland.

. . . Opportunity was given for announcements as to time and place of committee meetings, and at 12:20 o'clock, p.m. the convention recessed to 2:00 o'clock p.m.

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:20 o'clock, p.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to present to you now another great friend and a most interesting person who has come here from Bulgaria. Just think of that! That's a long distance. I am going to present him to you now to deliver an address.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you George M. Dimitrov, President of the Bulgarian National Committee, Secretary-General International Peasant Union.

DR. G. M. DIMITROV

(President Bulgarian National Committee, Secretary General International Peasant Union)

President Green, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today I am experiencing one of the happiest moments of my none too happy life of exile. I am accorded the rare privilege of addressing the annual convention of the largest and most powerful labor organization in the world. I wish first to take this opportunity and from your rostrum thank the American people for the generous hospitality I and my fellow exiles have received in their great country of freedom and democracy.

This honor and privilege I regard as extended to the millions of people of honest toil, who are unable to speak freely and who salute your historic convention by their mute struggle and gigantic sacrifices in defense of common principles. I regard this honor also as an expression of tribute to the self-sacrifice of the immortal leader of the Bulgarian people and peasants, Nikola Petkov, whose tragic death occurred in September 1947 at the hands of Communist hangmen. The Bulgarian National Committee, together with your leaders, will commemorate this coming Sunday as a day of national rededication to the struggle for freedom, democracy and independence.

There is no need for me to tell you of the tremendous effect which the privilege granted to me will have upon the spirit of my people and other peoples behind the Iron Curtain. When they learn over the air waves of this moral recognition which they have been given in the person of their representatives in exile, their spirit will soar and their faith in ultimate victory will flare up with new force. This will be particularly so because the recognition comes from representatives of labor, which is the greatest constructive force in the society of all democratic nations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are living in one of the most tragic periods of human history. The human race, whose inalienable rights and cultural accomplishments have been won over the centuries, is being threatened by the blackest counter-revolution of all time which is deceitfully attempting to pass for the most progressive revolution the world has known.

This is the most monstrous falsification and fraud ever attempted in human history. The efforts of Hitler and Goebels were no match for it. It is cleverly and perfidiously concealed behind an ideological doctrine and appealing formulae of "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "government of workers and peasants."

Only the gullible, however, are unable to see behind the hoax the organic disability of Communism reflected in the terror, concentration camps, liquidations, executions, and, most important of all, the vast social and economic inequality which it creates among its own classes.

The ancient Greek and Roman worlds collapsed under the weight of their own disabilities when they allowed the abuse of the popular masses by handfuls of men and the degeneration of large social strata. Feudalism and serfdom of the Middle Ages, likewise, although in different forms, attempted to keep the human masses in political and economic bondage, were swept away by the two great revolutions, the American and the French, which proclaimed the principles of freedom, equality, and human rights and implanted them indelibly in the minds and the hearts of all peoples of the world.

Modern feudal lords and enslavers such as Hitler and Stalin, have devised new

methods in their theories of races or classes to deceive and capture the searching spirits of the Twentieth Century and enchain them in a new and more terrible bondage and barbarity. Many are the individuals who gullibly admire the frightening military machines and imposing economic achievements created by these DICTATORS. But they all overlook the fact that it is the people who foot the staggering bill for the glorification of tyrants. Egyptian Pharaohs also erected imposing structures, the Pyramids, which have survived to our day to tell of their criminal folly glorified at the cost of hundreds of thousands of human lives.

The modern Pharaohs are different only in the methods they employ.

A Roman emperor, Nero, set Rome on fire and put the blame for the crime on the Christians. This was the method by which he attempted to halt their victorious advance and destroy the new ideas they professed. In our time, another tyrant, Stalin, is setting the whole world on fire and putting the blame on the ideas of freedom of democracy and human dignity.

The nations of Eastern Europe are in the clutches of Stalin's conspiracy. They have been engaged since 1944 in an undeclared struggle of life and death which the free world has inadequately termed "cold war." The nations of Eastern Europe are confronted by a gigantic opponent—the Soviet military and police machine—for which they are no match. What they expect, and demand, from the free world in this struggle is the fulfillment of international obligations which have been assumed by the Soviet Union and its satellites. Is it warmongering to demand implementation of the Atlantic Charter? Is it warmongering to demand the endorsement of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations? Is it warmongering to demand the application of the provisions of the treaties of peace? And where is that peace? In Korea? In Indonesia, or in Berlin and Middle East?

Warmongers are not those who demand implementation of assumed international obligations or advocate serious measures. War is promoted by those who are for appeasement or doing nothing because that is the surest way to encourage Soviet aggression which takes its cues from the naivete and passivity of the free peoples.

The essence of the campaign against all wars is a genuine struggle for peace based on freedom and human rights. Remove the Soviet interference with our affairs and we shall cast off the rule of the few local communists. Guarantee us freedom from Soviet intervention and we shall restore freedom and democracy in our lands.

This is the appeal our captive nations address to you, their free brethren. This was the meaning of my friend Petkov's self-sacrifice.

On behalf of the millions of peasants and workers, craftsmen and intellectuals in my country of human beings, who avidly

desire a decent human existence and opportunity for peaceful labor, in the name of the International Peasant Union and Bulgarian National Committee I wish success to your historic convention which is called upon to pass on issues involving not only the American nation but all nations as well. This is so because America is no longer just a nation; it is a symbol and a new reality: the homeland and central citadel of liberty. In this new reality the American labor organizations have a key role as the buttresses of freedom, democracy and social justice, and the guarantee of a better life in freedom, productive labor, and international cooperation. They are the guarantee that no restoration of old oppressive cliques will be allowed and that the world will progress toward economic well-being, peace, with liberty, social justice and federative democratic unity.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank our good friend for his message and for his visit with us. I know we all deeply appreciate it and we hope that he will enjoy his visit here with us; and I repeat again I hope he has a safe return home.

Now I ask you to prepare yourselves for participation in a great event. We have an outstanding representative of labor known the world over, who is here visiting with us at this convention. He is prepared to deliver his message to you now.

It has been my privilege to have known him over a great many years. I recall with a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction my participation with him, along with Mr. Gompers who worked with him and was associated with him over a long number of years, when we were at Versailles at the close of World War I, appointed by President Wilson to participate in the negotiations or the settlement of World War I. This great friend was there representing France; myself, Mr. Gompers and some other representatives of the Federation were there representing labor in the United States. That was a great and historic event.

As you well know, my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Gompers, conferred with this great leader, met him often, and conferred with him. They planned together and joined together in carrying out policies. There was very little difference of opinion between them—none that caused any great difference.

He was the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1951, the only trade unionist in the world who has ever been awarded that distinction. That is outstanding, deeply significant and a great honor to him as well as to labor throughout the world.

This gentleman is here with us this afternoon and I take great pleasure in presenting him to you—Mr. Leon Jouhaux, President, C.G.T., Force Ouvriere.

MR. LEON JOUHAUX

(President, C.G.T.—Force Ouvriere)

Dear Friends,

It would be an exaggeration on my part to say that I am an habitual fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. conventions, since notwithstanding the present one, I have participated in only two of your reunions: one in Atlantic City and one in New York. I am stating the truth when I say that for the last forty years at least I have followed your activities with the most passionate interest and that this interest has many times been reinforced by a great sense of satisfaction and the pleasure of having been on many occasions in a complete agreement with your President William Green, the pleasure of having worked during many years in the I.L.O. with our departed comrade, Bob Watt, and to have now as my colleague in the Workers' Group of the I.L.O., our good friend, Phil Delaney, who shows a wonderful knowledge of the international problems of the working people.

One of the earliest memories of collaboration with one of your outstanding leaders goes back to September, 1909. The International Trade Union Secretariat Conference had been in session for two days. I had spent the whole day of September first speaking on behalf of the C.G.T., our C.G.T. of those days which was faithful to the independence charter of the French trade union movement, and I had with all the fire of my thirty years of age and all the strength of my convictions asked that a real International Trade Union Congress be convened in order to pronounce itself against the dangers of war. We had already felt the threat of the catastrophe hovering over a troubled and anguished world, and we wanted the workers of all nations without distinction because of political opinion or religious creed and to affirm jointly and solemnly their horror of a conflict which could only satisfy the out-of-date passions of excited nationalists and the thirst and greed of a minority of mercenary profiteers.

I can still remember that, as I descended from the rostrum, your friend, Samuel Gompers, who had been following the debate from the end of the room, came down and warmly shook my hand, saying,

"Congratulations for a wonderful fight". No approbation could have afforded me more comfort. Already at that early date, the A. F. of L. was one of the greatest trade union powers in the world, and I was at the time proud and gratified by that proof of its approbation, which its representative gave for the action of French workers in their defense of peace.

I am happy for the opportunity which has been given to me today to talk about the long-standing community of ideals which has never ceased to exist, even though some stupid and insolent attitudes have been taken by the Communists towards certain citizens of the United States. I can assure you that nobody takes their ranting seriously, except possibly a small minority who are either blinded by political passions or misled by ignorance.

At all events, dear friends, I can state that the workers of France, who last month celebrated their liberation in which they took so conspicuous a part, still feel in complete solidarity with the members of the A. F. of L., that we follow your endeavors and that you have the complete support of your comrades in the C.G.T.—Force Ouvriere and that we celebrate your success as though it were our own.

This is in no way unusual; it is quite normal and perfectly logical and in keeping with what history has taught us, that we should follow your battle attentively, that our wishes should accompany it, and that we should rejoice in your success. The opposite would be strange and in complete contradiction to both our pasts. Is there not a common hope and a common will in both union movements separated by the Atlantic, but closely bound for over fifty years by the same ideals of social progress in a world of freedom and international peace based on a trusting cooperation between nations.

I was reminding you, a moment ago of Gompers' presence at the 1909 International Trade Union Secretariat Conference and of the encouragement he gave us. It is a personal memory, which is very precious to me and at the same time it is proof of the unity I mention, but however important a memory, it cannot compare with the memory of the initiative taken by the A. F. of L. at the end of 1914, when the war was raging and the workers of Europe were slaughtering each other in the blood soaked mud of the trenches.

Without losing faith in human reason and with the belief that it was necessary to seek the basis of future peace not in chancery documents based on considerations that belonged to the past, but in the solidarity of the working people, and believing that international peace could only be maintained if the advancement of social progress were pursued, you requested that the national trade union centers meet at the same time as the Peace Conference in an International Congress in order to make it possible to reestablish good relationships between the organized masses and give them an opportunity of taking their share of the responsibility of setting up a final and lasting peace. You laid

more stock in the desire of the workers for peace and their grasp of the fundamental elements of the problem than in the work of the diplomats and the wisdom of politicians. Who, would now dare say that you were wrong in your lack of confidence?

The national committee of the C.G.T. immediately agreed to accept this proposal, and I am proud to have had a share in making them decide this. Immediately we asked all the other trade union federations of the allied countries to join you and us in requesting from the Leeds Conference in 1916 the suppression of secret treaties, the absolute respect of nationalities, the limitation of armaments and compulsory arbitration. These principles were contained in Part Thirteen of the Peace Treaty which has become the International Labor Charter.

During the whole war, our efforts were parallel and this cooperation bore a theoretical result at the Allied Union and Socialist Conference in Berne in 1918, where we requested the establishment of an authority higher than that of the individual states, the creation of an International Legislative Assembly and the gradual evolution of an international social legislature generally accepted and binding all countries in a precise manner. As for the practical results, we all know what they were. When at last the soldiers laid down their weapons and turned to mending that which had been destroyed through man's folly and trying to prevent the return of such horrors, Gompers and I were both attached, he to the United States and I to the French delegations and to the other allied countries at the Versailles conference in the position of technical experts.

I may say it is thanks to us that in application of Part Thirteen of the Treaty there was born the most efficient international organization, which for thirty years has done most constructive and most durable work, and which today continues with the same courage and efficiency to defend the workers of all nations, of all races and all tongues: the I.L.O. which endeavors in the very words of the Treaty—to find universal peace and social justice.

Do not believe that I recall those memories only for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that our views coincided in the past. Nothing could be further from my thoughts. I believe and am completely convinced that all these conceptions have retained all their strength and that they are still very much up-to-date. They inspire us at the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière, and they are the beacon of our everyday fight for peace.

It is possible that some will tell you that the Trade Union Federation in whose name I greet you today has only a small influence on the French workers and that the majority follows those who lead them in the totalitarian way and that furthermore another Confederation competes with us for the conscience of those who have not let themselves be blinded by Eastern demagoguery. I shall simply point

out that for several years now, any action and any strike is a piteous failure when it does not have the agreement and the support of the C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière, that when it takes the initiative in starting action, the workers give their full approval and support. All the appeals that follow one another every month and every week and that emanate even from our opponents are simply a tribute to the influence we hold over the working people.

But how could it be otherwise? Is it not among us that the spirit which is that of the constitutive Charter of French trade unionism and even of international trade unionism is still alive? By the Charter, I mean the Charter of Independence, which defines very clearly our position with respect to the various religious creeds and political movements. We have asserted—and we reassert—and shall keep our word that unions, federations and confederations can and must group all workers, whatever their political and religious opinions. We believe that unionism has a specific task to accomplish, the task of moral and physical emancipation, and that it is self-sufficient.

We believe that any member who does his bit and honestly fulfills his obligation as an organized worker and fights alongside his fellow workers in the shop or in the office for an improvement of their well being and their freedom cannot blush when he examines his action in the light of his political convictions or his religious creed. Be assured that any worker who really wants to think in terms of trade unions understands our position and realizes that we do not make labor organizations subservient to governments or political parties and that we are the only ones who follow the line of the history and the tradition of trade unions. We are still faithful to this concept and we are still faithful to our ideals of 1913 and feel that they are still the basis on which we can insure that the world shall have well being in peace and social justice.

I wish to say that any action we take must be directed against misery, that all the peoples of the world must unite against suffering in every form as well as against the exploitation of man in any way, whether individual or collective, whether disguised by racial or national masks.

My friends, I am convinced, deeply convinced, that if millions of workers were not reduced to the basic minimum—as those who have a guilty conscience call it in their bad language—if famine regressed, if the economic position of underdeveloped countries improved, the international skies would clear at the same time, and the light of truth could not be stopped by frontiers. The knowledge of social realities would awaken these people who are deprived of their liberty today, they would soon recover a taste for freedom and the use of it and at the same time assume their rightful position alongside the real democracies.

We must think of those who no longer enjoy what we call democratic freedom,

those who have to bow their heads to a dictatorship and who, from day to day, see the material conditions of their lives worsened, those who every evening are weary from the weight of a day's work ever heavier on their tired shoulders, a day's work which instead of diminishing with technical progress grows with the elaboration of plans born of the minds and schemes of the intensive technocrats.

We must think especially of those who were proud of their social and political evolution and who are entitled to be proud. Many of you bear names which are proof of your ancestry and origin in these countries and many of you still have brothers, cousins, and friends in your native lands and if we must, as often as possible, cry to them: "Courage . . . we are not forgetting you", we must also encourage those nations which are proud of being in the democratic camp.

I know that you are fully aware of all the injustices which still exist around you. I know that the American trade unions are opposed to any racial discrimination. I am glad, in the name of all the French workers who in my early days unanimously stood up against an injustice that was based on racial discrimination, the Dreyfus case, to see in the great Republic of the United States the workers at the very head of the fight for social justice and human brotherhood. We are fighting the same fight in our country, a country which no longer talks about colonies but about the "French Union" but where many men, political and ordinary men, still live as colonialists. Trust us, friends of the A. F. of L.—we French unionists, who are free remain faithful to the true union, consider the overseas worker as our equal as well as the workers of the associated states. We shall obtain for them the guarantee that they can exercise the natural, irrefutable and sacred rights which are the common lot of all men and by doing so, we are convinced that we are really serving the cause of democracy and of social international peace.

At the same time we serve that ideal, we European unionists try to further the economic and political unification of Europe. We have been working endlessly towards that end for years; and even though progress has been slow, we cannot disregard the results we have obtained. What we want to create first and foremost, together with the free democratic countries, is a coherent economic unit. What we want is to pool through fraternal cooperation, our equipment, our natural resources, our mines, our waterpower, the products of our fields and our flocks and our pastures, the intelligence of our scientists, the know-how of our technicians. What we want is to see our goods, our thoughts, our men circulate freely through our valleys and over our mountains. There are no more Alps, thanks to the airplane, and there would not be such things as the Pyrenees if it were not for the Franco dictatorship. Our aim is to increase the well-being of the workers by increasing

the output of the industries for which they work and a more equitable distribution of goods.

That is the reason for our support of the Schuman Plan, the European steel-coal pool project which is a fact today. We supported this as a beginning and we shall act in order that this first step towards the economic unification of Europe be followed by other steps in the same direction in the near future in order to build up a world-wide economy.

History has a logic of its own which makes the broadening of markets and co-operation on a large scale necessary. Those who in the days of the supersonic plane flying round the world in less than 24 hours still seek to solve problems on the system of the time of the Renaissance or of the 18th Century and think that they are being realistic, they are dreamers of the most dangerous kind—the kind which intends to stop the progress of the human race.

Tomorrow, after the steel and coal pool, it will be necessary to set up the transport pool, the agricultural pool, the electrical pool and the working class shall impose on these new conceptions a new spirit, just as they shall give our poor impotent continent the power of youth and unity.

Possibly some might accuse me of looking too far ahead and of neglecting the obstacles of a dangerous present which makes men feel anguished. Although I am fully cognizant of the present and the international situation that threatens to deteriorate it, it appears to me that a decisive effort must be made by the peoples of the free countries—of all the democratic countries—to really unite in order to preserve peace through international cooperation.

Fear is rampant in the world. Mankind hesitates between fatalistic resignation or desperate violence—either or both lead us to a catastrophe.

It is, therefore, necessary to restore mankind's confidence in a future which may be wonderful only if the reign of anxiety ceases.

Notwithstanding the general anxiety, hope remains in the hearts of all the peoples; men and women of all nations and all races even though they are disappointed, keep a deep faith in a United Nations organization which is rejuvenated by popular will and its success. Even though there have been difficulties and failures, they know that only a democratic international organization can insure peace. If we accept rearmament, it is to defend our independence and our liberties and also because communism refuses a real and sincere disarmament. What we want is to create a real economic and social international solidarity by making the Universal Declaration of Human Rights a reality.

In order to get off the present dead-end street, it is necessary that the voice of the people be heard directly from the rostrum of the United Nations, a powerful

voice which shall attack the cold war which is being fought by governments poised between two catastrophes, which shall despise the degrading and destructive catch phrases and which shall impose a durable unarmed and brotherly peace.

Free peoples have no hatred for others if they love their own countries, if they want it independent, if they respect other countries, they then understand the yearning of other peoples for their own independence and they desire loyal and fruitful international cooperation.

It is that mutual respect, that desire for understanding which must be expressed with all the force of our trade union movements so that no one ignores it and so that the governments have to make a policy which will save us—a policy of more well-being in freedom and social justice.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you, Brother Jouhaux, for your visit and for your address this afternoon. We appreciate it very, very much.

Now I want to present to you for a short address Colonel Vasily Ershov, a member of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union in Russia. He is here in the United States to tell us something about that country.

I am pleased to present him to you for a brief address.

MR. VASILY ERSHOV

(Mr. Ershov spoke to the delegates in his native tongue, following which Secretary Meany read the translation.)

SECRETARY MEANY: Before reading the translation of Colonel Ershov's address I would like to give you these facts in regard to him.

He was born of a worker's family in the Russian Ukraine. He was employed as a worker in the Skorokhod Shoe Factory in Leningrad and in the Bolshevik leather factory in Kharkov. He later studied agriculture, was manager of a state farm and served in an executive capacity in the meat industry. After the Nazi invasion of Russia he joined the Soviet army. He fought first in Russia and then during the invasion in Germany. After the war he broke with the Soviet regime for political reasons and came to this country. During the time he was in the Soviet army he rose to the rank

lieutenant colonel and commander of a division. He was five times decorated during his military service. He is now a member of a democratic organization of post-war Russian refugees.

The following is his address:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention:

I should like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to address this meeting of your Convention. I should also like to convey to you the heartfelt greetings of the Organization of Post-War Russian Refugees in Western Germany and to wish you complete success in your important work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in my speech I want to deal briefly with two problems. In the first place, I should like to compare the role of two trade union organizations—the free American Federation of Labor on the one hand, and the totalitarian Soviet trade unions on the other. The second problem I want to discuss is that of slave labor in the Soviet Union, slave labor created by the Soviet regime with the help and active cooperation of the Soviet trade union leadership.

It is, of course, impossible to give in a short speech a comprehensive analysis of the activities of the Soviet trade unions. Therefore I shall try to describe briefly the basic character of those trade unions.

Today it is universally known that the Communist trade unions are not free mass organizations devoted to the defense of the interests of the working people. They have never done that: this can be proved by a statement by Lenin, the founder of Bolshevism, who defined the trade unions as a "school of Communism". According to this definition, the trade unions are to serve as an instrument of the totalitarian regime for the purpose of exploiting the working people. And this is what they are doing.

In the Soviet Union, the trade unions are organs which are playing a major role in the transformation of tens of millions of adolescents of both sexes into slaves of the Stalin regime, who are deprived of all rights and kept in unquestioning obedience. With the willing and active cooperation of the trade unions, children between the ages of 12 and 14 are torn away by force from their homes; they are taken away from their mothers and fathers; and recruited for apprenticeship and vocational schools. The trade unions are thus preparing new generations of slaves for the regime, condemning them to life-long servitude.

The Soviet trade unions are organs which, through their speed-up methods, resulting in an exploitation unequalled in history, are constantly making cripples out of millions of working men and women.

The Soviet trade unions are playing an important role in all attempts to rob the

working people of the fruits of their labor. The Soviet trade unions are engaging in spying upon and informing against their members, and in this way they are supplying manpower for the concentration camps where the workers are subject to one hundred percent slavery.

I came to this country a few months ago. Before I arrived in the Western world, I knew only what was told by the Communist propaganda. This propaganda constantly spoke of the misery of American workers, saying, for instance, that 70 percent of the American workers are suffering from tuberculosis; are sleeping in the streets, together with their children; that thousands of ragged beggars are crawling in the streets without succeeding in getting a piece of bread; that they are dying from starvation on the pavements and sidewalks; that 65 to 70 percent of the workers in the industrial plants and the mines are women and children, and that the husbands of the women are not hired after they reach the age of 35, and so on and so on.

But during the few months of my stay in this country, I witnessed strikes by steel workers, by oil workers, by miners and others. I have seen how the trade unions, together with all workers, are freely defending their economic interests; how the democratic government of the United States has met the just demands of the working people. I haven't seen starving or dying people, and I haven't seen the police shooting striking workers.

The second problem I want to deal with is that of slave labor in the Soviet Union. For some reason, public opinion in the democratic countries regards only those who are held in Soviet concentration camps as forced laborers and slaves. I think that this is a grave error.

I was born in the Soviet Union in a workers family. I hardly remember any other regime than the Stalin regime. I grew up under that regime and I was educated by it. Although I have not been a slave in a concentration camp, I constantly felt, as everybody felt, that I was a slave outside the camp.

I was tied to my job, just as was every member of the Russian people. I did not have the right to seek employment in another industry or to move to another city or region. To come late to work, were it only for 7 minutes, was a punishable offense. I didn't have the right to join a trade union of my choice or to demand that I be paid for my work a minimum sufficient for the needs of my family. I was expected to be grateful for the wage which the authorities saw fit to fix for my strenuous work. Isn't that slavery?

And how about the farmers? The farmer has been made by compulsion a serf of the kolkhoz. He does not own any land; he has no plow of his own; he isn't entitled to eat the bread which he produces. Without the permission of his Communist slave-driver, he has no right to visit the neighboring village to see his dying moth-

er or sister. Isn't this slavery?—and can there be anything worse and more terrible than this kind of slavery, excepting, of course, the actual inmates of the concentration camps?

The entire Soviet Union is one big prison, and all the people in that country are slaves.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize the invaluable services rendered by the American Federation of Labor to the entire world and particularly to the peoples of the Soviet Union.

It was in 1947 when the A. F. of L. courageously made its first proposal to ascertain the truth regarding the use of slave labor in the Soviet Union. The A. F. of L. succeeded in awakening a dormant world. It was instrumental in making the UN aware of the problem of slave labor in the Soviet Union. It is due to the activities of the A. F. of L. that the statesmen of the world, the best minds of the free countries, the universally-known leaders raised the banner of the struggle against this shameful practice, against the destruction of millions of human beings by the slave system of the Stalin regime.

It is your special merit that the working population of the Soviet Union has for the first time felt, in its condition of Bolshevik enslavement, that it can count upon defense and sympathy on the part of the American Federation of Labor and its many millions of members. The victims of the terroristic police regime who are carrying the "Socialist yoke" in Stalin's prison camps found new courage when they learned of your demand that Soviet slave labor methods be investigated. They are still wearing their heavy chains, but they remember that your voice is a voice in their defense—a voice proclaiming the struggle against slavery everywhere, and above all against the Stalin regime.

In conclusion, I feel it my duty to state that the peoples living in the territory of the Soviet Union will never forget their friends in the A. F. of L. These peoples will remember that you are their allies in the struggle against the evil that threatens humanity.

But it is likewise necessary not to forget that you have no enemy more dangerous than the slave-owners of Stalin's Politburo. The Soviet slave-owners know very well that the truth about this has been revealed, not by capitalists, not by imperialists, and not by warmongers. It was the workers of America, represented by the A. F. of L. who raised the demand that the truth be told. And the slave owners have been greatly disturbed by your voice. I am convinced that the common effort of the entire free world will succeed in destroying the slave labor system, whatever its origin.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Thank you very much for your address. We appreciate the information you submitted and I know it will be read by the delegates in the proceedings of the convention.

We will now resume the report of the Resolutions Committee. The Chair recognizes Brother Matthew Woll, Chairman of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Committee Chairman Woll submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

GOMPERS' MEMORIAL—CITY OF HOPE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 84)

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates Sam J. Byers, E. C. James, Charles Naddeo, Winfield Chasmar, John F. Donovan, Laundry Workers' International Union.

(Page 23, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 24, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Earl W. Jmerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

(Page 30, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 108—By Delegates Jesse Clark, D. C. Cone, John F. Hogan, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

(Page 61, First Day's Proceedings)

... The committee reported jointly on the above section of the Executive Council's report and Resolutions 7, 10, 24 and 108.

We regard as fitting and appropriate the proposal that a memorial to a great leader of American Labor and great humanitarian, Samuel Gompers, be established at the City of Hope, cancer and tuberculosis sanatorium in Duarte, California, and that such a memorial take the form of a cancer research center or sanatorium. The report of the Executive Council, in dealing with this subject, notes that a number of our affiliates have contributed to the support of the City of Hope since as long ago as 1914. The Council recommends that the decision with regard to the appeal to our affiliates for contributions toward this proposed project be made by this Convention. Your Committee concurs in this recommendation of the Executive Council and, accordingly, recommends the adoption of these resolutions.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 188-202)

Four fearful economic hazards confront every man and woman dependent on wages for livelihood in our modern industrial society. They are the hazards of old age, of unemployment, of ill health and of dependency due to other causes of inability to earn an income. The first three can and must be met through social insurance. The last hazard must be overcome through public assistance. The four programs designed to remove these hazards are the four pillars of the Social Security program on which rests the future welfare of American wage earners. To rear them up to the level of real need, to strengthen and to reinforce them, is the devoted purpose of the American Federation of Labor.

While gains have been made in the last twelve months, notably in improving the standards of old age and survivors insurance, our Social Security System has been under a heavy and unwarranted attack. Attempts to undermine both the principles and specific provisions of the program will not only continue, but will be undoubtedly intensified in the coming year. They should be met positively and aggressively. Labor is the major source of leadership in advancing the cause of Social Security. The broad support for its advancement must come from the ranks of organized labor. It is our responsibility in the American Federation of Labor to bring forth fully the resources, the experience and the skills of trade-unionists in our national, state and local affiliates in a concerted drive for better Social Security.

To achieve this objective, we ask that the office of the Director of Social Insurance Activities be strengthened and provided with adequate staff so that it may serve as a clearing house of current information to all our affiliates on developments in the national and state legislation and in the administration of the Social Security laws.

We offer the following comments and recommendations with regard to the specific portions of the program dealt with in the Executive Council's Report:

1. The Hazard of Old Age

While the improvements made in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance at the close of the last session of Congress are gratifying, they have fallen far short of the objectives we have set. We reiterate the recommendations made by the Seventieth Convention for the specific improvements in the System. The need for further liberalization of the benefit formula deserves special emphasis, as does the extension of coverage along the lines recom-

mended by the Executive Council. We look for the realization of all of these objectives in the 83rd Congress. We ask that proposals be submitted early in the next session of Congress to provide for the extension of OASI benefits to cases of permanent and total disability prior to retirement.

Gains made through increased longevity should lead to greater utilization of productive skills of older workers. Our affiliates would do well to help assure greater employment opportunities for our senior members and to press for a more responsible and responsive attitude toward older workers by employers.

The proportion of persons over 65 in our population has made a dramatic increase over a relatively short period of years. With it has grown the responsibility of the whole community for adequate provision of retirement benefits sufficient for the older persons' self-support. The existing benefits are grossly inadequate. Their buying power has been further reduced by inflation. As the result, and despite the recent minor improvements, the old age security program will become a token program, unless the urgently needed improvements are made without delay. Labor must insist on early action which would bring the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program in harmony with economic realities.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

2. *The Hazard of Unemployment*

Our unemployment insurance system has been badly mutilated in recent years by irresponsible application of merit rating and by the rising sway of employers over its operation. To an alarming extent it has also become a captive of the states and the state bureaucracy, too often subservient to employers' interests. The future of unemployment compensation is in grave jeopardy, unless quick and decisive steps are taken to assert public interest above that of private accommodation of business interests and to meet the multiplying problems of deteriorated benefits, diluted administrative standards and the distressing state of benefit financing.

Most state legislatures are meeting in the coming year. Timely action is essential to assure favorable consideration of proposals for the improvement of state laws. Our Federation should be prepared to assist the State Federations in the development of their policies and legislative programs. We concur in the recommendations of the Executive Council and ask that all of our affiliates be alerted to help to the utmost in the decisive drive for the betterment of unemployment compensation in the coming year.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

3. *The Hazard of Ill Health*

Intensive studies, by the President's Commission and by other public and private agencies, have delved deeply during the past year into the problems of the nation's health. This research is needed, is welcome and will no doubt add to the public understanding of the health and medical services needed by the American people. But in no small measure study in the health field has become a form of escape from action. The deliberately false and malicious charge of "socialized medicine" hangs like a blinding fog in the way of progress toward a sound, flexible and thoroughly democratic objective of a national health insurance system, long advocated by the American Federation of Labor.

Pioneer achievements of our affiliates in San Francisco, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, St. Louis and other communities in the development of health centers and medical services under trade-union sponsorship are blazing a new trail for labor's leadership in this field. Equally important are these developments in that they provide a training ground for practical experience and technical development of trade-union administrators for future and greatly expanded cooperative programs. These programs are prompted by the widespread and insistent need. The crux of the nation's health problem is that, for the average American worker and his family, adequate health services are beyond their financial reach. Too often the hazard of ill health becomes insuperable simply because the needed medical services are something that people could not afford.

America needs more doctors, more and better hospitals, more clinics, more health centers. Public action is necessary to help achieve all these objectives. But the overriding goal is the solution of the economic problem which stands between the patient and his cure. We will continue to devote our energies to the attainment of this goal.

Invaluable services rendered to us and to our affiliates in the past year by Committee for the Nation's Health have greatly strengthened our work in this field and we ask our affiliates to give the Committee their continued unstinting support.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

4. *Public Assistance.*

Welfare services for those in need have been dwindling because of the failure to provide adequate appropriations for public assistance services at the Federal and State levels. In constant dollars, we are spending per capita 55 percent less on public welfare than we did only ten years ago. It is labor's special responsibility to stand guard over the public welfare program against crippling cuts and to make

sure that services to the needy are adequate and soundly administered. We heartily concur with the recommendation of the Executive Council that every effort be made to repeal the Jenner Amendment requiring disclosure of public relief rolls.

Committee Chairman Woll: With these comments and recommendations, I move adoption of this part of the committee's report and the entire report of the Executive Council on this subject.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

WOMEN WORKERS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 226)

The contribution made by women workers to our economic life has gained special importance during the present defense mobilization. Women are being called upon in increasing numbers to fill essential defense jobs and to replace men leaving civilian work for employment in defense industries or induction into the Armed Forces.

It is important that these women workers be brought as rapidly as possible into the organized labor movement. Your Committee is fully in accord with the Executive Council's recommendation that every national and international union initiate a special organizational drive to bring women workers into our trade unions and that the Director of Organization of the A. F. of L. assist our affiliates in achieving this purpose in every way possible and that he help coordinate this effort.

The Executive Council calls attention to the valuable information on the problems of women workers, collected and published by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. Your Committee recommends that full use be made of these materials in our efforts to organize women workers.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 227)

It is the long-established purpose of the American Federation of Labor to assure the maintenance of adequate and effective minimum wage standards in industry and trade. Such minimum standards established by the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act have deteriorated to an alarming extent in recent years. As pointed out by the Executive Council, this deter-

ioration has come about first as the result of the failure of our Congress to enact a realistic and timely upward revision of the minimum rates of pay required by this law, and second because of the greatly weakened endorsement of the existing minimum wage and overtime standards due to the lack of appropriations sufficient to meet the needs of proper enforcement administration.

We must recognize and prepare to meet the alarmingly increased efforts on the part of reactionary elements among employers to emasculate the basic Wage and Hour Law and to reduce its effectiveness. The 75¢ minimum wage rate established by amendment to the Federal law in January 1950 was short of the mark even at that time. In the period of nearly three years elapsed since then, this minimum was left far below the rates necessary to sustain the buying power of the minimum wage income in the face of rapidly rising living costs, and far below the levels attained by industrial wages even under wage stabilization. The statutory minimum of 75¢ per hour is no longer acceptable or valid. Its upward revision is one of the urgent objectives of our Federation in the coming session of Congress.

In considering the needed revision of the wage minimum, it is important to emphasize that Congress itself has recognized the injustice of the 75¢ minimum. In amending the Defense Production Act in June 1952, Congress established by law \$1.00 per hour as the substandard wage level and decontrolled all wage rates below this amount. This Congressional action itself proves the public acceptance of the fact that the effectiveness of the 75¢ minimum has long been outlived. In addition, it must be recognized that average wages of factory workers have risen more than 16 percent since January 1950. There is every justification for a larger percentage increase in wages below the average, particularly because inflation has hit hardest the living standards of low-income families.

The inflationary rise in the cost of living is one of the basic reasons for the upward revision of the minimum wage. Equally important is the need to raise the minimum beyond the increased cost of living for that is the only way we can expand the buying power of workers in order to sustain the future expanded production and avert mass unemployment. For this reason, increases in productivity in the economy as a whole should be regarded as a key reason for further upward adjustment in the minimum rates of pay. We ask that after a thorough study of changes in these conditions and taking into account all relevant considerations, the American Federation of Labor formulate appropriate proposals for a substantial upward revision of the minimum wage for submission to the 83rd Congress.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the report was unanimously adopted.

Extension of Wage and Hour Law.

We ask that very necessary modifications be also submitted to the next Congress for enactment. One such change should provide for inclusion of more than a million workers in industries processing food and agricultural commodities, now deprived of the benefits of the Wage and Hour Law. We must also seek the removal of the outmoded provision in the Act which permits the payment of subminimum wages to learners, apprentices and messengers "to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment." This provision keeps open a way for wholesale revision of the standards of the law and serves to undermine the established standards. Every effort should therefore be made to abolish the subminimum wage.

The problem of the maintenance of the minimum standards prescribed by law has been dangerously aggravated by the reductions made by Congress in even the most essential appropriations for the administration of the Act. Under the cloak of "economy," the administration of this law has been badly crippled by the lack of administration and enforcement funds necessary to deal with violations. It is shocking to learn that a recent governmental check disclosed that over one-half of the employers investigated were found guilty of some form of violation of the Act. Appropriation of sufficient funds for adequate enforcement of the Wage and Hour Law is therefore one of our foremost objectives.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the report was unanimously adopted.

Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act requiring adherence to minimum standards is particularly important at this time when government contracts play such a large part in the economy. An all-out drive has been launched by the reactionary forces to destroy the effectiveness of this legislation. The attempt to do so at the end of the last session of Congress by amendments to the Defense Production Act, which would have virtually repealed this law, were successfully foiled by our determined opposition. We were successful in warding off all but the minor weakening amendments offered and should be ready to forestall a renewed attack in the coming Congress.

We note with deep satisfaction that the Secretary of Labor has denied the exemption of the cannery workers from the protection of the Public Contracts Act. We commend the Secretary of Labor for his forthright action whereby he responded to the appeal of the American Federation of Labor and reversed his previous decision granting such exemption.

Unreasonable limitation of funds made available by Congress to the Department of Labor has prevented the making of the necessary determinations of prevailing minimum wages required by the Public Contracts Act. We insist that the Department of Labor be given sufficient funds to enable it to administer properly and effectively these protective standards whose maintenance Congress has directed by law. We ask that our affiliates take the necessary steps to assure adequate representation at hearings held by the Department to determine the prevailing minimum wages and otherwise assist in the effectuation of the labor standards under the Walsh-Healey Act.

With these comments and recommendations, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now advises the delegates that because the Executive Council has a meeting scheduled we will have to adjourn the convention for the day. The Council will meet in Parlor C of this hotel.

I want to re-name the committee that will meet Governor Stevenson on Monday morning: Brother Daniel J. Tobin, Brother Herman Winter, Brother William F. McFetridge, and Brother James C. Petrillo. We would like those members of the Council to be prepared to meet Governor Stevenson when he arrives on Monday. He speaks to the convention at 11:00 o'clock.

At 4:10 o'clock, p.m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, a.m., Monday, September 22, 1952.

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 22, 1952



Report of SIXTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York,
September 22, 1952

The convention was called to order by
President Green at 9:45 o'clock, a.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The invocation
this morning will be given by the Right
Reverend Monsignor John J. O'Donnell
of the Shrine Church of the Sea.

INVOCATION

(Right Reverend Monsignor John J.
O'Donnell)
(Shrine Church of the Sea)

O Almighty God, we men of labor
are also men of prayer. In all of our
deliberations here at this, the greatest con-
vention we have ever held, we have

been very grateful to You for Your
guidance. We ask You to inspire us all
that we might live up to all the ex-
pectations that You have of us; that
we may be keenly alive, not merely to
our privileges, but also to our obliga-
tions.

Inspire us with Thy great love, that we
may share the love that You have given
us with all our fellowmen—yes, that
we may be tolerant, but make us more
than tolerant. Give us the grace to love
our fellowman, irrespective of who or
what he might be, of whatever race, or
whatever creed, or whatever color.

Then, Almighty God, we really do
believe that we will be following Your
example of love for all mankind.

Guide us in these last hours of our
convention, that we may be worthy of
You—Amen.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair rec-
ognizes Vice President Dubinsky, Chair-
man of the Committee on Executive
Council's Report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Committee on Executive Council's Report is ready to submit its report, and I will call upon the Secretary, Sister Selma Borchardt, of this Committee, to submit the report to this convention.

Committee Secretary Borchardt submitted the following report:

CHANGES OF TITLE

(Page 93, Executive Council's Report)

Three recommendations for the change of title of organizations were recommended by the Executive Council and referred to this committee.

The first of these is the recommendation to change the title of the National Farm Labor Union to National Agricultural Workers' Union. This change of title indicates a basic change in the structure of our nation. The farm, the plantation, the ranch, family owned, producing for the family and for the market of the family surplus has today been supplanted by and in many places supplanted by vast holding of lands corporately owned and completely industrialized for mass production and processing. In this relatively new industry, industrialized agriculture, the workers have been exploited ruthlessly. Brought into this country legally and illegally these workers on industrialized farms have become the victims of their employers. By calling them "farmers" law enforcement agencies have been able to deny these workers the protection they need and are entitled to as industrial workers.

The importation of these workers from Mexico and other nearby nations is subject to treaty agreements. Your committee urges all possible help for this union in implementing treaty agreements first by assuring the maintenance of decent living and working standards for those "who are legally imported" and second for funds to assure strict border patrol to prevent the entrance of wet backs and others who would illegally enter to work on these industrialized farms.

The Executive Council, recognizing the changes in agricultural production and processing, granted the request of the National Farm Labor Union to have its name changed to National Agricultural Workers' Union. The change in title is granted without any change in jurisdiction, but to give the organization a title more nearly descriptive of the scope and function of its work. May the organization with its new title continue its courageous fight to secure to these wickedly exploited victims of industrialized agriculture the protection and benefits to which every

worker in America is entitled. Your committee approves the recommendation of the Executive Council.

The second change of title recommended by the Executive Council is to change the title of the Commercial Telegraphers Union of North America to "Commercial Telegraphers Union".

Your committee approves the recommendation of the Executive Council and wishes this organization with its new title continued success in fighting for its members.

The third request for a change in title recommended by the Executive Council is to change the name of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters to International Brotherhood of Operative Potters. The change implies a wider field in which the union may continue its good work. Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's request.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

(Pages 93-94, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee approves the Executive Council's selection of Richard F. Walsh, President of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Motion Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada and John R. Stevenson, Vice President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners as delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and of John S. Houck, Vice President of the Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons as delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

We are happy to welcome the fraternal delegates our fellow trade unionists have sent us as exchange messengers of good will.

Your committee feels deeply the value of these exchanges of delegates and would wish that the rank and file of our movement could through the labor press share the experiences, observations and conclusions borne of these fraternal exchanges.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

(Page 221, Executive Council's Report)

As in former years, we are happy to note the direct services rendered by the

unions to their members. Eight and a half million dollars has been paid out to members to supplement the fraternal friendliness which the trade union movement has given directly to its members.

Today, however, we observe not only the amount and form of material benefits paid by unions to their members; we are also deeply interested in a critical evaluation of social and material service benefits which unions have won through free trade union negotiation, with their respective employers.

The study on this subject recommended by previous conventions has now been made. It is ready for thorough study by the unions collectively and their members individually.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, this section of the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PENSION PLANS UNDER COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

(Page 94, Executive Council's Report)

This is one of the most practical service publications ever issued by any labor organization. It will be of particular benefit to Internationals, Locals or any other trade union groups that are planning to set up pension programs and to those who wish to evaluate critically those which have already been negotiated.

This booklet points out the important fact that a pension plan which may be perfectly suitable for one group may not be of any value at all to any other group. Each plan must be drawn up to meet the special needs which may arise under the particular conditions under which any group may work.

Details of any plan depend on the make-up of the group—just what the members want to get out of the plan—how they expect to finance it. These and many other factors must be given careful consideration before any group signs a pension plan contract, whether it is negotiated with employers or set up in any other pattern. All these variable factors are reviewed in the 100 pages of the Guide.

In plain, forceful, trade union language, it reviews such topics as cost factors, methods of financing and administering a plan, benefit provisions, "pension plans and the law", pension negotiations—and dozens of equally important points. It closes with a list of references for further study.

Labor's concern with pensions has spread throughout the movement. It is significant that, of the 5 million workers who are said to be "covered" by existing pension schemes, very few will actually receive a pension. By supplying this new Guide, the American Federation of Labor has taken a long step forward to cut down the number of ineffective pension plans and to help our unions establish pro-

grams which will really do what members expect them to do.

Your Committee recommends that this pamphlet be given immediate, wide circulation in our ranks and that delegates here take steps to have their unions carry reports on the pamphlet in their respective journals. They will find the study to be thorough yet simple—just what the members want.

You have your copy here—or may get it from the A. F. of L. on written request.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Pages 291-293, Executive Council's Report)

The report of the Metal Trades Department is highly significant. It crystallizes for us again a procedure which shows how flexible A.F. of L. structure is.

We are a union of craft and industrial unions. We have always been such a federation.

Long before the C.I.O. was established there were industrial unions and craft unions in the A. F. of L.

The current report of the Metal Trades Department shows the varied approaches which can be made under our structure. The Metal Trades Councils are an excellent example.

The relaxing of the rules of the Metal Trades Department which makes it possible for all employees of all crafts in a plant to bargain jointly, collectively for their common good. This is a necessary organizing procedure and technique in our complex industrial life.

The Metal Trades Department further calls particular attention to development of atomic energy and its resultant phases. Your Committee believes that the well coordinated program within the Metal Trades Department dealing with Atomic Energy should be synchronized with the entire A. F. of L. program and should receive the thoughtful and active attention of every A. F. of L. union.

Your Committee commends the Department for the far reaching program through which it has served the entire labor movement.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES DEPARTMENT

(Pages 298-310, Executive Council's Report)

This Department has continued its effective work in behalf of its members.

Its effective, courageous work in recognition of trade union rights is enheartening for all of us. Theirs has been a continuing fight.

Two year ago, the A. F. of L. won, in the halls of Congress, the fight to remove the statutory prohibition of the Union Shop in the Railway Labor Act. Now, by free trade union bargaining, our unions have won the union shop. This is a victory of far-reaching importance.

The Department has again made a splendid record in the year's achievement. On all fronts they have not only won the immediate fight for the benefit of their members, they have fought and won battles for the good of all. We commend them highly and wish them continued success.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT

(Pages 310-313, Executive Council's Report)

The implementation of the recently organized and integrated Maritime Trades Department will materially affect its services in all seaports and inland ports of the United States, its territories and Canada. The work of the Department is carried out locally through its subsidiary port councils.

Among the most important problems facing the Department today are the continuing of the fight against subversive and other hostile forces and the maintenance and development of our free maritime unions in the face of the short-sighted, often anti-social conduct of management in the shipping industry.

Our members on the sea and the waterfront who serve in and through the Maritime Trades Department have proved themselves truly worthy of the trust we place in them and truly merit our respect and commendation.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, seconded by Chairman Dubinsky, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of the Committee on Executive Council, which is respectfully submitted:

David Dubinsky, Chairman
Selma Borchardt, Secretary
Harry C. Bates
Robert Byron
Charles B. Gramling
Wilfrid T. Connell
Leo J. Buckley

George Q. Lynch
William J. McLaughlin
Shirley Staley
Irving Barney
Paul L. Phillips
A. C. D'Andrea
Daniel W. Tracy
J. L. Hazard
Enoch E. Snyder
Harry R. Lyons
Milton S. Maxwell
Leslie L. Myers
Leo Abernathy
Chester A. Sample
John O'Hare
William Schoenberg
Committee on Executive Council's Report

. . . Committee Chairman Dubinsky moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously, and the Committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Chairman Woll of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Committee Chairman Woll submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

(Executive Council's Report, Page 233)

The American Federationist has maintained a high standard of service to our movement during the past year. Labor's own magazine is widely recognized as a publication which is carefully edited. The articles appearing in The American Federationist are worthwhile and timely. The educational value of the magazine to its readers is well established. Your committee believes that the Executive Council is to be highly commended on the sound policies pursued, editorially and mechanically, in the publication of The American Federationist and recommends that these policies continue.

Since labor's magazine has demonstrated that it is a most useful tool for labor organizations who want to do an effective job, your committee is of the opinion that it would be most desirable for

the officers of every local union and of every central body to become regular subscribers. In The American Federationist we have an excellent instrument for education and organizations and your committee believes that our movement would benefit if the officers of local unions and central bodies would avail themselves of it.

Your committee recommends that a separate, special letter calling upon all officers of local and central bodies in our movement to enter subscriptions for The American Federationist for themselves and for their membership should be sent out at an early date by the President. Other practical measures to increase the circulation of the magazine should also be taken.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESEARCH REPORT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 234)

This publication designed for trade-union officials, reporting on the current administrative decisions and developments related to collective bargaining, serves a useful and necessary purpose. Distribution has continued to expand, and it has been well-received by local officers, organizers and others having need of its services.

Your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report and urges that all national and international unions that have not yet done so arrange to have the Research Report sent to their locals.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NOTICARIO OBRERO NORTEAMERICANO

(Executive Council's Report, Page 234)

We note with appreciation the continued service rendered by *Noticario Obrero Norteamericano* (North American Labor News). The officials of the Federation are to be commended for having initiated so successful and so useful an agency. We hope nothing will interfere with continued progress of the publication.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A.F.L. NEWS-REPORTER

(Page 231, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee has noted the progress described in the Executive Council's

Report on the A.F.L. News-Letter. The integration of the *League Reporter* and the A.F.L. *Weekly News Service* to form the A.F.L. *News-Reporter* has been a progressive change that has been welcomed by both union members and the general public. The *News-Reporter* has—by its expanded news coverage, improved photo service, and increased number of mats—increased its value to the labor press particularly and to the working press generally. There can be no question but that the *News-Reporter* is now in a position to get the trade union message to the farthest parts of the country. In view of the current developments now taking place in the daily press of the nation, no effort should be spared in giving to trade unionists the other side of the stories which appear in daily newspapers. At the very time when freedom of the press is being interpreted as an unlimited license to editorialize news stories, to state half-truths as whole truths, and to substitute amusement for news, the need for an informed labor newspaper with a national circulation is self-evident. Indeed the healthy growth in the circulation of the *News-Reporter* is itself corroboration of this fact.

Your Committee approves the recommendation of the Executive Council for the discontinuance of the free copies now furnished to some 80,000 officers of local unions after January 1, 1953.

With these comments we recommend concurrence in this section of the report of the Executive Council, and adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE LABOR PRESS

(Page 231, Executive Council's Report)

Your Committee notes with pleasure the commendations made by the Executive Council to the labor press of America. There can be no question of the tremendous service performed by the editors of all types of labor publications which genuinely are interested in growth and development of trade unionism in their localities. Genuine labor weeklies, journals and other printed sources of information are the very citadels of truth about the trade union movement in the communities which they serve.

There is not and cannot be a substitute for the genuine labor press. Without minimizing the role of local publications as the distribution centers for news on the national labor front, the fact remains that the trade union movement in each and every locality must have a vigorous, crusading, and newsgathering local press. The role of the local labor press has been so long established and respected that its continued dominance in the field is beyond question. Your Committee joins with all other trade unionists in acknowledging

the indebtedness of the entire labor movement to the labor press, and recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RADIO NEWS PROGRAM

(Executive Council's Report, Page 232)

Your Committee notes with satisfaction the progress of our radio program. We also note the recommendations of the Executive Council regarding the continuance of this program. We concur with the recommendation that the program be continued for the coming year in a manner and extent consistent with the Federation's financial resources.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EMERGENCY POWERS CONTINUATION ACT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 238)

The Executive Council reports on the efforts of the National Legislative Committee to deal soundly and effectively with the proposals for the extension of emergency powers in the Executive branch.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 244)

The Executive Council reports that largely through the efforts of our government employees unions with the effective assistance of our National Legislative Committee, the 82nd Congress enacted legislation providing for more adequate retirement benefits for government employees. We welcome the progress made despite extremely difficult obstacles, but note that the improvements enacted fall far short of the mark set by labor. We call for renewed efforts in the coming year to increase retirement benefits. It is also imperative that every effort be made to remove the short-sighted provisions which would abrogate the increase in benefits in the event the consumers' price index drops or the necessary appropriations are not voted.

We note with concern the renewal of the efforts to integrate the Civil Service retirement system into the general social security system. The wide disparity between the standards achieved under the Civil Service Retirement System and those of the general Old Age and Survivors' Insurance plan, and the inescapable differences in the operation of the two

programs make it plain that such consolidation can only lead to a destruction of the Civil Service Retirement standards and to jeopardy to the employees' assets in the Government Employee Fund. We urge vigilance in the preservation of the standards of Civil Service retirement as well as of the integrity of the government employees' assets in the Civil Service Retirement System.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was adopted.

PARCEL, SIZE AND WEIGHT ADJUSTMENT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 246)

We note the report on the enactment of legislation reducing the size and weight of mailable parcels. This has resulted in diversion into railway express channels of oversize parcels, thus expanding the volume of express shipments and providing employment for railway clerks who might otherwise have lost their jobs.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENT SALARY LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 246)

Your Committee notes with satisfaction the report that in the final hours of the first session of the 82nd Congress, legislation was enacted providing for long-overdue salary increases for postal, classified and District of Columbia Government employees. This legislation could not have been secured without the untiring efforts of our Government Employee Unions ably assisted by our National Legislative Committee.

The Executive Council stresses the need for a new Postal Classification Act and an amended Retirement Act. We ask that the American Federation of Labor continue to give every possible assistance to our Government Employee Unions in their efforts to obtain the enactment of these urgently needed measures.

Further efforts are essential to make sure that the standards of compensation of government employees are fully adequate in the light of changing conditions.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR AND FEDERAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 249)

The Executive Council reports that the Department of Labor and the Federal Security Agency suffered drastic and unjustified cuts in their appropriations in the last session of Congress. We protest this false economy. In the end such cuts will add to, and not lighten, the tax burden of the American people. Reduced appropriations for the vital services of these agencies will go a long way to impair the welfare of workers and indeed of all Americans.

We ask that every effort be made in the next session of Congress to secure appropriation of sufficient funds for the Department of Labor and the Federal Security Agency to enable them to do an effective job.

With this comment your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE FUNDS

(Executive Council's Report, Pgs. 179-80)

The Executive Council notes that the funds for the Civil Defense Administrative Program were drastically reduced in the last session of Congress. The threat of enemy attack upon our industrial facilities, our cities and homes, cannot be ignored. We must not be caught off-guard and we must be prepared. Effective civilian defense calls for maximum citizen participation and for effective citizen planning and preparation. The alarming Congressional attitude toward this task must be reversed in the coming session.

Our representatives have played an important role in representing labor's views and contributing actively to the civilian defense program. Your committee commends them for the effectiveness of their activity.

With these comments your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE PROPOSED ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

(Executive Council's Report, Pgs. 182-3)

The Executive Council reports on the proposal made in the last session of Congress for construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Our National Legislative Committee, carrying out previous Convention action, testified against this proposal which was not adopted.

Your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ARMED FORCES RESERVES AND MANPOWER

(Executive Council's Report, Pgs. 183-4)

The Armed Forces Reserve has been growing so rapidly that a large percentage of civilian workers are now in the Reserve. In the event of a full mobilization, it is important that there be no indiscriminate recall of civilian workers into the Armed Forces. There should be selective recall with deferment of essential civilian workers as we now have under Selective Service for enlisted personnel.

This position was effectively stated by representatives of our National Legislative Committee when the 82nd Congress considered the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1952. The intent of Congress in enacting this law supports our position. There is danger, however, that because complete discretion in administering the law is given to the Defense Department, proper and necessary consideration may not be given to the importance of deterring essential civilian personnel from being recalled into the Armed Forces. We ask, therefore, that efforts be made to obtain safeguards assuring that there will be civilian supervision over this program and proper provision for necessary deferments.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 259)

The Walter Omnibus Immigration and Nationality Bill enacted by the last session of Congress represented a culmination of four years of study of our entire immigration and naturalization system and an attempt to encompass in a single law the many enactments of the past thirty years. Representatives of our National Legislative Committee appeared before the Congressional committees considering these bills and effectively presented our views on these questions of vital concern to labor.

The law, as finally passed, represented the first comprehensive revision of our immigration and naturalization laws in nearly three decades. Such a sweeping

effort can neither be wholly satisfactory nor can it resolve the many current problems arising from the pressures of world population. We ask that the American Federation of Labor renew in the 83rd Congress its efforts to bring about sound improvements and necessary revisions of the immigration and naturalization law.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

(Executive Council's Report, Page 263)

The Executive Council reports that a bill was introduced in the last session of Congress to permit the discharge by employers of persons who are members of organizations designated as subversive by the Attorney General and to decertify labor organizations whose officers are members of such organizations. While this legislation had the worthy purpose of attempting to prevent Communistic infiltration into labor unions, its provisions were so extreme as to seriously jeopardize the rights of citizens and to inflict injury on legitimate labor organizations. The National Legislative Committee strongly opposed adoption of this proposal. Your Committee notes with satisfaction that the bill was not enacted.

With these comments your Committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PUERTO RICO

(Executive Council's Report, Page 269)

The establishment of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico with full self-government and autonomy represents an important milestone in the march of the freedom-loving people of Puerto Rico toward the full realization of democracy. It is evidence also of the sincerity and good faith of the United States in its policy of furthering liberty and self-government everywhere. We commend the National Legislative Committee for the effective support which it gave to the Joint Resolution adopted by the U. S. Congress approving the constitution drafted by the Constitutional Convention of Puerto Rico and ratified by the people of Puerto Rico in a popular referendum.

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, although independent and self-governing, remains an integral part of the United States as an "associated state" of this nation. This relationship to the United

States—which, as the Executive Council reports, is neither statehood nor complete independence—was freely chosen by the overwhelming majority of the people of Puerto Rico in a popular referendum.

As trade-unionists and as fellow-Americans we must continue to give to the people of Puerto Rico every assistance in their efforts to develop their economy. The American Federation of Labor is seeking to organize the workers of Puerto Rico into bona fide unions within the ranks of our Federation in order to advance the living standards and improve working conditions of the workers of Puerto Rico as rapidly as possible.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TULLAHOMA, TENNESSEE WIND TUNNEL

(Executive Council's Report, Page 274)

We are encouraged by the report of our success in obtaining legislation in the last session of Congress assuring the necessary extension of development time for the construction of the Tullahoma, Tennessee, Wind Tunnel.

Your Committee recommends the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was adopted.

PLATTSBURG CANTONMENT

(Executive Council's Report, Page 274)

We are gratified by the report that our National Legislative Committee, working closely with our affiliated Central Body of Plattsburg, New York, was successful in obtaining legislation for construction of troop housing facilities, administrative and community facilities and shops, at the Plattsburg Cantonment.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DELAWARE RIVER PORT AUTHORITY

(Executive Council's Report, Page 276)

The Executive Council reports on the successful efforts of our National Legis-

lative Committee, in cooperation with our affiliated Central Bodies of Eastern Pennsylvania and Western New Jersey, in securing legislation for establishment of the Delaware Port Authority in the Philadelphia-Camden-Chester area. We are gratified by the enactment of this statute which will greatly facilitate the future industrial and commercial development of this vital area.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS LAW EXTENDED

(Executive Council's Report, Page 278)

We are pleased to note that in the last session of Congress legislation was enacted extending to the District of Columbia the Youth Correction Act, which provides for rehabilitation of youthful offenders. We are encouraged by this acceptance of emphasis on prevention and rehabilitation rather than punishment in dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 270)

We note with special interest the report of the Executive Council on the participation of representatives of our State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions in the 19th National Conference on Labor Legislation called by the Secretary of Labor. Our representatives were effectively assisted by information provided to them by our National Legislative Committee. Your Committee particularly wishes to commend our delegates to this conference for the resolution they introduced which was unanimously accepted by the conference requesting the U. S. Department of Labor to prepare a model industrial safety and health code.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATIVE BOOKLET IN DEMAND

(Executive Council's Report, Page 270)

We note with satisfaction the report on the continuing large demand for revised reprints of the summary of the legislative activities of the American Federation of Labor entitled "Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor". We commend the National Legislative Committee for its valuable contribution in preparing and distributing this worthwhile publication.

With this comment your Committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: Your Committee has about six more subjects dealing with portions of the Executive Council's report. However, we will not report on them until later. If the convention will give their attention we will report on resolutions, and I ask the convention, in all fairness, to pay attention in order that the introducers of these resolutions may know what disposition was made of them. We have a little over a hundred resolutions, and we ask your kind consideration, so that we may proceed in an orderly way. Brother Soderstrom, the secretary of the committee, will continue with the report.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom reported as follows:

The Committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 1, 4, 19, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 44 and 45.

AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 1—By Michigan State Federation of Labor.

(Page 21, First's Days Proceedings)

LOWERING AGE LIMIT AND INCREASE BENEFITS TO INCLUDE ALL WORKERS

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Salimbeni, International Hod Carriers,

Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

(Page 22, First Day's Proceedings)

LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Ray Mills, Kansas State Federation of Labor.

(Page 28, First Day's Proceedings)

INCREASING BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

(Page 32, First Day's Proceedings)

AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO INCLUDE HOSPITALIZATION PLAN

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(Page 32, First Day's Proceedings)

LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE; INCREASING BENEFITS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 33, First Day's Proceedings)

FULL COVERAGE OF ALL WORKERS UNDER UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 33, First Day's Proceedings)

REPEAL OF MERIT RATING SYSTEM UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 34, First Day's Proceedings)

BENEFIT COVERAGE FOR ILLNESS OR PERMANENT DISABILITY

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 34, First Day's Proceedings)

EXTENSION OF BENEFITS' COVERAGE TO ALL WORKERS

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 34, First Day's Proceedings)

AMEND SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO PERMIT INCREASED EARNINGS

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(Page 35, First Day's Proceedings)

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 37, First Day's Proceedings)

LOWERING AGE LIMIT UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 37, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee considered these thirteen resolutions jointly and recommends that they be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONDEMNING PRACTICE OF ATTACHING RIDERS TO LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate J. T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(Page 22, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with the purpose of this resolution and recommends that the officers of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor ascertain what can be done to discourage the use of this sharp legislative practice.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMEND LEGISLATION AFFECTING VETERANS AFFAIRS

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Salimbene, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

(Page 22, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the A. F. of L.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMEND VETERANS INSURANCE ACT OF 1946

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates Joseph V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, A. Salimbene, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

(Page 23, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is of the opinion that the desires and instructions of the veteran owner of the insurance policy should be respected, and therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution, and with these comments the committee further recommends that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 6 and 31.

CRAFT UNION ORGANIZATION

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Thomas Durian, International Glove Workers Union.

(Page 23, First Day's Proceedings)

RECOGNITION OF CRAFT UNION JURISDICTION

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates William E. Maloney, Chas. B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, Frank P. Converse, Victor S. Swanson, International Union of Operating Engineers.

(Page 33, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the Resolve in Resolution No. 6, and the second Resolve in Resolution No. 31 be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ABOLITION OF SENATE RULE 22 AND THE FILIBUSTER

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(Page 24, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Delegate Randolph.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the report of the committee, but I think I should make a few observations on this resolution, because it involves the question of civil rights.

This question was courageously and forthrightly discussed by Senator Lehman in his address to this convention last week.

This resolution concerning the amendment of Senate Rule 22 is vitally important for the enactment of any type of civil rights' legislation. Senate Rule 22 requires that 64 Senators be present on the floor to vote in order to limit debate. Unless 64 Senators vote to limit debate the filibuster cannot be broken. You all know that it is utterly impossible to secure 64 Senators, to have them on the floor and have them vote on anything at any time, practically. Consequently, it is to the interest of democracy that Senate Rule 22 be amended.

Why are we concerned about this question of civil rights? A Negro boy today who is giving his life and blood in Korea for the purpose of establishing a beachhead of liberty and democracy when he leaves Korea and goes to the capital of his own nation cannot enjoy the civil rights that a Communist from Russia can enjoy in his own country. And why? Because of race and color.

I was talking to one of the fraternal delegates from some of the Asian countries, and only recently, because of color, they were the victims of discrimination in the capital of the nation. Now there are today some 2 million Negroes in the South who are going to the polls during this Presidential election. In seventeen states in this country Negroes, in a close election, control the balance of power. And may I say to you that there are hundreds of thousands of Negroes today who have not yet made up their minds as to whether they will vote for General Eisenhower of the Republican Party or Governor Stevenson of the Democratic Party. The reason for this is they are not satisfied with the platforms of either the Republican or the Democratic Party. They are not satisfied with either the declaration of General Eisenhower or Governor Stevenson on the question of civil rights.

The fact that 2 million Negroes in the South will go to the polls next November amounts to a political revolution, for in the hands of those Negroes lies the power to either break up the solid South or to create a two-party system, and consequently it is far more significant historically than even the Presidential election.

And so, my fellow delegates, I wanted you to understand the basic significance of this resolution. Civil rights are designed to give force and effect to human rights. Human rights mean the right to life, the right to liberty and the right to pursuit of happiness. Human rights are God-given. Civil rights are man-made.

No government can give me the right to live, the right to liberty or the right to the pursuit of happiness, but governments can make laws that will limit and nullify one's human rights. That is the basic reason for the fight for civil rights. Civil rights are strategic to labor, just as

the abolition of slavery was strategic to labor, because so long as you have second-class citizens in a country the status of first-class citizens is uncertain.

And so I want to commend the committee for supporting this resolution and at the same time to urge that the various national and international unions, central bodies and state federations will take it upon themselves to go out and work for the enactment of an amendment to Senate Rule 22 in order that our democracy in this country will have strength, reality and vitality and command and secure the respect and the confidence and the faith of the peoples of the world.

Thank you very much.

... The motion to adopt the committee's report on Resolution No. 8 was carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know I speak your state of mind when I say this is a great event, an historic occasion, one that touches us deeply, one that makes us extremely happy. We have a great American with us this morning, and there are a lot of people sitting in this hall who believe that he will be the next President of the United States. I present this great citizen to you now without any further ado, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, candidate for President on the Democratic ticket.

GOVERNOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Mr. Green, officers, delegates to the Convention, friends of the American Federation of Labor: I appreciate, Mr. Green, your very charitable introduction and your invitation to speak here today. I might say that I hope that we will all survive the sunstroke that seems to be threatening from the galleries.

This Convention has followed the American tradition of giving a hearing to both parties to an argument, and I am glad to take my turn.

You have been transacting your business here for eight days, and I would think it is high time for a little humor, but I fear that there may be some people listening who don't like the light touch. For your benefit I will say that they don't seem to mind the heavy touch, provided it is made by a Republican and not a Democrat.

But there is business before your house

and I propose to get right to it, obeying, so far as I can, what is coming to be known as the new Republican law of gravity.

I have been told that I should try to make you roar with enthusiasm. I would not do that even if I could. After all, you are responsible leaders of organized labor, which, if it does not act responsibly, could do the nation and, therefore, the labor movement infinite harm. And I, in turn, am a candidate for the most important individual responsibility on earth. If I were more comforted by your cheers than your thought I would hardly merit the confidence of responsible men. I would rather make you think than make you roar. So you will, I hope, understand that what little I have to say, or rather to add, to the many speeches you have already dutifully listened to, is intended for your heads, not your hands. And if I don't start any cheers I hope at least I shall not stop any minds.

First I want to dispose of this matter of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Democratic platform says that the Taft-Hartley Act is "inadequate, unworkable, and unfair," and should be replaced by a new law. I developed, on Labor Day, the five basic respects in which the present law seems to me defective, and I outlined some five principles to guide the writing of a new one.

How to get a new one? The method, whether by amendment of the existing law or replacement with a new one, has, frankly, seemed to me less important than the objective. But because the required changes are major changes, because the present law is spiteful, and because it has become a symbol of dissension and bitterness, I urge, therefore, as I did on Labor Day, that the Taft-Hartley Act be repealed.

The Republican platform commends the Taft-Hartley Act because, among other things, it guarantees to the working man "the right to quit his job at any time."

To this deceit they add the insistence that the real issue here is whether the present law should be "amended" or "repealed". This is not the real issue. The real issue is what changes should be made in the law of the United States. But if repeal were in itself the issue I would remind Senator Taft that he himself has publicly recognized 23 mistakes in his favorite law. It seems not unreasonable to recommend that a tire with 23 punctures and 5 blowouts needs junking and not a recap job with reclaimed Republican rubber.

There has been, too, the usual barrage of intemperate name-calling. Why is it that when political ammunition runs low inevitably the rusty artillery of abuse is always wheeled into action? To face the facts on labor relations is to be accused of "captivity," and of "turning left." These are words without roots, weeds which grow in darkness and wither in the sun. But the sun is sometimes slow to rise—especially in campaign years. And I am reminded of the saying that a lie can

travel all around the world while the truth is putting on its boots.

All of this stuff about "right" and "left" and so on reminds me of the prescription of a church that was seeking a new minister, and the deacon said, in addressing the congregation: "We want someone who is not too radical and not too conservative, not too far to the right, not too far to the left—just someone mediocre."

The final Republican maneuvers were executed on this platform last Wednesday. I am grateful that it was a Republican, Senator Morse, who revealed so masterfully how all of those explosions we heard were only blank cartridges.

It is proposed now apparently to change the Taft-Hartley Act in just two respects: by removing what the speaker called the union-busting clauses, and by making employers, like union leaders, swear they are not Communists. The tinkling sound of these little words was unfortunately smothered in the thundering silence of what was left unsaid.

On only one point was there anything even approaching a joining of the issues.

It was charged that I had "embraced" the principle of "compulsion," by asking for the power as President to "compel" arbitration of disputes which threaten the national safety. Now, after the great reunion with Senator Taft on the lovestat at Columbia University, I respect the General's authority on the subject of embraces. But if he wrote what he said, he had not read what I said.

My proposal was, and is, that if Congress sees fit to direct the President to intervene in a labor dispute it should give the President the authority to try, among other things, to have that dispute referred to arbitration. I did not say that he should be given the power to "compel" arbitration. I recommended a flexibility of procedures, all built around the mediation process, to replace the present requirement that in all such cases the collective bargaining process be stopped—stopped dead in its tracks—by a court order.

What my distinguished opponent would do I cannot determine. If that was his purpose he succeeded. He says he is against compulsion. Yet he seems to support the present law, which compels men to work under court injunction for 80 days on terms they have rejected. I find it hard to see that there can be no greater compulsion than this. If I read what he says as fairly as I can, I gather that in fact he recognizes this, and agrees with me, and with you, that the labor injunction is not a fair or effective dispute-settling device. He cites with approval the Norris-LaGuardia Act which was passed, so he said, under his party's administration in 1932. This will seem like a pretty broad claim to those who remember that the House of Representatives in the 72nd Congress was safely Democratic in its majority, and who can't see much resemblance between Republicans like George Norris and Fiorello LaGuardia, on the one hand, and Senator Taft and

Representative Hartley, on the other. He didn't mention the fact that that Act virtually outlawed the labor injunction in the federal courts or that it had been seriously cut down by the Taft-Hartley Act.

I wonder, if by any chance, Senator Taft deleted such frankness from the General's text.

But the General in his talk to you did recognize squarely that issuing injunctions "will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike." That is one statement we can all agree with. The trouble is that the Taft-Hartley Act was written by those who don't recognize that squarely.

But enough of the labor relations law. There are other problems of equal concern to American labor.

When many of you first came into this business, the only job of American labor—and it was a tough one—was to organize workers and to bargain with employers. This is still perhaps your main job. But you have also greatly expanded your interests, and broadened your horizons.

One of the most significant developments in our national life is that American labor is today much more than an instrument for collective bargaining. It has become a vital agency of a working democracy.

Your purposes extend to making America strong in a free and a peaceful world, and to seeking all the democratic goals to which the government of this country is dedicated.

I should like therefore to discuss with you how we can best make this relationship work—this partnership, if you please, between government and an independent organization like the American Federation of Labor both devoted to the same ends.

We recognize, to begin with, that in this partnership no partner can be allowed to dominate the other. Labor unions, like all private persons and organizations, must maintain an independence from government. Government, including political parties, must be independent of any private bodies.

As spokesman for the Democratic Party, at least for the moment, I put this in plain language, not because you of the A. F. of L. misunderstand, but because others try to misrepresent. I am glad that the Democratic Party and the American Federation of Labor have both been guided for a long time now by the same stars—stars that have led us toward the realization of human hopes and desires.

But our functions are different, and our responsibilities are to different, even if partially overlapping, groups. The Democratic Party is the party of *all* the people. Were it otherwise it would be false to democracy itself.

We seek then a pattern for full cooperation, but one which recognizes our mutual independence.

What are the specific things we can do in moving together toward the human goals we hold in common?

We can start, because the opportunity

is so obvious, by making the Department of Labor a more effective service agency. To mention a few specific possibilities here is to suggest many others:

1. Given sufficient funds, the Bureau of Labor Statistics could better perform its essential service as keeper of the people's budget, and serve a much broader function that it now can.
2. We should consider a labor counterpart of the agricultural extension service, to help train the men who make democracy work in the labor unions and around the bargaining tables.
3. Retraining men who are replaced by machines and directing them to new jobs, where now we simply pay them unemployment compensation, could save both manpower and tax money.
4. Again, the National Labor Relations Board, operating outside the Labor Department but in this same field, must be staffed to process cases in half the time it now takes, for in this field particularly "justice delayed is justice denied."
5. The problem of the migrant farm laborers, over 1,000,000 Americans who move north and south with the sun and the seasons, their lives often bleak cycles of exploitation and rejection, certainly invites compassionate attention.

Strengthening the Labor Department is an old subject. Advocacy is easier than action. But I lay what I hope is not immodest claim here to at least a journeyman's experience and qualifications. My apprenticeship was served in getting at least a partial labor program—over 50 bills—through a Republican legislature in Illinois.

It will also be an important development in democracy that men and women will come in ever-increasing numbers from your ranks to positions of key responsibility in government.

What you have to offer, in all of our essential governmental programs, has been perhaps best proven by the contributions labor has already made on the international front.

Your effective fight against Communism goes clear back to the time it was called Bolshevism. You have licked it in your own houses, and you have gone after the roots from which it grows.

I join with my distinguished opponent in saluting you for these accomplishments. One wonders why his party forgot them when, in 1947, they singled you out as peculiarly suspicious characters and required your taking a special oath of loyalty.

I hope you don't misunderstand me—I am not courting or embracing when I acknowledge and applaud the job you have done, not only through the International Labor Organization, the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Department of State, but through your own offices—rejecting the Communist front World Federation of Trade Unions, pressing the case in the United Nations

against forced labor in the Soviet Union, supporting free trade unions in Europe and Asia and in South America, helping build up popular resistance wherever the spiked wall of Russia throws its shadow over free men and women. Where men's minds have been poisoned against democracy, many will learn again that America is free, and they will learn only as they hear from you that you are free. To the workers of other nations, yours is today perhaps the clearest voice America has.

I am proud, as a Democrat, that a Democratic Administration has recognized this, and I hope that more and more union leaders will be called upon to serve their country abroad. I think we need diplomats who speak to people in the accents of the people. Ambassadors in overalls can be the best salesmen of democracy.

There are other tasks ahead, many of them here at home. President Truman listed the biggest among these jobs in his message to this Convention, the priority jobs in making America still stronger and ever more healthy.

How well we meet these problems together will depend upon, it seems to me, these things:

First, that we understand each other.

Second, that we exercise our powers always with firm self-restraint.

Third, that we hold fast to the conviction that only people—people—are important.

The understanding which flows between the Party for which I speak and the enormous group you represent requires no detailing here. To remember the loneliness, the fear and the insecurity of men who once had to walk alone in huge factories, beside huge machines—to realize that labor unions have meant new dignity and pride to millions of our countrymen, human companionship on the job and music in the home, to be able to see what larger pay checks mean, not to a man as an employee but as a husband and a father—to know these things is to understand what American labor means.

Franklin Roosevelt knew these things. Harry Truman knows these things. They are among the imponderable human elements that some among us, unhappily, have never understood.

Now, as to the exercise of our powers. The Democratic Party has been entrusted for twenty years with the awesome responsibility of leadership in governing the United States. During these years, the labor unions have become strong and vigorous. American labor, too, has enormous power today—and enormous responsibilities.

To responsible men, power is no source of satisfaction. Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown. It is rather cause for very real humility. It is the whole history of mankind that power lacking the inner strength of self-restraint will be eventually cast down.

It is the history of the Republican Party that it supported, and was supported by, those interests which believed that freedom meant the right to exercise

economic power without restraint. And the Republican Party was cast down.

It has been the basic belief of the Democratic Party that only human freedoms are basic, and that economic power must be exercised so as not to curtail them. We hold, too, that the power of government must be restricted to the point that government stands never as master, and always as servant.

It is no less essential to the future of democracy that American labor walk wisely with its power. Your awareness of this has been shown in many practical ways. There is, most recently perhaps, the forthright and heartening manner in which you have attacked the problem of jurisdictional strikes. Your Joint Board procedure in the building trades and your prohibitions upon picketing in support of jurisdictional claims are examples of sound self-regulation directed against the abuse, and therefore the corruption, of power. You have expressed your willingness to accept procedures which recognize the priority of the public interest in national emergency disputes. You today accept the fact that, in the private free enterprise system which we all recognize as basic to our liberty and our prosperity, employees can prosper only as their employers do, and that irresponsible demands are only self-defeating.

Yet American labor, like the Democratic Party, faces new and uncharted tomorrows. You, as we, will be challenged anew to measure up to the demands of both freedom and power. The future of democracy, perhaps the future of our world, depends upon the exercise of power, by America's private and public bodies alike, with that self-restraint which separates power from tyranny, and order from chaos.

The fullest guarantee against irresponsibility lies in the constant reminder that people, and only people, are important.

American labor's role, its whole purpose has been to restore to people the status and dignity they lost when the sprawling factories reached out to engulf them. Hence, for example, your insistence that there be a community law of job rights—seniority rules—to stand beside the law of property rights.

Equally has the Democratic Party drawn its strength, I think, from the people. We have built our program on their hopes, stood by them in adversity, and found the measure of our accomplishment in their welfare. We have written the laws of 20 years from pictures in our minds of men and women who are tired after a full day, who are defeated if a week's wages won't buy a week's food, who are out of a job, or who are sick or have finished a life's work. We believe in a government with a heart.

Yet we are told that we have gone too far.

What do they mean? Are they saying that our people are too well fed, too well clothed, too well housed? Do they say that our children are getting more and better schooling than they should? Have we gone too fast in our effort to provide equal opportunities to working men and women of

all races and creeds? Are the 62 million workers in America too healthy, too happy? Should fewer of them be working? The Republicans say they want a change. Let them, then, speak out: Which of these things do they want changed?

With mutual understanding, with a humbling sense of power, with belief in our masters, the people, we shall see to it that these things are not changed.

I want, if I may in closing, to salute a tradition of leadership which embodies all I have been trying to say here today. The foundations of that tradition were laid by Samuel Gompers. They have been built upon by William Green. You have held, sir, if I may say so to the ideal of democratic leadership—the leadership which seeks the good of all, the leadership of him who wants only to serve.

I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. Green, for your introduction. I am grateful to all of you for the cordiality of your reception here today. And now, if you will excuse me, I will continue to do the Lord's work in my way.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now I think I can read the feelings of everyone who was fortunate enough to be here today and listen to this magnificent address. You have looked forward with a feeling of pleasant anticipation to this visit of Governor Stevenson with us. Now you have heard him. He has touched you and moved you deeply. There is no question about how you feel toward this great, outstanding American.

I thank him in your name, in the name of every one of you, and from the bottom of my heart, for his visit with us today.

The Chair is now calling upon Vice President MacGowan to preside over the deliberations of the convention for the balance of the session.

(Vice President MacGowan in the Chair.)

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: The Committee on Resolutions, which is now reporting, is presenting the policies of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year. Many delegates in this hall are vitally concerned about certain phases of this report. All of us should try to keep quiet so that those who have interest in the report of the committee will be able to hear it.

I sat down in front of the dais this morning and I couldn't hear a word the committee was reporting. Will you please cooperate with the Chair and be fair to your committee which has worked hard, and give them your attention?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Committee Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following report, on behalf of the committee:

FEPC

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(Page 24, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be approved.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S BIRTHDAY TO BE NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates William F. Schnitzler, James G. Cross, Herman Winter, Curtis Sims, Wm. McGuern, James Landriscina, Seb Ollinger, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.

(Page 25, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

PETER J. MCGUIRE MEMORIAL

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates John P. Burke, James S. Killen, Elmer P. Meinz, Henry Segal, Joseph Tonelli, Harriet Wray, Bernard Cianciulli, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U.S. and Canada.

(Page 25, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESTORATION OF MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICES

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates Harry Lundeborg, Paul Hall, Morris Weis-

berger, Matthew Dushane, Andrea Gomez, Seafarers' International Union of North America.

(Page 26, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

EXTENDING SOCIAL SECURITY TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 26, First Day's Proceedings)

INCLUSION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNDER STATE AND NATIONAL SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 26, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee considered these two resolutions jointly and recommends that the action taken in previous conventions with respect to extension of coverage to agricultural workers be reaffirmed.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPMENT OF RIO GRANDE VALLEY

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 26, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

CONSTITUTION OF JOINT LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 27, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

ILLEGAL ENTRY OF MEXICAN NATIONALS

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 27, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

REPRESENTATION TO MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Resolution No. 20—By Maritime Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

(Page 28, First Day's Proceedings)

The sponsors of this resolution requested that this resolution be withdrawn. Your committee recommends that the request be granted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(Page 29, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

AFL RADIO PROGRAM

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles County, California.

(Page 29, First Day's Proceedings)

This is a resolution of thanks and no action is necessary.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ON TAXATION

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 30)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

REQUEST FOR EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION BY MEAT CUTTERS

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, R. E. Kelly, Joseph Belsky, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

(Page 31, First Day's Proceedings)

The introducers request permission to withdraw this resolution without prejudice, and your committee recommends that this request be granted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

MINIMUM WAGE

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates John B. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(Page 31, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

(Page 32, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 44, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in agreement with the purposes of these resolutions. In the portion of its Report dealing with this subject, the Executive Council emphasizes the inadequacy of the 75 cent minimum wage provided in the present law. In the light of the steep and rapid rise in the cost of living, sharp increases in productivity and taking into account the changed conditions resulting from the present defense mobilization, as well as other relevant factors, your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor seek enactment of the highest possible minimum wage which will realistically reflect the great transformation which has taken place in our economy since the present minimum wage took effect.

Your Committee recommends that, with these further recommendations, approval be given to the portion of the Executive Council's Report dealing with this subject, in lieu of these resolutions.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

CLASSIFY UNDULANT FEVER AS OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE IN MEAT PACKING INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. E. Kelly, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

(Page 32, First Day's Proceedings)

All diseases growing out of or arising out of employment, are covered by occupational diseases laws of several states. Some states, however, cover only such diseases as are listed in their occupational diseases schedule. Such states should be prevailed upon to include Undulant Fever in their schedules.

Your committee is in sympathy with the purposes and objectives of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the officers of the A. F. of L.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

CREATION OF AFL DEPARTMENT TO ASSIST STATE FEDERATIONS ON LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 35, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with increasing legislative guidance and service to state federations and recommends that the officers of the A. F. of L. give consideration to placing someone in charge and thereby expand A. F. of L. activities.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

NATIONAL AFL PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 35)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the A. F. of L.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

TRADE UNION RIGHTS FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

(Page 35, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that the resolve be amended in the seventh line after the word "their" by striking the word "officials" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "employees".

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution as amended.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move adoption of the committee's report.

... The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE ZANDER, State, County and Municipal Employees: I recognize that this is not a particularly fortunate time to discuss these resolutions, but with your permission I would like to say a few

things about what we have in mind in Resolution No. 40 and, of course, in support of the committee's report.

We appreciate the report that the committee has offered and the motion to adopt.

Our resolution is aimed at the fact that across these United States there are state and local government officials who either resist dealing with their employees or refuse outright to deal with them. We have no statute sufficient in private industry to protect these rights, and in one instance after another, the Governor, a man, a city manager, a county board, some commission, will either see to the disruption of local unions of his employees, the dismissal of the officers or the outright refusal to sit down and talk.

This does not affect us alone. It affects any organization which has jurisdiction in and is organizing employees of public agencies. Other organizations are affected as we are, and our resolution is aimed only at those officials who carry on these nefarious practices in opposition to organization of employees in their agencies. Others here might speak on this as I am doing. I am not inviting such remarks this morning, under the circumstances, of course, but I certainly would like to have the delegates realize that this is not a party. We have had good relations, excellent relations with some Republican Governors and with some Democratic Governors. We have very bad relations with Governors from both parties. We have good relations with county commissions and city governments from both parties, and we have very bad relations also with both. It is not an unusual practice for employees in these public agencies to call a meeting and to have the meeting broken up, or to call a meeting and choose temporary officers only to have those temporary officers dismissed the following morning. These things are going on in 1952 in the United States of America. It is for that reason that we brought before this convention this resolution aimed at the establishment of trade union rights now denied in public agencies, state and local government agencies across the United States.

I might say a good many things about how this is being viewed from abroad, how people over in the other countries look in on us and see the denial of these

rights and are amazed at some of the things which are now going on in public agencies in this country. These are employers of large bodies of workers. We are not talking about small groups here and there; we are talking about large bodies of workers eligible for membership in some cases in a variety of unions who are denied the basic trade union rights which are enjoyed generally by workers in our country. It is for this reason that we appreciate the presentation of the resolution to the convention, the consideration by the committee, the recommendation of

the committee for adoption, and we speak in favor of the adoption of the committee's report.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and delegates.

. . . The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee carried unanimously.

Following announcements concerning the time and place of committee meetings, the convention recessed at 12:00 o'clock, noon, to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock, p.m.

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair wishes to announce that the election of officers at this convention has been set as a special order of business sometime tomorrow. I do not know the hour at the moment, but please keep that in mind.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Soderstrom, of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the committee as follows:

PETITION FCC TO DESIGNATE TV CHANNELS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TO LABOR UNIONS

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 36, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TAXATION

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 36, First Day's Proceedings)

EXCISE TAX

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 41, First Day's Proceedings)

EXEMPTION OF PENSIONS FROM TAXATION

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

(Page 45, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that these three resolutions be referred to the Permanent Tax Committee.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 36, First Day's Proceedings)

DIRECT PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 58, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with the resolutions and recommends that they

be referred to the officers of the A. F. of L. for study and for the formulation of such remedies as their investigation will warrant.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

AMEND ANTI-INJUNCTION STATUTES

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 37, First Day's Proceedings)

The subject dealt with in this resolution has been fully covered in a previous report of this Committee. It therefore recommends no further action is required on this subject or this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ALLOCATION

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 37, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in agreement with the objectives sought by this resolution. In January 1952, the Executive Council called for assertion of civilian responsibility in all defense procurement with labor participation and the maintenance of sound labor standards on all defense contracts. Specific recommendations to this end were presented to Congress by President Green. We urge continued efforts to carry these proposals into effect.

With this recommendation, your committee recommends the approval of the purposes of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now calls upon Vice President David Dubinsky to preside for some length of time.

(Vice President David Dubinsky in the Chair)

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

CONDEMNING INDIRECT SUBSIDIES BY MUNICIPALITIES TO BUSINESS

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 38, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee finds that this resolution is sound in spirit and substance. It characterizes very properly the evil of subsidization of business enterprises as exploitation of taxpayers, and calls for a vigorous condemnation of this practice.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor to find methods that will discourage and stop this practice.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

H.R. 6492

Resolution No. 49—By Delegates Joseph O'Neill, Sol Cilento, Mort Brandenburg, George Oneto, Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union.

(Page 38, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Taxation.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES COUNCIL EXTENDS THANKS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates of: Building Service Employees International Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; Railway Mail Association; National As-

sociation of Special Delivery Messengers; International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Union; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone.

(Page 39, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 50 expresses the thanks of the Government Employees Council to the American Federation of Labor. No action is required.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

UNFAIR FOREIGN COMPETITION

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate James McDevitt, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

(Page 39, First Day's Proceedings)

RESTORATION OF TARIFF ON HANDBAGS TO 35% AND 50%

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 43, First Day's Proceedings)

These two resolutions deal with the same subject matter—unfair foreign competition, and your Committee desires to report jointly on them.

Your Committee recommends that these two resolutions be referred to the Officers of the A. F. of L.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY

Resolution No. 52—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 40, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends the adoption of the first resolve of this resolution.

Your committee is in sympathy with the principle stated in the second resolve, but calls attention to the fact that the Public Contracts Act requires the Secre-

tary of Labor to make his determination of the prevailing minimum wage solely on the basis of factual findings allowing him no discretion to adjust wages beyond such findings. We, therefore, ask that the officers of the Federation give consideration to the possibility and appropriateness of legislative proposals which would make it possible to reflect productivity gains in wage standards on public contracts. Your committee asks the adoption of this recommendation in lieu of the second resolve.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

JURISDICTIONAL DISPUTES BETWEEN A.F. of L. UNIONS

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 40, First Day's Proceedings)

The Introducers of this resolution have requested the privilege of deleting the second resolve and your committee recommends the request be granted and that the resolution in the amended form be approved.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

COST OF LIVING

Resolution No. 54—By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 41, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with the intent of this resolution to secure the adoption of strong and effective anti-inflation measures. The responsibility for failure to maintain a vigorous anti-inflation program rests squarely on the reactionary forces in Congress who gutted the Defense Production Act with amendments providing for outright exemptions and special privileges for special business, trade and real estate interests while retaining tight controls over the wages of workers. Your committee therefore recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor take all possible steps to obtain the enactment of a just and strong stabilization program.

Your committee recommends the adoptions of these comments and recommendations in lieu of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

CIVILIAN AGENCIES TO PLACE DEFENSE ORDERS WITH UNION SHOPS

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(Page 42, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with the intent of this resolution. The problems set forth in this resolution confront our affiliates in many industries. We reiterate our request, made in connection with Resolution No. 47, that the officers of the Federation continue their efforts to establish civilian responsibility, with labor participation, in all defense procurement and to maintain fair labor standards on all defense production and take all other necessary and appropriate action to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

Your committee recommends the approval of these comments and recommendations in lieu of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 42, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is strongly in sympathy with the objectives of this resolution. In reporting on this subject, the Executive Council points out that the Department of Labor's administration of the law has been crippled by drastic and unreasonable cuts in appropriations. We ask that the officers of the American Federation of Labor call upon Congress to appropriate the funds needed by the Department of Labor for effective administration of this program and thus enable it to safeguard the maintenance of minimum labor standards by government contractors as required by the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. We ask, in addition, that the urgent need for administrative leadership in the establishment and vigilant enforcement of these standards be brought to the attention of the Secretary of Labor. With these further recommendations, your Committee recommends the adoption of the portion of the Execu-

tive Council's Report dealing with this subject in lieu of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

WALSH-HEALEY

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 43, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in agreement with the purposes of this resolution. We ask that the office of the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor be requested to make an analysis of the weakening 1952 amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act as called for in the resolution and that in the light of such analysis, necessary legislative proposals be formulated to reinforce the statute. We ask also, that, in the meantime, the officers of the Federation assist our affiliates in meeting the problems of administrative procedure created by the 1952 amendment. With these recommendations your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzi, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 44, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

NARCOTIC DRUG ACT

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

(Page 44, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE TO LATE SENATOR BRIEN McMAHON

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

(Page 53, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends approval of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PARTITION OF IRELAND

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

(Page 53, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY COVERAGE OF MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

(Page 53, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 54, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 54, First Day's Proceedings)

Action contrary to this resolution was taken by the A. F. of L. Convention a year ago. No further action is needed.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 54, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee is in accord with the principles involved and recommends that the resolution be referred to the Legislative Committee.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FLOOD CONTROL AND RECLAMATION

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Page 55, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTEST PROPOSED DEPART- MENT OF JUSTICE RULING ON MOTION PICTURES

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 55, First Day's Proceedings)
(Withdrawn)

The sponsor of No. 90 requested the withdrawal of this resolution and substituted the following:

WHEREAS, The making, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures has long provided and do now provide employment for many thousands of persons, and have been for many years and now are the principal means of entertainment for many millions throughout the United States of America, and

WHEREAS, The motion picture theater in every community of the United States

brings direct benefit to every transportation agency, every tire and gasoline station, every restaurant, every grocery store, every drug store, every novelty shop, every news stand, every shoe shop, department store, dry goods store and garment shop and is particularly important to real estate values, and

WHEREAS, Motion pictures have been and now are a channel of communication, historically noted for promoting the democratic way of life throughout the world and acquainting the world with American progress, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of Justice has filed Federal court action which seeks to force the motion picture industry to allow the free showing on television of multi-million dollar theatrical motion pictures in direct competition with the theater box offices and if this illogical and arbitrary result should ensue, a great many of the 22,000 American motion picture theaters would be forced to close, with the result that film producers then would not have enough monetary returns to finance the making of quality theatrical pictures in which hundreds and sometimes thousands of American workmen are employed, and

WHEREAS, This capricious and unreasonable court suit by the Department of Justice jeopardizes the livelihood of many of the 250,000 workers in the film industry, who for the most part are organized in A. F. of L. unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemns the Department of Justice action against the motion picture industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention instruct the A. F. of L. Executive Council to investigate all factors in the bringing of this unfair suit which jeopardizes the jobs of thousands of A. F. of L. members, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all A. F. of L. publications and news outlets be requested to give the widest possible publicity to this resolution.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the substitute resolution.

VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: We will now delay the further report of the committee. Vice President Tobin has asked to make a privileged motion, and I therefore recognize him at this time.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

VICE PRESIDENT TOBIN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I offer a motion that a special order of business for the election

of officers of the Federation for the ensuing term be set for 11:00 o'clock tomorrow, Tuesday. My reason for making the motion is that a great many delegates are trying to make arrangements to leave town. It is possible that if we keep progressing we may be able to adjourn tomorrow evening. There is nothing definite about that, but I offer that as a motion for a special order of business.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

STRENGTHENING ECONOMIC CONTROLS

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 55, First Day's Proceedings)

This subject having been dealt with in connection with our comments and report, on the report of the Executive Council, no further action is required on this subject, and we so recommend.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FOREIGN PRODUCTION OF MOTION PICTURES BY AMERICAN PRODUCERS

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 56, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the approval of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 56, First Day's Proceedings)

Action was taken by the A. F. of L. Convention on the Central Arizona Proj-

ect a year ago. Therefore no action on this resolution is needed.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPPORT CANDIDATES FAVORING REPEAL OF TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 94—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace C. Reilly, International Typographical Union.

(Page 56, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee is in accord with the principles contained in the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the special Committee on the Taft-Hartley Law.

... A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Typographical Union: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I think a word of explanation is needed with regard to Resolution No. 94. The resolution is in complete accord and identical in principle with previous actions taken by the convention of the American Federation of Labor. This convention is already on record as asking for repeal and restoration of the Wagner Act. This resolution was put in to encourage all of those who may have contact with candidates for the Congress of the United States to get the candidates on record as to whether or not they are for the program outlined by the American Federation of Labor, for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley amendments to the Labor-Management Relations Act and the restoration of the clauses taken out. That is what we mean when we say repeal the Taft-Hartley law. We mean that the Taft-Hartley amendments to the Labor-Management Relations Act should be repealed and, of course, some others put in.

While this was before the committee for discussion it was pointed out that this resolution calls for a restoration of the particular portions of the Act which have been repealed by the Taft-Hartley amendments. It was also pointed out that the Executive Council had appointed a committee subsequent to its Miami session for the consideration of other amendments

to the law, other than those that had been proposed in San Francisco and approved for the assistance of the Building Trades. The complete repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the restoration of all Wagner Act proposals was therefore compromised by the approval of the amendment for the Building Trades.

The Allied Printing Trades Association, which is the equivalent of a department of this Federation, at its convention and through correspondence adopted a group of four changes to the Taft-Hartley law which were considered to be the minimum needed for the successful continuation of the printing trades. It was not considered that the four amendments were complete for the needs of all unions, but it would do for the printing trades and was so indicated. These four amendments were presented to the Executive Council meeting in Miami, and while no official approval was made, we were told that the Federation would in no sense interfere with our promotion of those four amendments that would assist materially the printing trades and other craft unions of a similar kind. Therefore, the Allied Printing Trades Association and the five unions represented in that Association have been promoting the amendment of four sections to the Taft-Hartley law. The amendments were distributed in this hall, as was a brief that had been presented to the labor committees of both the Senate and the House. Unfortunately, somebody was energetic and cleaned off all of the tables at noontime of that particular day, and it is quite likely that very few delegates have pamphlets and the report that was distributed on behalf of the Allied Printing Trades unions.

It is, therefore, most interesting that the committee that was appointed by the Executive Council at its Miami meeting, and composed of members of the Executive Council was directed to be enlarged during the sessions of this convention. Some twelve or fourteen or more representatives of various unions have been appointed on that committee for the purpose of getting all of the needed amendments to the Act as may be proposed by the various unions represented and, of course, any who are not represented on that committee.

The purpose of the enlarged committee, is to draft such a law as the American Federation of Labor would offer as a substitute for the present Taft-Hartley law. Obviously a committee of that kind will be responsible to the Executive Council of this Federation, and as we have learned in the past, the activities of such a committee will be rather difficult and will require time.

I want to point out that the amendment on behalf of the Building Trades is being pursued, and I am advised will continue to be pursued while this committee is working.

That also will be the position of the printing trades. In other words, we will continue to popularize and spread information concerning these four minimum amendments while the committee is working. Of course, we will be fully prepared to support the entire report and action of that committee when it is completed.

We will not waste time or lose time in the interim, but will be as helpful as possible. I therefore make that statement to clarify the matter and to point out that the Resolutions Committee was in favor of the intent and purpose of Resolution No. 94, and the only reason it has reported as it has is because there is a specific and direct method proposed there for the amendment of the Taft-Hartley law which may not be the action of the committee as appointed. In the meantime those unions that have suffered under the Taft-Hartley decisions should supply to that committee, through Secretary Meany, all of the information that they have concerning the ways in which their unions have been hurt so that the committee can cover in its proposals to the Congress all of those things that need to be done and we will then have case proof of the sufferings that the unions have endured while this law has been on the books.

It will be necessary to have the very specific facts affecting each union, because, as you well remember, during the period in which the Taft-Hartley law was considered by the Congress they constantly brought out one point after another, one specific instance of labor trouble that they claimed was unconscionable and needed

to be stopped. It was very effective before the Committees of Congress. It was very effective because there was a concrete problem for which they demanded concrete solution. It is therefore most necessary that all of the unions that have been adversely affected send to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor the specific case, the specific experience and the kind of punishment they endured and why. In that way this committee, I am sure, can draft up a law and have the various facts before Congress to prove the thing that we are alleging. I thank you.

. . . The motion to adopt the report of the committee carried.

AFL DEPARTMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 57, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the A. F. of L. for study and such action as warranted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONVENTION HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 57, First Day's Proceedings)

The Executive Council and the A. F. of L. Convention is carrying out or fulfilling this requirement. No further action is needed.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REPEAL AMUSEMENT TAX

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 57, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee is in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Committee on taxation.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ABOLISH LUXURY TAX ON NECESSITIES

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 58, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Tax Committee.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CIVIL DEFENSE

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Glenn Thom, Michael F. Smith, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 58, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BENEFITS FOR VETERANS OF KOREAN CAMPAIGN

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael F. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 58, First Day's Proceedings)

Congress has already acted on this question so no convention action is necessary.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COST OF LIVING

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson,

son, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 59, First Day's Proceedings)

This subject has been dealt with in the Executive Council's Report. No action required.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 59, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee is in sympathy with the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Officers of the A. F. of L.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ARMED SERVICE PERSONNEL ENTERING PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 59, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HEALTH PROTECTION SERVICES

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 60, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ILO SUPPORT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M.

Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 60, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INCLUSION OF TEACHERS UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 60, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EQUAL ORGANIZATIONAL RIGHTS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 61, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FIRE FIGHTERS REQUEST ASSISTANCE TO REMAIN UNDER PRESENT PENSION PLANS

Resolution No. 111—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael F. Smith, Glen Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 62, First Day's Proceedings)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ESTABLISHMENT OF TRAINING FACILITIES FOR UNION MEMBERS IN INTERNATIONAL FIELD

Resolution No. 112—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 63, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor for study and such action as needed.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

GOLD STANDARD

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 63, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF AMERICA, INC., UNITED DEFENSE FUND, INC. UNITED COMMUNITY DEFENSE SERVICES

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfrid Connell, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

(Page 347, Second Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BOYS' TOWN OF ITALY

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfrid Connell, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

(Page 348, Second Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

C.A.R.E. APPEAL

Resolution No. 131 — By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll, Wilfrid Connell, International Photo-Engravers' Union.

(Page 348, Second Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATION TO CURB SUBSIDIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION BY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, TAX AND OTHER SPECIAL FAVOR LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 132 — By Delegates Alexander McKeown, William Leader, Alfred Hoffman, Fred Held, American Federation of Hosiery Workers; Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, R. Alvin Albarrino, George Bucher, Tony Remshard, Upholsterers' International Union of America; Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 348, Second Day's Proceedings)

By reason of acting on Resolution No. 45, no action is necessary on No. 132, which deals with a similar subject.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUGAR CANE WORKERS IN LOUISIANA

Resolution No. 133 — By Delegate E. J. Bourg, Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

(Page 349, Second Day's Proceedings)

It is a matter of regret that sugar cane workers are not organized nor covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: This completes the partial report of your Committee on Resolutions. We still have four subjects referred to us from the Executive Council's Report and about five more resolutions, which will be reported upon in the morning.

The Committee on Resolutions will please meet in Parlor C at 9:00 o'clock tomorrow morning to consider the balance of its report.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Secretary Meany is recognized.

COMMUNICATIONS

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to announce the receipt of the following messages, which will appear in today's proceedings.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF FREE JOURNALISTS

AMERICAN REGIONAL UNION

49 WEST 57TH STREET,

NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

September 15, 1952

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Commodore
West 42nd Street and Lexington Ave.
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Green:

On behalf of our Federation I would very much like to convey our best wishes for the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We particularly appreciate the action conducted by the American Federation of Labor against forced labor camps in Russia in which many of our members have themselves been inmates and also your continued action against suppression of the freedom of workers in all countries now under Communist yoke.

Our Federation wishes you success in all your future activities.

Sincerely yours,
Richard E. Mossin
Executive Secretary

Western Union

Sept. 17, 1952

New York, N. Y.
William Green, Pres.
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Commodore

Fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates assembled in conven-

tion. We are confident that your deliberations will be guided by your traditional dedication to the improvement of living and working standards throughout the world and to the championing of justice, democracy and freedom everywhere. We are particularly cognizant and grateful for the understanding and support which the AFL has extended to the Histadrut. Our best wishes for your continued unity of purpose, program and practise.

General Executive Committee
Farband Labor Zionist Order
Meyer L. Brown, President
Louis Segal, General Secretary

NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGIKAI
THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF TRADE
UNIONS OF JAPAN

September 9, 1952

Mr. William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
A. F. of L. Building
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Brother:

We hereby send our fraternal greetings to the historic convention of the American Federation of Labor and our best wishes to all your delegates.

The world today sees two internationally significant elections going on. One is the Presidential election in the U. S. and the other is the general election in Japan. We firmly believe that the American people will prove their collective wisdom in November by electing a President who will be equal to the task of conducting state affairs in a truly democratic manner and of promoting labor's welfare. Your 71st Annual Convention opening at this time in New York City is therefore of real significance and our hopes go to your sincere deliberations at the present Conclave for the good of labor.

Turning to the case of Japan, the Yoshida Cabinet recently dissolved the Lower House in a most undemocratic manner after having been harassed by the internal feud of the Government Party. Indeed, the past four years have seen the Yoshida Government working to crush the wishes and infringe upon the rights of the Japanese working people, not one of its measures going without bringing adverse effects upon workers' livelihood. Especially the Government actions since last year have served only to jeopardize Japan's independence and world peace and to undermine democracy for which Japan's labor has resolutely fought for seven years after the end of the war. Vivid in our memory is the recent passage of the Subversive Activities Prevention Law which the majority

strength in the Diet forced through overriding our protest strongly voiced through the labor strikes which were staged a few months ago under vigorous support coming from the general citizenry and intelligentsia.

These bitter experiences lead us to think that peace and independence as well as the higher standards of living of the workers are impossible to attain until the present government is overthrown and that the hardest blow should therefore be given them in the forthcoming election.

Indeed, the central theme of the coming election is, "PEACE OR WAR?" Whether our peace-dedicated Constitution could survive or not depends on the results of the election. Our people are going to make a decision between the two—should they oppose to rearmament and uphold the war-renouncing Constitution or should they give up the Constitution and accept rearmament both in name and fact?

Thus a heavy duty rests on us workers as the nuclear force of bolstering democracy. In the belief that the over eight million strong AFL wants to see true democracy flourish here in Japan, we are determined to defeat reactionary forces in favor of democratic force.

We are sure that this firm determination on our part will be responded by your Convention coming out with a formula for paving the way for a stronger trade union movement.

Hail to the 71st AFL National Convention!

(s) M. Takano
Minoru Takomo, General Secretary,
General Council of Trade Unions
of Japan (Sohyo)

Secretary Meany submitted the following:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Issuance of Charter to International Union of Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada.

The Executive Council responded favorably to an application for an international charter of affiliation which was submitted by the representatives of the Doll and Toy Workers. On September 8, 1952, a charter was issued to this organization under the title of the International Union of Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada. Said charter was issued with the understanding that only those employed as doll and toy workers come under the jurisdiction of this newly chartered organization, and that the officers of the International Union of Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada would recognize and respect

the jurisdiction granted all other national and international unions by the American Federation of Labor.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: The supplemental report of the Executive Council will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

We are now ready to receive the report of the Committee on Industrial Relations, and I will present to you the Chairman of that committee, Brother Joseph McCurdy.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MCCURDY: Mr. Chairman, there were no resolutions referred to the Committee on Industrial Relations by this convention. However, the matter of industrial relations is so important that the committee decided to give its observations to this convention.

I will now ask Secretary Warfel, of the Special Delivery Messengers, to read the report.

Committee Secretary Warfel submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Industrial Relations has given a lot of thought and study to the broad, intricate field of industrial relations of our beloved country, and submit as our report the following declaration which sums up the views and opinions of the Committee.

1. We believe that among the most potential weapons possessed by the United States of America are the spiritual and cultural weapons—the American way of life, the American family, the American home, the American schools, American democracy, our free institutions and the entire fabric of our civilization. Yes, that among our most precious possessions and strongest weapons is the industrial power of America to out-produce and out-manufacture the totalitarian and slave labor countries.
2. We believe that the greatest strength of our industrial structure is not our modern machinery of production, but the free working men of our country in general, and the trade unionists, in particular.
3. We believe that the great union family of the American Federation of Labor is the backbone of our normal, most prosperous and most advanced

production in the world, and that the best industrial relations are the union-management relationships in industry.

4. We believe that the American Federation of Labor, in its crusade against communism and totalitarianism of all shades and colors, assures the greatest industrial machine in the world—namely, American industry—to continue to produce enough to fill the demands of the 155 million people of our country; to keep our people in decency and comfort; to produce enough of defense weapons to make us secure against Red imperialism—and yet, produce enough to help other free people the world over.
5. We hail labor's gains during the period of the New Deal and the Fair Deal, and urge strongly upon the incoming Administration to put into force and effect a new minimum wage and hour law which will give due consideration to the rise in the cost of living since the time of the passing of the last minimum wage and hour law; and also give due consideration to the increase in production which has taken place during the last decade due to improved machinery and methods of production as well as the exertion of workers at machine and bench.
6. We condemn inflation which necessitates continued struggle of the trade unions to catch up with the rise in the cost of living. We are on record as trade unionists representing the consuming public of modest means—hence, our interest to keep prices down.
We assert, in no uncertain manner, *that the enormous rise in the cost of living is not due to the wage increases obtained by trade unions at any time—particularly since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea.*
We denounce the action of reactionaries to *maintain wage controls while lifting the curbs on price and rent controls.* We hereby draw to the attention of all labor and the consuming public of America that reactionaries in the House of Congress have guaranteed the profits to employers and have left labor without similar guarantees and protection.
7. We hail all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to maintain and retain friendly and amicable relations as provided in union contracts between employers and workers, and we hope that the number of union shops and union contracts will increase to the benefit of good industrial relations—the strongest anti-communist weapon of American labor.
8. We condemn the National Association of Manufacturers and the Na-

tional Chamber of Commerce for their continued fight against union labor, and for their continuous championing of the Taft-Hartley Act, which contains all elements of a conspiracy against union labor to undermine the good relationships between management and labor and thus play into the hands of the enemies of the United States at home and abroad.

9. We are cognizant of the fact that many millions of workers are still without union protection, and we hope that the great union family of the American Federation of Labor—more than 8 million strong—will redouble its efforts to organize the unorganized, and unionize the non-unionized in the interest of even better union-management industrial relations.
10. We hereby commend the high officers of the American Federation of Labor—President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, and its entire Executive Council for their consistent and continuous efforts to strengthen the ties of friendship between labor in the United States and the free world, so that the workers of all other countries may enjoy union-management industrial relations which will strengthen their economy—increase their production—make for a higher standard of living which will, in turn, make for a merry free world and thus make for the strongest appeal to slave labor to free themselves of the chains of oppression.

Fraternally submitted,

Joseph P. McCurdy, Chairman

George L. Warfel, Secretary

Walter M. Matthews

John J. O'Rourke

David B. Roche

Ossip Walinsky

James McNabb

James M. Kennedy

R. Freccia

John W. Bailey

Robert A. McCann

Joseph F. Boyen

Frank P. Converse

James C. Stocker

Richard W. Williams

Merlin Gerkin

H. R. Flegal

Mell Farrell

Charles Sullivan

A. J. Eberhardy

Matthew Dushane

Edward W. Kaiser

Robert Lynch

Edward C. Doll

Committee on Industrial Relations

Mr. President: I move adoption of the committee's report.

Committee Secretary Warfel moved the adoption of the committee's report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: On behalf of the convention I want to express my appreciation to the committee for its work, and the committee stands herewith discharged.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Shorter Work Day—Lee W. Minton.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MINTON: The Committee on Shorter Work Day, is prepared to report. As the name implies we will deliver a short report and it will be given to you by the President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, Brother Marciante.

Committee Secretary Marciante submitted the following report:

Once again our ever expanding economy affects the work of your Committee. Your Committee has had no resolutions presented to it for formal action. The lack of resolutions does not, however, indicate that the Executive Council, the Committee and the staff are not keeping abreast of the changing economic picture. Trends which might indicate a needed change are constantly being watched.

Your Committee has carefully reviewed the Executive Council's Report and finds due consideration has been given your Committee's recommendations made last year.

The problem of shorter hours, whether by day or by week, involves more than merely a desire to seek longer periods of rest. The American Federation of Labor has long and successfully championed the inherent right of American workmen to participate in leisure hours. This success has proven conclusively that shorter hours are a "boom" to increased productivity. American labor should of necessity share more completely in the results of increasing the output of consumer goods. Trade unions, through collective bargaining, should take immediate cognizance of this most important matter. Increases in unit production reflect themselves in decreased cost thereby enabling reduction in hours of work and subsequent higher living standards.

Your Committee compliments the American Federation of Labor for the work

accomplished by the National Labor-Management Committee. This Committee was able to establish protection for the American workman by guaranteeing the maintenance of "state and Federal standards regarding hours of work and overtime pay during the defense program".

We wish to particularly give recognition to that Section of the Executive Council's Report found on page 119, dealing with "Hazards of Unemployment". The trend of unemployment in certain areas, could if expanded upon, mean the need of legislation reducing hours of work both daily and weekly.

The growing work force of female workers also poses a question that must soon be reckoned with. The Executive Council has made certain recommendations covering female employment that adequately protects women workers.

In conclusion your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue to carefully watch this entire problem of "hours of work" so that American labor can be prepared to reduce hours without loss of earnings when necessity demands.

Lee W. Minton, Chairman
 Louis P. Marciante, Secretary
 J. L. Duffin
 Frank Owens
 John Pelkofer
 Sal B. Hoffmann
 Stanley Rounds
 Elmer P. Meinz
 T. J. Lloyd
 George W. Hall
 Dennis J. Oates
 C. E. Long
 John W. Austin
 Frank C. Shea
 Jesse V. Horton
 Walter A. Curran
 George A. Dreger
 James Tracy
 Ross Martin
 Lincoln B. Snedden
 Milton P. Webster
 Harry J. Hagen
 Clarence N. Sayen
 William B. Dunne
 Committee on Shorter Work Day

... On motion of Committee Secretary Marciante, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

VICE PRESIDENT DUBINSKY: My term of office as chairman of this convention has expired. I want to express a word of appreciation for the honor given

me by President Green for permitting me to preside at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. President Green will continue as the President of this convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: David showed that he has learned lots of lessons through experience, for he has presided with tact and ability and has done a splendid job.

Now the Chair will call upon Vice President Herman Winter to preside while some of the other committees render their reports.

(Vice President Winter in the Chair)

VICE PRESIDENT WINTER: The Chair recognizes Delegate George P. Delaney, International Representative, who will read his report to you.

MR. GEORGE P. DELANEY
 (International Representative, American Federation of Labor)

President Green, officers and delegates: At our last convention I submitted to you a report dealing with certain trends and events which, in my opinion, presented a serious threat to the integrity of the International Labor Organization.

I regret to say that this subject is still a timely one. At this time, therefore, I propose to continue in the vein of that report, to bring it up to date, and to underscore again its significance to the trade union members of America.

In my address to the 35th International Labor Conference in Geneva, this past June, I gave an account of the efforts now underway in this country to achieve the defeat of effective American participation in the work of that body. I placed before the Conference the facts concerning the part, in those efforts, of certain individuals attached to the American employer delegation.

And, to that delegation, I submitted a simple and reasonable request for enlightenment. I asked the American employer group to tell us which of its faces was the real one, and which the false—the pious face it takes to these Conferences abroad, or the one it presents at home in seeking, through deception and abuse, the repudiation of the ILO.

I asked that group to reconcile, if it could, its membership, its statements, and even its votes, within the ILO, with its part in the campaign to neutralize that Organization as an ally of progress in a backward world. There has not, as yet, been an answer.

My comments were described, in some press accounts, as the first open clash between American labor and employer delegations to a body which had always,

in the past, been held up as the prime example of successful tripartite cooperation on an international scale. Some well-meaning but apprehensive souls—who would rather preserve appearances than face facts—expressed dismay at those statements, and fear over their possible effects upon the future success of this tripartite machinery.

In fact, efforts were made to persuade me to abandon, or to water down, the substance of my remarks—in favor of more sweetness and less light, so as to "avoid friction".

This seemed to me a very poor reason to gloss over a subject so badly in need of ventilation. The purpose of the Conference, as I saw it, was not to exchange compliments, but to make progress—and progress is often impossible without some degree of friction.

Besides, it was not in my power to "avoid friction", even if I cared to do so. A much more dangerous kind of friction was already present, wearing away at the vitals of tripartite cooperation in that body. It was the more dangerous because it was *not* exposed to view.

It was not of our creation nor under our control. It stemmed from the double-dealing efforts of certain employer representatives to throw sand in the gears of this tripartite machinery.

My sole purpose was to tear away the veil of silence hiding the fact of this corrosive process, and to point out its source, so as to make possible its correction.

My statement was not, therefore, the first break in labor-management-public cooperation within the ILO. It was the first frank recognition of the fact that the quality of that cooperation has for a long time left much to be desired.

I still have hopes that this machinery can be revitalized. In order to build an effective degree of cooperation, it is necessary first to dissipate the false illusion that full cooperation already exists.

I believe that many involved in this matter are coming to realize that a pretense of cooperation is not an adequate substitute for the real thing.

Let me say, however, that in this effort to inject a new vigor into the role of American participation in the International Labor Organization, I have no great hopes of assistance from employer quarters, through any sudden reversal of form on their part. It is quite apparent that behind the American employer group lie forces hostile to the basic aims of the ILO, and dedicated to the frustration of those aims.

This becomes ever more apparent, day by day, as employer-inspired attacks upon the ILO spread into new and broader channels. One of the more striking episodes occurred a few months ago, in the course of hearings on Senate Joint Reso-

lution No. 130, before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

This Resolution, as you may know, was introduced by Senator Bricker of Ohio. You may recall that last year I mentioned that an irresponsible and unfounded attack on the ILO by a member of the employer delegation had been picked up by Bricker and inserted in the Congressional Record.

Now, with Joint Resolution No. 130, Bricker's role in this strategy has moved up from the back to the front of the Congressional Record, and on to the floor of Congress. But the quality of his material has not improved in the process.

Joint Resolution No. 130 proposes an amendment to the United States Constitution, designed to hamstring the power of the Federal government to enter into treaties with foreign nations. It would go far to make it impossible for other nations to place any faith or credence in our intentions, or to have any assurance that this country would live up to its agreements.

Since ILO Conventions have the status of draft treaties, the adoption of this amendment would obviously place great obstacles in the way of effective American participation in that Organization. I also understand that this Resolution is so phrased that had it been in effect over the course of our past history, it would have prohibited the United States from signing the charter of the United Nations. It would have made impossible the annexation of Texas and Hawaii. It would even have prohibited the treaty which brought our Revolutionary War to a close.

It is at least comforting to know that the good Senator does not propose to apply this amendment retroactively. This would be carrying isolationism and reaction too far, even for one who has frequently shown a willingness to carry those qualities just as far as they could go.

The gist of Bricker's argument is the highly novel one that the founding fathers of this Republic, through the treaty clause, planted within the Constitution the seeds of its own destruction. The treaty power, according to his claim, can be used to "socialize" this country and to overthrow our free institutions.

It is interesting to note that the men who originally framed the Constitution considered just such a proposition as that advanced by Bricker, and rejected it by a vote of 8 to 1. By implication, at least, this would appear to make the framers of the American Constitution, in Bricker's view, a bunch of subversive un-American characters, bent upon socialism.

Knowing some of the background leading up to this point, it is not too difficult to trace the source of most of the inspiration behind this brainstorm of Senator Bricker's. Since storms of this type do not take place in a vacuum, it is reasonable to assume that someone else is supplying the brains.

It is clear that much of the momentum for the proposed amendment stems from the phoney propaganda—spread about by members of the employer delegation to the ILO—that ILO Conventions might usurp the legislative powers of Congress and enable the Federal government to encroach upon the powers of the State.

Evidence of this can be found in the testimony of Mr. William McGrath in support of the Resolution, before the subcommittee considering that matter. McGrath, a non-union manufacturer from Bricker's home state, has for a number of years been attached to the employers' delegation to the Annual Conferences of the ILO. He seems to be the chosen hatchet-man for that group, since most of the more reckless diatribes against the ILO have been his.

In this testimony, McGrath charged, among other things, that "the ILO has gone far beyond the field of labor and is seeking to set itself up as a form of international legislature to formulate uniform domestic socialistic laws which it hopes, by the vehicle of treaty ratification, can eventually be imposed upon most of the countries of the world." As examples of these "socialistic laws," McGrath listed eighteen Conventions which had been adopted by the ILO.

What he conveniently neglected to mention was the fact that American employer delegates had voted in favor of twelve out of these eighteen Conventions which McGrath, when it serves his purpose to do so, professes to regard as "socialistic." Since that is a very obscene word in employer circles, one would expect that others in his delegation would take offense at this description and this cynical repudiation of their handiwork. It is, I think, an indication of the hypocrisy of the employer position that—to my knowledge—none have as yet shown anything but approval of his irresponsible remarks.

The fallacies involved in the arguments advanced by McGrath, Bricker and company are so obvious and transparent as to call into question either their I.Q.'s or their integrity. The fact is that no Convention can be imposed by the ILO upon any country that does not wish to receive it and to apply the standards it provides.

A Convention has no binding effect upon any country unless it ratifies it, and no country is obligated to ratify. The United States, in fact, has ratified only a very small proportion of the many Conventions adopted by the ILO during its existence.

Furthermore, no Convention can override the legitimate powers of the several States of the Union. The Constitution of the ILO makes special provision for nations having a Federal-State division of powers. Under these provisions, Conventions dealing with matters which such a country determines to be appropriate for state rather than federal action are not even considered for ratification by the Federal government. This determination is made by the country concerned, not by the ILO.

Last June, Bricker followed up his campaign with another attack, aimed directly and specifically at the ILO. This took the form of Concurrent Resolution No. 83, calling upon the American government delegation to the ILO to oppose the adoption of a Convention on minimum standards for social security, then being considered.

Fortunately, this move did not take hold. The Convention was adopted by considerably more than a two-thirds majority, during the 35th Session. This episode gives a good example, however, of the utter nonsense comprising the basis of these attacks.

The means by which this Convention is to be implemented are up to the individual nations. They are entirely compatible with the American system, and with our social security measures as they now exist. Full recognition is given to both State and private social insurance programs, as well as Federal programs. A member of the ILO wishing to ratify the Convention may do so by endorsing only three of the nine branches of social security covered by it.

The defeat of this Convention would not have saved this country from "socialism", for it involved no threat of socialism. It would have served only to deny the underprivileged peoples of the world, lacking the benefits which we already enjoy of a means of elevating their standards to a basic minimum level of human decency.

ILO Conventions have never exercised any significant direct effect, upon conditions which prevail in this country. Our standards, by and large, are well above the levels provided in those Conventions, and we are free, like every other nation, to choose the methods of implementation which are most compatible with our own social and governmental system.

The work of the ILO has, however, done much to improve the standards and conditions of the people of many other nations of the world—and of workers in foreign industries which frequently come into direct competition with our own.

Employers in American industry have an important stake in the success of the work of the ILO. If their foreign competitors are able to maintain standards of wages and working conditions far below their own, they suffer an unfair handicap in world trade—the kind of handicap that has, in the past, led them to the negative devices of high tariffs and trade restrictions, to the detriment of world commerce, prosperity and peace.

The efforts of the ILO to establish minimum world standards in those matters affecting human life and labor, therefore, offer constructive benefits and positive protections not only to foreign workers, but to American employers as well.

While I would not presume to advise the employing interests of America as to whom they should select to represent them in the deliberations of the ILO, I would suggest this: that no proper and legitimate American interests are being

served by the negative policies currently pursued by members of the present employer delegation.

What, then, is the real motive behind those policies? Once we penetrate the smokescreen of scarewords and pious phrases about "free enterprise", the "American way", and so on, and analyze the make-up of the employer delegation, the answer becomes apparent.

The members of the employer group are not representatives of the majority of American employers. They are not appointed to that post in order to represent the interests of the majority of American employers. They represent a very select and narrow group.

The N.A.M. and the Chamber of Commerce have, in recent years, consistently designated for these assignments representatives of two distinct types; (a) non-union employers; and (b) employers with large foreign holdings, employing large numbers of foreign workers.

The interests of this group do not lie in the establishment of fair international standards, so as to enable fair American employers better to maintain their economic positions. They lie rather in the obstruction of any action by other countries which might require them to give a greater degree of consideration to the needs of the nationals of those countries whom they employ.

They seek to maintain their power to lay down the rules arbitrarily, by long distance from the New York office, untroubled by the nuisance of local statutes, of the nations in which they operate. They seek to resist any action which might disturb the majestic tranquility of their operations in those lands by giving the workers there a greater voice in the determination of the conditions of their labor.

Further evidence in support of these conclusions recently appeared, in the pages of a business journal of wide influence, the *Harvard Business Review*, in the form of an article by an executive of the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, which has extensive operations and connections abroad.

This article consisted generally of an extended diatribe against the ILO, conveniently timed to give added impetus to the Bricker proposition, and further to rabble-rouse the ranks of American businessmen. Coupled always, of course, with pious statements of devotion to the high ideals of the ILO, it voiced horror and dismay at the efforts of that organization to find some practical means of bringing about the realization of some small part of those ideals.

The substance of this article does not merit extended discussion at this time. It is mostly a rehash of the same untruths, half-truths and distortions which have already been set in motion by members of the employer delegation, plus a few of the author's own invention.

What is, perhaps, important is the fact that this article, while retaining much the

same editorial quality and slant, elevates this propaganda drive from the level of the McCormick-type press to the pages of a much more respectable medium—thereby making claims upon the credulity of many who might not otherwise have been affected.

A further significance lies in the affiliation of the author, shedding light—as I believe it does—upon some of the forces behind the campaign against the ILO and the instrument of its Conventions. One objective of the campaign is neatly summed up in the article, as follows: "The employer cannot really win unless he can eliminate the technique of the convention . . ."

In view of the author's corporate connections, the following passage in his article also has a certain ironic interest:

The concept of the company as a self-contained little empire, the concept of cartels as a technique for business stabilization, the preference for a large profit on a limited production, and other such concepts make the European idea of business a thing far different from the aims of free enterprise, and high production which underlie the United States idea of business . . .

Thus, one of the great bars to unity within the ILO is the fact that capitalism in the United States is a much different thing from that in Europe. Even the businessmen of Europe, steeped in traditions of monopoly and cartels as they are, cannot appreciate free enterprise.

This fine statement would have a much more convincing ring had not the Federal Trade Commission been so inconsiderate as to release a report on the international petroleum cartel, shortly thereafter.

If this report is to be believed, the author's own company sheds its high regard for "free enterprise" when it goes abroad and chooses, then, to do as the Romans do. It specifically names that company as a member in good standing of the petroleum cartel, up to its corporate neck in the same kind of restrictive, monopolistic practices so virtuously condemned in this article.

The contradictions involved in this bit of pious hypocrisy could be explored indefinitely. But, for our purposes, it is enough to note that the adversaries of the ILO apparently believe in spreading the gospel of free enterprise only where it can be used against efforts to elevate the conditions of men—but not where it might stand in the way of their own efforts to elevate the price of their products.

What is the significance of all this to the trade union members of America? We stand to gain no direct or immediate benefit from the standards determined by the International Labor Organization—our own standards, achieved through collective bargaining and otherwise, are already generally higher.

But those standards do not exist in a vacuum, insulated from external forces and

pressures. How can we be sure of our ability to maintain them, in time of economic stress, in the face of competition, from abroad, of products turned out by sweated labor, under sub-human conditions of work?

Can we continue to gain improved wages and working conditions from American employers, if their foreign competitors lag farther and farther behind in those respects? Do our members, as good trade unionists, want to work on imported commodities produced under unfair, sub-standard conditions, any more than they would want to work on sweatshop goods produced in this country?

Furthermore, we have a broader interest in this undertaking. We have an interest in the promotion of those higher levels of employment and prosperity which can only come with expanding world markets for our own products. And expanding world markets can only come with steady and consistent improvements in the conditions of workers in other lands.

We have a vital interest in the preservation of world peace, and world freedom. Yet we know that neither peace nor freedom can be established on a foundation of world poverty and unrest.

These attacks upon the International Labor Organization are not, therefore, remote from our own trade union interests. They are, in the final analysis, directed equally against your standards, your principles, and your ideals as trade unionists and as Americans. It is up to you to help to protect those standards and ideals now—by taking a new and more active interest in the ILO, and by giving your full support to the work of that Organization.

CHAIRMAN WINTER: I want to thank Brother Delaney for the splendid report he has just delivered to the convention. It was very instructive and informative, and, Brother Delaney, I am sure the delegates all appreciate it very highly.

PUERTO RICAN FLAG PRESENTATION

CHAIRMAN WINTER: We have with us now Brother Mareno and Brother Martinez, delegates to this convention from Puerto Rico. They are a part of the International Longshoremen's organization and a part of President Ryan's delegation.

They desire at this time to present a flag of the new Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to the American Federation of Labor. I take pleasure at this time in calling upon Delegate Joseph Ryan.

DELEGATE RYAN, Longshoremen: President Green, Secretary Meany and

fellow delegates: It is my privilege and pleasure to take up a few moments at this time to call your attention to the fact that while the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its recent session revoked the charter of what we call the Puerto Rican Federation there, it is now in process of being re-organized, and I know they are going to be very successful.

In the interim we didn't want this convention to pass without the Longshoremen, who are very strongly organized there and who have delegates at this convention, present a token of their esteem to the American Federation of Labor for the wonderful fight they put up. In fact they are the ones responsible for the Congress of the United States adopting the Constitution of the new Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. We called the matter to the attention of Secretary Meany and the legislative agent, and that is why I say it was strictly and solely the work of the American Federation of Labor that prevailed upon the Congress of the United States to adopt this Constitution.

The men are very happy working under it now, and this new emblem of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is displayed wherever there is an American flag displayed in Puerto Rico.

Delegates Moreno and Brother Marciano are in attendance at this convention, and they have a flag they would like to present to President Green for the Federation Headquarters.

They also have some hats for the wives of the members of the Executive Council to wear, but I would suggest that they not wear them in the subways or on the buses.

(The flag of the new Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was then presented to President Green.)

CHAIRMAN WINTER: Wouldn't it be a very splendid gesture if everyone rose in respect to the flag of Puerto Rico?

(The delegates complied with the Chairman's request and rose in respect to the new flag.)

CHAIRMAN WINTER: I am very grateful, and I am sure all my associates are very grateful to you for these beautiful straw hats, and more particularly for this flag.

I understand the Committee on Education is now ready to report, and the Chair will recognize Brother George Harrison.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

VICE PRESIDENT HARRISON: The Committee on Education organized and elected Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary of the committee. The committee proceeded to consider all of the matters referred to the committee by the convention, and Secretary Kuenzli will now submit the unanimous report of the committee.

THE CHALLENGE TO LABOR AND EDUCATION IN 1952

(Executive Council's Report, Page 207)

Never before in the history of the world have Labor and Education, as two great forces in our democratic society, faced a greater responsibility and a more profound challenge than at the present time. The world-wide struggle between democracy and totalitarianism has broadened the educational horizon of the labor movement from the boundaries of the United States to the far flung corners of the earth. The advent of the airplane has brought us closer to the peoples of the world and the atomic bomb has placed a powerful weapon in the hands of our neighbors in the world community as well as in our own hands. In future wars, if such wars occur, great sections of the population of the world, as well as great military battalions will be wiped out. If future wars occur, the worker in the factory and the family in the home will have little more security than the soldier on the field of battle. Union accomplishments in the fields of wages, hours and working conditions may mean little if World War III becomes a reality. Labor must keep constantly in mind the ominous thought that dead men cannot bargain collectively.

So powerful are the weapons of modern warfare that the ability of man to survive the scientific creations of his own hands for destroying life is questioned by many students of the nature and philosophy of mankind.

At its 1948 convention the American Federation of Labor declared:

"The only power which is still greater than the atomic power, the only power which can stem the tide toward suicide

of the human race, is educating men throughout the world in the spirit of brotherly love, which, if undefiled by perverse education, is a natural characteristic of men of all nations. . . . If peace on earth is ever to be attained, men must be taught to send ships to sea, to build great factories and to enter into commercial projects not merely to build fortunes in gold, but to create happier lives for their employees."

Labor and education are faced, therefore, with the profound responsibility of creating a world in which men may continue to live and breathe the air of freedom; a world in which families may live happily in homes free from fear; a world in which men may toil safely and securely on farms and in factories to earn their bread and build a greater nation. To this end, in the future as in the past, organized labor will devote its efforts in order that freedom and democracy may continue to exist on the earth.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 207-209)

Resolution No. 116—Submitted by Delegates Carl J. Megel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 64, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 116 and this section of the Executive Council's Report under the heading, "Federal Aid for Education" deal with the same general subject matter.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly gone on record in favor of federal aid to raise sub-standard levels of education and to equalize educational opportunities for children and youth throughout the Nation. The A. F. of L. over the last two decades has prepared and assisted in preparing a number of bills to provide federal assistance for the public schools.

Federal aid to education is not a new principle in the United States but has been well established in a number of educational programs operated on a national level. In the early history of the Nation large sections of land were set aside for the support of public education at the college level. In 1917 the Smith Hughes law was enacted, largely through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, to provide federal aid for vocational education in the fields of trades, agriculture and home economics. A few years later this program was extended through the George-Deann Act to education in the field of distributive industries. During the depression years of the 1930's, extensive federal funds were pro-

vided for specialized educational programs under the National Youth Administration, the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. The American Federation of Labor cooperated in these programs and played a large part in working out the program of the N.Y.A.

Federal funds were also provided to make possible the school lunch program and to give relief to schools which were overcrowded by increased population in war industry areas.

At the close of World War II the G. I. Bill of Rights was enacted providing the most extensive federal aid to education program in the history of the Nation. It was largely through the efforts of the American Federation of Labor that the educational provisions of the Bill were extended to include all veterans, with a reasonable minimum of service, rather than a relatively small number of veterans selected for specialized training.

The principle of federal aid for specialized educational purposes therefore, is well established in the United States. The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly taken the position that federal aid should be provided for the general purpose of raising sub-standard levels of education and equalizing educational opportunities for children and youth throughout the Nation. The American Federation of Labor has also repeatedly taken the position that every child in the Nation, regardless of race, creed, color, or the economic status of his parents, should have the opportunity to ascend the educational ladder as far as his ability and his interest impel him to climb. Believing this fundamental educational objective can be attained only through a program of federal aid to education, the American Federation of Labor has actively supported legislation to provide federal funds for educational purposes to be distributed on a basis of need.

The National Association of Manufacturers and other groups are vigorously opposing federal aid to education for the alleged reason that federal aid would mean federal control of the schools. The successful operation of the several federal aid programs for specialized educational purposes described above indicates conclusively that federal aid to education need not result in federal control of the schools. Where federal funds have been provided for educational purposes, the control of the schools has been left to the states and local communities.

The Executive Council's Report outlines four specific fields in which federal aid is especially needed:

- (1) Teachers' Salaries
- (2) School Buildings
- (3) Special Services for Children—Health, Welfare, Recreation, etc.
- (4) Elimination of Illiteracy.

The 1951 convention of the A. F. of L. also recommended federal aid to provide assistance for needy children to remain in school. Such aid should be in the form of work opportunities and scholarships. The Committee believes that legislation should also be sought to carry out this objective.

In general the Committee believes that a sound program of federal aid to education would promote the national welfare and strengthen the national security in peace or in war.

We commend the educational and legislative forces of the A. F. of L. for attempting to secure the revenues from under sea oil lands for educational purposes. We believe that this program should be continued and that from this source or from other sources federal funds should be provided for investment in the greatest wealth of the United States—the Nation's children.

With these comments, we recommend adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report and of Resolution No. 116.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION BY GENERAL TAXATION

Resolution No. 115—Submitted by Delegates Carl J. Mezel, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Eklund, Selma M. Borchardt, Mrs. Rebecca Simonson, American Federation of Teachers.

(Page 64, First Day's Proceedings)

The American Federation of Labor, throughout its entire history, has based its program of action upon the belief that free public education supported by general taxation and available to rich and poor alike, is the essential foundation upon which a democratic government must be built. In its very first convention in 1881, the A. F. of L. declared that it is a primary responsibility of the state to educate the citizens of the nation so they may be able to understand and carry out intelligently the responsibilities of democratic government.

While the principle of "free public schools supported by general taxation" was essential to the democratic government in the earlier history of the Nation, this philosophy has become even more vital in the complex industrial age of these present times. The coming of the airplane and the invention of the atomic bomb have created a world in which the United States has been placed next door to the nations of the world. Today the United States and the United Nations are involved in a world-wide struggle for the preservation of freedom and demo-

cracy. As never before, the United States faces the obligation of demonstrating to the world a successful democratic society. A free public school system is the indispensable foundation of such a society and any attempt to weaken or destroy the principle of free schools supported by general taxation is a threat to the democratic structure of the Nation.

The recent proposal, therefore, of powerful industrial organizations to support the public schools in part by private contributions, constitutes a dangerous threat to democratic government in the United States. The full strength of the American labor movement should be marshalled in opposition to any and all proposals to support the public schools in part or in full with contributions from private business institutions. Just as trade unions battled in the early history of our great nation to establish the principle of free schools financed by public taxation, so the labor movement today must battle against the ominous proposal of big business groups to support the public school system by private contributions. Labor must let it be known to all the world that the control of the public schools of the United States is not for sale to big business at any price and that those who attempt to avoid taxation for public education through private contributions will meet the unalterable opposition of the labor movement of the Nation.

With these comments the Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 115.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 210)

Under the title of Vocational Education, the report of the Executive Council presents a significant discussion of current problems in this important field of education. This is a phase of the Nation's educational program in which the American Federation of Labor has had a special interest over the years.

At the turn of the century from 1900 to 1917, the A. F. of L. worked year after year for the enactment of a bill to provide federal aid for vocational education. It was largely as a result of this program that the Smith-Hughes Act was passed by Congress in 1917 to provide federal aid for education in the fields of trades, agriculture and home economics. This program has been of great value but, as the Executive Council's Report points out, the administration of the program has not been entirely satisfactory. In some instances this vocational program, which was enacted largely through the efforts of organized labor, has been used against the interests of the labor movement. In

some instances the program has been used to provide a source of cheap labor rather than as a medium for sound trade training for citizens in a democracy.

The report of the Executive Council pays tribute to the able and constructive work of the late Mr. Rakestraw of the U. S. Office of Education in improving the vocational education program. It is the understanding of the Committee that a successor to Mr. Rakestraw has not been appointed. The Committee recommends that this position be filled and that the splendid work of Mr. Rakestraw be not only carried on but also enlarged to meet the needs of the great industrial age in which we live.

The American Federation of Labor has taken the position over the years that students in trade and vocational schools should have a broad general education as well as a specialized trade training. All children and youth—whether in academic or trade schools—should be educated in terms of their whole lives as well as in their vocations or trades. Training for living outside the job or vocation is no less important than education for the job itself. For this reason vocational schools should offer courses in citizenship, English, and cultural subjects which will provide a more abundant life for the worker.

In order to make possible a broader general education for the vocational student, the American Federation of Labor has advocated that students should not enter specialized trade training before the age of 16. In vocational schools in which students are admitted at the age of 14, the trade training should not begin until the third year.

The Executive Council's Report recommends that conferences be held at local, state and national levels, of representatives of organized labor, industry, the schools and educational experts to evaluate the present vocational education program and make suggestions for improvement. The Committee calls attention to the fact that organized labor may face a grave danger in turning over its vocational education program to a group of non-union agencies among which the labor movement would be only one voice among many. Many of the difficulties in the vocational education program today have resulted from the fact that labor has not made its voice heard and the program has been left in the hands of the non-union agencies. While labor has a duty and responsibility to explain its program and point of view to other groups, the labor movement should strive to attain its own objectives rather than surrender its program to non-union agencies.

In order to carry out the objectives set forth by the Executive Council's Report, the Committee recommends the following program of action:

1. That the A. F. of L. Permanent Committee on Education establish a

close working relationship with the Vocational Education Department of the U. S. Office of Education in order to improve the administration of the program and to correct the procedures to which organized labor objects. The close cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education in the field of Apprenticeship Training offers a good example to follow in the general field of vocational education.

2. That renewed efforts be made to have active labor-management advisory committees for all vocational education programs. Actively functioning labor representatives on such committees could solve many of the difficulties in the vocational education program.
3. In accordance with the recommendation of previous A. F. of L. conventions, labor representatives should demand that trade training be taught by union journeymen (or their equivalent) with several years of experience in the trade. In a general way a high school diploma plus trade training plus several years' experience in the trade should be considered the equivalent of a college degree which is generally required for academic teaching.
4. As recommended by the 1951 convention, committees from central labor bodies should call upon their respective superintendents of schools and heads of vocational departments to discuss problems of mutual interest including the provision and protection of experienced trade unionists as teachers and a more adequate treatment of labor's philosophy, objectives and accomplishments in the curriculum. Programs should be worked out to provide sound information to teachers, both academic and vocational, regarding the labor movement. The lack of reliable information on the part of teachers at all levels regarding the labor movement is literally appalling.
5. Whenever possible, officers and representatives of organized labor should accept invitations to speak to groups of students and teachers in both the vocational and academic fields. The Workers Education Bureau can supply materials to assist in preparing talks of this kind. Only from the labor movement itself can reliable information be secured, regarding the philosophy, objectives and accomplishments of trade unionism.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of committee's report was adopted.

INTELLIGENCE TESTS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 210)

The Executive Council's Report recommends that affiliated locals and state bodies undertake an investigation of the use of intelligence tests in the schools. This is a highly technical subject requiring the services of highly trained experts in the field of educational psychology. Generally such matters are the responsibility of school administration which the labor movement should not attempt to take over or control. However, the labor movement should be constantly alert to detect and correct injustices which may result from impractical use of technical educational testing. At best, mental and aptitude tests can give only general indication of the interests and ability of the student. Some of the Nation's greatest statesmen and scientists were regarded as mentally slow in their childhood. Even geniuses are often deficient in some phases of their mentality. Many highly specialized college professors have made low ratings on intelligence tests given to high school students. Mental tests should be used, therefore, only as a general guide to a student's interest and abilities and not as a final factor in working out his educational program.

The Committee recommends that the part of the report of the Executive Council dealing with mental testing be referred to the Permanent Committee on Education for further study.

With their comments and recommendations, the committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

ATTACKS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 200)

The 1951 Convention of the A. F. of L. in San Francisco, California, gave consideration to current attacks on the public schools and adopted an emphatic statement condemning those persons and agencies which are guilty of such attacks on the schools. The statement declared in part,

"Those who attack the public school system for selfish purposes undermine the basic structure of our democratic government."

The report of the Executive Council on this subject in 1952 points out four kinds of attacks upon the schools:

- 1—Attacks on school finance for the purpose of "saving" taxes.
- 2—Attacks on teaching methods.
- 3—Attacks on the curriculum.
- 4—Attacks on the integrity and fitness of teachers.

The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly taken a strong stand in favor of adequate financing of the public schools. The convention in 1951 adopted a statement on the rights of the teachers, including adequate salaries, tenure of office, retirement provisions, and academic freedom. The A. F. of L. has likewise pointed out in previous declarations that antiquated education "in the three R's" is no longer adequate in the complex society of the present age. Labor has emphatically condemned those who advocate "ox cart" education in the age of the airplane and atomic bomb.

Labor has also condemned those attacks on the curriculum which have resulted in unfair and inadequate treatment of the problems of organized labor in the curriculum of the public schools. Labor believes that the community should have the right to influence the curriculum of the schools but emphatically condemns the use of the schools as a medium for anti-labor propaganda. Organized labor itself should strive to influence the curriculum constructively and attempt to have its point of view fairly and adequately presented. However, in co-operating in public school programs, organized labor should never attempt to control the public schools. Such control should be left in the hands of the duly elected school authorities.

With these comments we recommend adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

(Executive Council's Report, Page 212)

In this section of its report, the Executive Council calls attention to the comprehensive educational program carried on by the Workers' Education Bureau. The W. E. B., which for many years functioned as a separate agency, is now a department of the American Federation of Labor.

The Report of the Executive Council describes the broad educational program carried on by the Bureau. This program includes: assisting in arranging institutes and conferences; supplying printed materials in the field of labor education; maintenance of a film library; providing source material for schools and colleges; cooperation with government agencies and the ICFU in international activities.

The Workers' Education Bureau, therefore, has two major educational functions to perform: 1—To educate the members of the American Federation of Labor—especially new members—in the basic principles and philosophy of the trade union movement and 2—To educate the general public outside of the trade union movement regarding the aims, history and achievements of the American labor move-

ment. These two functions constitute a tremendous task which is vital to the success of the labor movement in the United States. It should be the primary objective of the education program of the American Federation of Labor that every member who holds a union card should be an active, sincere trade unionist devoted to the high principles of organized labor. It should also be a basic objective of labor's education program to break down the false concepts which have been built up anti-labor propaganda and to inform the general public—especially student groups—regarding the true aims, objectives and accomplishments of organized labor.

The Committee calls special attention to the various publications of the Bureau. Among the most popular pamphlets are, "How to Run a Union Meeting" and "Shop Steward Manual." The Committee recommends that when funds and personnel are available a series of pamphlets be published by the Bureau which could be printed in large quantities and made available to affiliated bodies at small cost. In the Committee's deliberations it was pointed out that many small unions which are not in a position to publish materials of this kind could purchase them at quantity prices through the W. E. B.

The Committee calls attention to the fact that the education program of the A. F. of L. is still very small as compared with the educational programs of the labor movements of other nations. Since the strength of the labor movement depends to a large extent upon the level of education of the membership in the principles of trade unionism, we urge that the education program of the W. E. B. be expanded and its financial support increased when funds become available for this purpose. All affiliated local, state and national bodies are urged to cooperate with the Bureau in working out the best possible education program throughout the Nation and in making use of the facilities which the Bureau has to offer at the present time.

With their comments and recommendations the Committee recommends adoption of their section 7th, Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Kuenzli, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KUENZLI:

That concludes the report, Mr. Chairman, and it is signed by the following delegates:

George M. Harrison, Chairman
Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary
Herman Winter
M. G. Plunk
Carl H. Mullen
Edward J. Hillock
C. N. Coyle
Joseph Mahoney

Kenneth J. Kelley
 James Petrillo
 A. L. Spradling
 J. R. Downes
 Harry H. Cook
 David Gingold
 Lloyd A. Gardner
 James J. Doyle
 Frank B. Powers
 Anthony Doria
 Servando Lopez
 H. A. Bradley
 H. L. Mitchell
 G. A. Sackett
 John R. Jones
 Pat Somerset
 Joseph Morris

Committee on Education

I move adoption of the report of the Committee on Education as a whole.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GEORGE: Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Committee on Legislation has considered all of the matters referred to it from the Executive Council's Report and resolutions. Secretary Russell Stephens of the Technical Engineers will make the report.

Committee Secretary Stephens submitted the following report:

President Green, Chairman Winters, Secretary-Treasurer Meany and delegates to the Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Legislation has considered all material referred to it and respectfully submits its report for your consideration:

LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1952

(Executive Council's Report, Page 235)

This section of the Executive Council's Report points up the difficulties involved in pursuing the Federation's legislative program, due to the partisan political attitude prevailing in the Eighty-Second Congress. It is recommended by your Committee that the Convention heartily endorse the out-

standing work done by Chairman Hushing and his staff of the National Legislative Committee, not only for their work in obtaining favorable legislation under most difficult conditions but for their forthright stand in opposition to the multitude of anti-labor proposals introduced in the Congress. It is the recommendation of the Committee that this section of the Executive Council Report be accepted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

AMENDMENT TO NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, S-1973

(Executive Council's Report, Page 236)

This bill sponsored by the Building and Construction Trades Department would amend the National Labor Relations Act to permit execution of collective bargaining agreements, by the building trades, prior to the employment of workers. It would also allow labor agreements requiring membership in the contracting unions on or after the seventh day following employment and other provisions vital to the welfare of the building trades. This bill failed to pass in the Eighty-second Congress and it is the recommendation of your Committee that the American Federation of Labor continue active support of this legislation.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

HEARINGS ON THE SMITH BILL, H.R. 7647, AND OTHER BILLS

(Executive Council's Report, Page 236)

This section of the Executive Council's Report reviews the activity of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to H.R. 7647 providing for receiverships for strike-bound companies and for unions declared to be in vital production work. It would not even have been necessary for an industry to be actually struck to be eligible under the Smith Bill for court action. Stoppage or imminent stoppage would have been sufficient for court action. Such action would have constituted a considerable drain upon the treasuries of unions whether in strikes or lockouts. It is the recommendation of your Committee that the American Federation of Labor continue to vigorously oppose all legislation of this kind.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

LABOR MANAGEMENT COMMISSION

Executive Council's Report, Page 237)

This section deals with the success of the American Federation of Labor in the defeat of Senate Joint Resolution 161 to establish a Commission of Labor-Management Relations in which Labor would have had no representation. Your Committee recommends acceptance of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

WALSH-HEALEY ACT MODIFIED

(Executive Council's Report, Page 238)

It is pointed out in this section that the proposed Fulbright Amendments to the Defense Production Act of 1952 through which attempts were made to destroy the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act were compromised by having the Contracts Act brought under the Administrative Procedures Act of June 30, 1936. The compromise amendment is not as extreme as Fulbright had sought. It is the recommendation of your Committee that the American Federation of Labor safeguard the rights of the workers and work toward repeal of all restrictive legislation in this regard recently adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 241)

Since the last convention the legislative staff of the American Federation of Labor has, as in the past, continued to cooperate with the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor and with the affiliated unions having members employed in the Federal Government service. Not only has Chairman Hushing and his staff assisted actively in making presentations to Congress on behalf of the American Federation of Labor but have been a valuable source of information and advice. Again the Government employee has found himself on the defensive, and it has been extremely difficult at times to retain the many benefits won over the years. The economy bloc in the Congress has taken every opportunity to advance itself politically at the expense of the loyal efficient groups of Federal employees.

The Executive Council's Report very aptly points out the difficulties with

which the unions having federally employed membership are faced.

The practice which has become prevalent of attaching legislative riders to appropriation bills and which is contrary to the principle established under the reorganization of Congress a few years ago, which contemplated that Appropriation Committees would deal exclusively with appropriations and that legislative matters would be left to the respective Legislative Committees has proved highly detrimental in that such legislation is usually reported without previous knowledge of the employees affected and without opportunity for full and fair hearings. Your Committee urges most strenuous opposition to the continuance of such practice which has resulted in such restrictive measures as the Whitten, Jensen and Thomas Amendments. It is the recommendation of your Committee that the Executive Council's Report on this subject and the recommendations therein contained be accepted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

CANAL ZONE

(Executive Council's Report, Page 248)

It is the recommendation of your Committee that this portion of the Executive Council's Report be accepted and that the legislation therein enumerated be made a part of the legislative program for Federal Government employees and it is further recommended that the Executive Council consult with and cooperate with the labor representatives of the employees involved.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 82 and 128, as follows:

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Resolution No. 82—By The Central Labor Union, Panama Canal Zone.

(Page 52, First Day's Proceedings)

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 60, First Day's Proceedings)

Resolution No. 82, introduced by the Central Labor Union of the Panama

Canal Zone, and No. 128, introduced by the Metal Trades Department are identical; therefore, your committee recommends that both resolutions be combined and that the combined resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was adopted.

CIVIL RIGHTS

(Page 249, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Executive Council's Report states that thirty-five bills were introduced in the Eighty-second Congress dealing with Fair Employment Practices, Anti-Lynching, Anti-Segregation and Anti-Poll Tax. It is noted that none of these measures have been successful of passage. It is the recommendation of your committee that this section of the Executive Council's Report be accepted and that the American Federation of Labor continue its aggressive program in behalf of this type of legislation.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MARITIME

(Page 250, Executive Council's Report)

The Act amending the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, Public Law 586, which carries out a major portion of the program outlined by the last convention was enacted in the closing days of the Eighty-second Congress. The Committee on Legislation recommends that the Executive Council's Report be accepted and that the American Federation of Labor continue to work closely with our Maritime Unions and extend to them full assistance on matters affecting this industry.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ADEQUATE MERCHANT MARINE

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 68, First Day's Proceedings)

It is the recommendation of your committee that Resolution No. 126 be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

H.J. RESOLUTION 341—MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR REHABILITATION OF FLOOD-STRICKEN AREAS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1952 AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

(Page 254, Executive Council's Report)

The American Federation of Labor has supported the proposal of President Truman for appropriations for the relief of citizens in flood-stricken areas, which was partially, but not adequately, successful in giving such aid. Your committee recommends that efforts be continued to secure practical and adequate legislation to cope with floods and other major disasters, and it is further recommended that the American Federation of Labor strongly urge legislation providing for indemnification of flood victims with outright grants where mere loans might not be adequate or practical.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN OUR NATIONAL FORESTS

(Page 255, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports activities in support of HR 565, which would make available a portion of the revenue received from national forests for the maintenance and operation of recreational facilities. It is recommended that the full support be continued for this or similar legislation.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FORESTRY RESOURCES CONSERVATION

(Page 256, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on its support of legislation in behalf of the conservation of forestry resources, and should be commended for its continued vigilance in that direction. Your committee urges that it continue such active support.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING— H.R. 5904

(Page 264, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council recites the history of this legislation up to the close of the Eighty-second Congress and recommends reaffirmation of the decision reached in 1951, as follows:

"In view of the present war emergency, the Executive Council favors limited universal military training; however, that it shall end with the emergency, that it shall not become a part of our educational system and that it shall in no way transgress upon or become part of our civilian system of service, production, and distribution, or be used in any way to limit, restrict or interfere with the rights of labor individually and/or collectively."

Your committee urges acceptance of this section of the report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CUSTOMS SIMPLIFICATION BILL

(Page 264, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports that the Customs Simplification Bill (H.R. 5505), contained provisions detrimental to the products of American labor; however, in spite of the efforts of President Green and the Legislative Council, a bill passed the House and no action was taken by the Senate. It is recommended that the American Federation of Labor continue its interest and that similar action be taken in the case of similar proposals in the Eighty-third Congress.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

(Page 265, Executive Council's Report)

This section deals with the efforts of the American Federation of Labor in dealing with the establishment of and improvement of the conditions and rehabilitation of the physically handicapped. It is recommended that the American Federation of Labor continue its support of such worthwhile projects as enumerated in the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HEALTH CARE FOR DEPENDENTS OF SERVICEMEN

(Page 267, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on its support of legislation to provide maternity and infant care for dependents of enlisted members of the armed services. It is recommended that full support of the American Federation of Labor be continued for such legislation.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT

(Page 268, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on the introduction of S. 75 providing for construction, operation, and maintenance of a dam in the main stream of the Colorado River. This bill has passed in the Senate, but no action was taken in the House. Your committee recommends that this portion of the Executive Council's Report be accepted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CONSUMER INTERESTS

(Page 268, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports in the section on the proposal contained in Senate Resolution 169 by Senator Gillette of Iowa to establish a Senate Select Committee on Consumer Interests. This resolution was supported by the American Federation of Labor, but the Senate Rules Committee deferred action until the next session of Congress. The far-reaching effect upon the membership of the American Federation of Labor, all of whom are consumers, prompts the recommendation that active interest in this proposal be continued.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

EXTENSION OF FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO

(Page 272, Executive Council's Report)

In this section of its report, the Executive Council states the facts upon which its interest in legislation for

adequate support of education in Puerto Rico is based and of the activity of the American Federation of Labor on behalf of the adequate provisions along those lines. The Executive Council is to be commended for its support of this project and your committee urges that such report be continued.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

STATEHOOD FOR HAWAII AND ALASKA

(Page 272, Executive Council's Report)

This section of the Executive Council's Report cites the activities of Congress in behalf of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

Your committee recommends that this section of the report be accepted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TWELVE-YEAR LIQUOR STORAGE

(Page 273, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on the introduction of H.R. 7651, a bill to increase the term of legal warehousing of liquor from the present eight years to twelve, the tax to be paid upon the removal from storage. This legislation was opposed by the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union on the grounds that employees of the smaller distillery establishments would be adversely affected. It is expected that similar legislation will be attempted in the next Congress. It is recommended that the Executive Council support the affiliated organizations affected.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

IMPORTATION OF SEA FOOD PRODUCTS

(Page 273, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on proposed legislation to protect the American fisheries industry. It is recommended that the Executive Council continue to support the affiliated organizations engaged in that industry.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL CONSTRUCTION LEASE-PURCHASE

(Page 274, Executive Council's Report)

In this section of its report the Executive Council cites the legislative history of H.R. 6839 to authorize lease-purchase agreements between the Federal Government and private property owners to extend the Federal acquisition of public buildings by the Post Office Department upon payment of rents after ten years, and also of H.R. 4323, a bill of similar nature for general utilization aside from Post Office use. Working closely with the Building and Construction Trades Department, the Legislative Arm of the American Federation of Labor was successful in having a restatement of labor principles included in both bills, thus warding off the latest attack on long standing labor laws. H.R. 6839 was passed by both houses of Congress and subsequently vetoed. It is recommended that such activity in behalf of the protection of labor standards be continued.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

MIGRATORY LABOR

(Page 275, Executive Council's Report)

The difficulties involved in the protection of wage standards and other conditions for migratory workers was the subject of considerable activity by Committees of the House and Senate. Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations were successful in preventing harmful legislation, but were unable to secure enactment of satisfactory measures. It is pointed out, however, that through the airing of conditions in hearings some improvements were made in administration of existing laws. It is recommended that these activities be continued.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ESTABLISHMENT OF FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers' Union.

(Page 52, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ICE HARBOR DAM

(Page 275, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on its activities in support of the appropriation to build the Ice Harbor Dam in the Lower Snake River in Idaho, and the promise of members of the Appropriations Committee to include the request in the first supplemental bill to come early in the next Congress. It is recommended that this section of the report be accepted and efforts to secure the appropriation be continued.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

DRY BILL AGAIN DEFEATED

(Page 276, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports successful opposition to the proposed prohibition bill. The committee recommends continuance of opposition to such legislation.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INDUSTRIAL AND MINE SAFETY

(Page 277, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee compliments the Executive Council for its activity on behalf of legislation to provide safety measures for the prevention of industrial and mine disasters. It is noted, however, that the newly enacted mine safety law provides for a compromised program, and that the proposed industrial safety law failed final passage. It is the recommendation of your committee that the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts toward further strengthening the laws concerning industrial and mine safety.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRAVELLING LIBRARY SERVICE

(Page 278, Executive Council's Report)

Although representations were made in favor of a bill to provide a public library

service in rural areas, no action was taken by the Congress to enact the legislation. It is recommended that efforts be continued in this direction.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

JAPANESE PRISON SURVIVORS

(Page 278, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council reports on its activities to secure relief and indemnity for employees of contractors in World War II, including prisoners of the Japanese and failure of the Congress to enact satisfactory legislation. Your committee recommends that these efforts be continued.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

"THE LOBBYISTS" AND LEGISLATION

(Page 280, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council's Report comments upon the recently published book, "The Lobbyist" and a review of the book published by the Workers' Education Bureau. Your committee recommends that this section of the Executive Council Report be accepted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

(Page 280, Executive Council's Report)

The comprehensive analysis of the legislative activities of the various State Legislatures is presented by the Executive Council and it is noted that there was slight progress made through legislation in the various states.

Your committee urges that the report be carefully considered and that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor give their utmost support to the State Federations of Labor and the City Central Bodies to the end that necessary legislation may be achieved on the state level to supplement and strengthen Federal labor legislation.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TEXTILE BILL, H.R. 8036

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, George Baldanzl, Joseph Jacobs, Herman Ackroyd, George Ritzer, United Textile Workers of America.

(Page 49, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

ORDERS OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates of: Building Service Employees International Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers' Union of North America; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Railway Mail Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone.

(Page 49, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REQUESTING PUBLIC PRINTER COMPLY WITH PARITY OF MINIMUM PAY

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates John R. Haggerty, Joseph Denny, Florence Williams, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(Page 51, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WAGES-HOURS GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 122—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, John W. Austin, Horace L. Imeson, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace C. Reilly, International Typographical Union.

(Page 67, First Day's Proceedings)

The committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTEST CLASSIFICATION OF SHEEP SHEARERS AS AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, M. S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, R. E. Kelly, Joseph Belsky, Karl Muller, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America.

(Page 51, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

VICE PRESIDENT TOBIN: It is now five o'clock. The Executive Council has a meeting and some of us have other meetings. I move we adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

CHAIRMAN WINTER: It is requested that all delegates be in their seats promptly at 9:30 in the morning, as there will be a very important report made by Brother McDevitt of Labor's League for Political Education.

The Committee on Legislation has only a few more resolutions and can finish shortly.

VICE PRESIDENT TOBIN: If the Committee on Legislation is about through and

will take only a few minutes I will withdraw the motion.

(President Green in the Chair.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: The hour of adjournment has arrived. You have raised the

point, and the convention will adjourn in just a moment.

The Chair wishes to announce a meeting of the Executive Council in Parlor C.

... At 5:00 o'clock, p.m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, September 23, 1952.

Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1952 Proceedings

New York, New York, September 23, 1952



Report of

SEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York

September 23, 1952

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:40 o'clock, a.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to present to you for the invocation this morning the Reverend Dr. Allen E. Claxton, Pastor of the Broadway Temple Methodist Church of New York City.

INVOCATION

(Dr. Allen E. Claxton, Pastor, Broadway Temple Methodist Church)

Dear Lord and Father of us all, we wait before Thee at the beginning of this day to ask for Thy divine guidance in all our doings and Thy blessing and protection for all Thy children everywhere.

We know that our minds are an open book to Thee and from Thee no secrets are hid. Cleanse the very thoughts of our hearts, by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may be worthy of the life Thou hast given us.

Let Thy spirit be in this convention today. May those who participate be inspired with integrity, vision, righteousness and justice. Remove all unworthy motives from our deliberations and discussions, that truth and right may have their way.

Above all, forgive us our sins, and let us be a blessing to our loved ones, to our nation, and to the world. This we pray through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Sims, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials reports that Carmine Santo of The United Brick and Clay Workers will serve as delegate from that organization instead of Wm.

Tracy, and we recommend that the delegate be seated with 77 votes.

In accordance with request received from the Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union, we recommend the seating of William J. McGrath, with 1 vote, as delegate to represent that organization in lieu of John F. Holleran, previously reported.

We were requested to make the following substitutions on the delegation of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, and recommend that the delegates be seated with vote: Max Kralstein with 191 votes, in place of James Landriscina, and Leo Issiary with 191 votes in place of Seb Ollinger.

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the following credentials and recommends that the delegates be seated:

Federal Labor Union No. 23827, Bayonne, N. J.—Joseph Clarino, with 2 votes.

Hagerstown, Md., Central Labor Union—J. C. Turner, 1 vote.

Worcester, Mass., Central Labor Union—James B. McNamara, 1 vote.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Sims, the report of the committee was adopted.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Vice President Birthright, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: The report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies will be submitted by the Secretary of the committee, Brother James C. Quinn.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Committee Secretary Quinn submitted the following report:

LOCAL UNIONS URGED TO AFFILIATE WITH STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Louis P. Marcianite, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 48, First Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends the adoption of this resolution, with the inclusion of Central Labor Unions.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Quinn, the report of the committee was adopted.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE SECRETARY QUINN:

There is usually in a city where there is a large membership of the American Federation of Labor duly chartered a Central Body which is the coordinating body for that particular locality, and at all times ready to give assistance to aid affiliated locals of the International Unions and Federal Labor Unions, in view of the many local activities in which a Central Body is required to participate, including the many local and civic bodies.

Your committee wishes to stress this point, that at one time there was only one central body and that was chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Today we have the competition of a dual organization in many of our cities and our local unions are not free from the methods used by said dual organizations. However, when difficulties arise and our local unions are affected, they then turn to whatever agency of the American Federation of Labor there is in their community for the protection of their interests. The ability to carry out this work depends in a large degree upon affiliations of the local unions in the various central bodies.

With the activities carried out daily by the Central Bodies and their various contacts with local activity their meetings are held monthly and semi-monthly where the delegates assemble, make their reports and request whatever help they may be in need of on behalf of their local unions.

We may add further that the Central Bodies cooperate with the various legislative committees in preparing the program to be presented to their legislative bodies. Their functions also are to be on the lookout for legislation that is detrimental to the best interests of the workers. Therefore, the local unions who are not in affiliation share in the benefits put forth by the Local Central Body at the expense of those local unions who are affiliated and attend the meetings of the Central Bodies and work for the interests of Organized Labor.

Further activities are those of visiting and meeting personally with the political parties to request their help to vote in favor of our legislative program, and

also to defeat measures that are not in the best interest of Organized Labor. During the past year the American Federation of Labor has been confronted with the introduction of anti-labor legislation in many cities and states. Therefore, the Central Bodies, through their activities put forth by Labor's League for Political Education, promoted a campaign of registration with this slogan: "Register or you cannot vote."

The inauguration of this campaign of education among our local unions resulted in not alone having the head of the family register, but all members who were eligible to vote, then continuing to organize its committees, prepare for the defeat on election day of those members who voted for the Taft-Hartley Law and to elect friends of Labor who would vote for the repeal of this measure. We can report that we believe it is essential that work of Labor's League for Political Education has proved successful and should be continued among the workers of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee, being mindful of the anti-labor legislation that may be introduced in the various cities and states, feels that the Central Bodies and Labor's League for Political Education can be a strong factor in bringing about the defeat of this legislation.

May we therefore recommend that the American Federation of Labor forward a communication to all national and international unions to request that they urge their local unions in the various localities to affiliate with the Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor, also to the Federal Labor Unions to the end that strong Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor may work for the help of all trade unionists.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Quinn, the report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY QUINN:
Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, and it is signed by the committee:

W. C. Birthright, Chairman
James C. Quinn, Secretary
Vernon A. Housewright
Albert Smith
A. Berkson

Sam Bonansinga
John J. Nolan
R. Alvin Albarino
Wm. McQuern
Lloyd Klenert
Reuben Roe
Jacob Roberts
Michael J. Mungovan
Paul Hall
John E. Briedenbach
John Tracey
Michael F. Smith
Hank Hasiwar
Ray Muehlhoffer
Thomas F. Murphy
Earl B. Ashbrook
George L. Russ
Jack Stone
Donald Peters

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Committee Secretary Quinn moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Brother Richard Gray, Chairman of the Building Trades Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

CHAIRMAN GRAY: President Green and delegates. The Committee on Building Trades has had the following matters referred to it: one resolution and that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with Housing, Rent Control and the Building and Construction Trades Department's Annual Report.

Delegate James McDevitt of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, Secretary of the Committee will make the report to the convention.

... Committee Secretary McDevitt submitted the following report:

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT (Executive Council's Report, Pages 287-291)

The report of the Building and Construction Trades Department provides a stimulating and informative summary of the Department's activities during the past year.

The report points out that the membership of affiliated national and international unions has continued to increase during the year. Charters were issued to five newly organized local building and construction trades councils and two newly organized state councils so that there are now 571 local councils and 19 state councils.

The report also points out that employment in the building trades during the past year has been relatively high with the possible exception of unemployment during the third and fourth quarters of 1951, which was primarily due to the serious cut backs in the allotment of building materials to the building industry under the Government's Controlled Materials Plan. This particular situation regarding the allotment of building materials to the building industry as the report points out has been overcome by a more realistic approach by the Government agency charged with administering the Controlled Materials Plan. Prospects for full employment in the building trades during the coming year are most encouraging.

The report stresses the fact that the wages of building tradesmen, while they are the highest hourly rates enjoyed among the many segments of organized labor, have not kept abreast of the increased cost of living.

The Building and Construction Trades Department's annual report stresses the fact that jurisdictional disputes among the different trades have been kept from the National Labor Relations Board through the continued functioning of the National Joint Board for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes. While this Board has not functioned entirely to the satisfaction of the various affiliated trades, the Department is continuing to seek ways and means to correct the deficiencies in the administration of the Plan. Particular attention has been given during the past year to correct the long delay from the time a dispute is referred to the Board and the time a decision is rendered.

The apprenticeship training program for building tradesmen sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor has met with the wholehearted cooperation of the various National and International affiliated building trades unions throughout the country. Many new joint union-employer programs have been put into operation during the past year. However, as the Department's report points out the number of young apprentices who will graduate to journeyman status in the coming year will, according to reliable predictions, fall far short of fulfilling the need for skilled craftsmen in the expanding program.

The Department's report strikes a word of warning once again on the diminishing functions of the U. S. Department of Labor. The report points out that for many years the Labor Department's functions have continued to diminish so that nearly every single governmental agency now has its own labor relations division

and most administrative decisions regarding vitally important questions are made by these many governmental agencies. This is indeed a most serious situation particularly with reference to the enforcement of the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act which requires the payment of the prevailing wage scale on all federal construction projects or federally financed construction projects. Presidential Reorganization Plan No. 14 permits the Department of Labor to make investigations regarding violations of the Davis-Bacon Act, but when the violations are found the matter is then referred to the particular federal agency whether it be FHA, Army Engineers, Bureau of Yards and Docks, Air Force or Defense Department or any of the other federal agencies. The Department points out that this is indeed a most unsatisfactory arrangement and it has on occasions too numerous to mention been unsuccessful in obtaining enforcement from the many governmental agencies.

Your Committee unanimously agrees with the Department in urging that this convention go on record as favoring full enforcement of the Davis-Bacon Act by the Department of Labor.

The Department pays high tribute to the continued cooperation and helpfulness of Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin.

Your Committee concurs wholeheartedly in this praise of the Secretary of Labor.

The Department's report contains a most informative section on the effects of the Taft-Hartley Act on building trades unions during the past year. The report also points out the efforts of the Department to obtain relief for building trades unions from the impossible representation election requirement of the Act. This relief was sought through amendment to the Act by a Bill introduced jointly by Senators Humphrey and Taft which was known as Senate Bill 1973.

The Bill was introduced on August 9, 1951. Public hearings were held from August 29 through September 4, 1951 nine months after conclusion of the hearings, the Bill was favorably reported by the Senate Labor Committee on May 5, 1952 and on May 12, 1952, the Bill was unanimously passed by the Senate and sent to the House of Representatives where it was referred to the House Committee on Labor and Education. Chairman Barden, Democrat of North Carolina refused to hold public hearings on the Bill or to take any action which would permit the Bill to come up for vote on the floor of the House. Consequently Congress adjourned before any action was taken by the House.

The report of the Department points out many of the injustices of the Taft-Hartley Act as it is presently being applied to organized labor. The report states that one day there is a court decision requiring one union to ignore another union's picket line, next it's either an NLRB ruling or a court decision declaring a union who strikes a non-union subcontractor to be in violation of the secondary boycott provisions of the Act. Next, it's use of injunction powers of the Act. Next it's the NLRB penalizing both unions and their

employers for carrying out union security provisions of their mutually agreed upon contracts while at the same time the NLRB admittedly finds it impossible, because of the intermittent nature of the work, to conduct representation elections which would make legal the very actions for which these unions and their employers are penalized. The report points out further that from many quarters it is learned that the NLRB in its administration of the Act has assumed the dictatorial position of telling unions and employers what is and what is not the proper subject matter for collective bargaining. It is also a matter of record that crippling damage actions are now being filed against unions for purported violations of the Act.

The Department report states that its monthly Bulletin has been published throughout the year and has been generally well received.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary McDevitt, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

HOUSING

(Executive Council's Report, p. 181-188)

The ability to obtain adequate housing accommodations, within their financial reach, is one of the foremost problems of the American worker and his family. Over a period of many years, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates have pioneered in both public and private effort for better housing and better community planning and development.

Much progress has been made in recent years. The A. F. of L. slogan of "a good home for every American family" has not only gained nation-wide approval, but has also become the statutory objective in our national legislation. Yet, as the Executive Council reports, the tide of opposition to the necessary housing programs and sound housing legislation has been rising. Special interest lobbies have placed Congress under a heavy pressure to emasculate and weaken the comprehensive program embodied in the Housing Act of 1949 and to deny the funds needed to carry it out. During the past year, we have succeeded in holding the line against this attack and in preserving the essential features of the program from outright destruction.

We wholeheartedly commend the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor for the effective work it has done under the Chairmanship of Vice President Bates. We agree with the Executive Council that while we must press forward toward our established housing goals, the time has come to review the existing programs and to develop new ones. We therefore ask that the A. F. of L. Housing Committee undertake this task at the earliest opportunity. We also recommend that the Housing Committee consider the possibility of calling, at an

early date, a national conference under its sponsorship in which representatives of our affiliates throughout the country would have an opportunity to take part. The purpose of such a conference would be to review our national housing needs, focus national attention on them, and formulate an up-to-date and forward-looking housing program.

There is an urgent need to provide, with public assistance where necessary, housing for workers and their families in defense production areas. Provision of publicly-aided low-rent housing is increasingly necessary. Above all, a concentrated effort should be made to devise and carry out a comprehensive program of middle-income housing to take care of the needs of wage earners receiving between \$50 and \$80 a week. At the same time, it is imperative that we undertake a thorough study of the activities of the private builders under the existing programs and evaluate the soundness of numerous guarantees extended to builders and mortgage lenders under the existing laws. Means should also be found to protect the interests of the home buyers and assure the soundness of private home construction.

Wage earners' incomes throughout the country have been threatened with the immediate prospect of rising rents due to the greatly weakened federal rent control. We ask that the American Federation of Labor insist on the extension of rent controls wherever they are needed beyond the date of April 30, 1953, set by the last Congress.

With these comments and recommendations your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary McDevitt, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

HOUSING

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor,

(Page 47, First Day's Proceedings)

We have won only defensive victories during the past year in our continued fight for better housing for all the American people. Through the efforts of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, and with effective support of our affiliates, especially in the Building and Construction Trades, we have succeeded in preserving from complete destruction the low-rent public housing program. We have obtained some defense housing, although not nearly enough and admittedly not the right kind. In addition, we have stalled complete removal of rent controls.

But it is not enough merely to prevent the wholesale destruction of the housing programs labor has fought for and successfully launched in the past. We must go on the offensive for the realization of labor's housing program in full.

We concur in the purpose of this resolution which seeks the widest possible support for the early enactment of the most essential sound housing legislation in the next session of Congress. This should be done after a careful reappraisal of current conditions and housing needs and with the fullest participation of all the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

With these comments and recommendations your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary McDevitt, the recommendations of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY McDEVITT: Mr. Chairman, that concludes the report of the committee and it is signed by the following members:

Richard J. Gray
William J. McSorley
Joseph V. Moersch
Edward A. Smith
Victor A. Swanson
John H. Lyons
Martin P. Durkin
John J. Murphy
Pete Yablonski
Frank C. Riley
Homer J. Meyers
Walter A. Redmond
John J. Conway
Joseph J. Diviny
James L. McDevitt
Costanzo Pagnano
James J. Ryan
Paul A. Givens
C. W. Sickles
Joseph Rourke

Committee on Building Trades

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the report as a whole.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Brother McDevitt, Director of Labor's League for Political Education, for a report.

MR. JAMES L. McDEVITT

(Director, Labor's League for Political Education)

DIRECTOR McDEVITT: Chairman Green, Secretary Meany, officers and mem-

bers of the American Federation of Labor: I appreciate very much this opportunity you have afforded me this morning to report to you briefly on the activities of your League for Political Education during the year of 1952. It was just one year ago at San Francisco that you honored me by naming me as Director of the League to succeed my very able friend, Joe Keenan. There have been those among us who have entertained the thought that we have more or less held ourselves aloof from political participation in the past, but I find it awfully difficult to agree with that point of view because if there was anything ever discussed widely I think the subject of political education has really had its share in this convention, and I am very happy, of course, to note that.

Well, I think we have demonstrated quite clearly that there isn't any choice with us of the labor movement now, nor has there been since the unfortunate year of 1946, when the government took it upon itself to enact a special brand of legislation designed to control, if not destroy the American labor movement.

As a result of that action the General Presidents and delegates of our affiliated unions, in the San Francisco convention, unanimously decided that we had no course other than to establish a committee for political education and to put it to work if we were to relieve ourselves of oppressive anti-labor legislation. And so your League was formed, and I think the record speaks very well as to its activities.

In the year 1947 we didn't have too many friends, either in the House or in the Senate. If you check the records today you will find they have been absolutely doubled—all as a result of your determination to carry on your work in the field of political education. Yes, they have been doubled. In the year of 1948 a goodly number of our friends were elected to both the House and in the Senate, and then when we came to 1950, an off-year election, if you please, for the first time since 'way back in 1934 we were able to retain a great majority of that liberal bloc. Yes, in an off-year election you were able to do that.

That was possible because of the determination of our people and the full realization on their part that there was no

other approach to this most perplexing problem—absolutely no other approach.

But I was among those, and I am sure many of you were, who, when the Taft-Hartley Act was enacted, entertained the hope and the thought that when the major portions of that bill were tested before the United States Supreme Court they would be declared unconstitutional. Well, we have seen four major tests, and unfortunately for us those portions that were submitted to a test were declared constitutional. Therefore, it must be clear and quite obvious to all of us that there is no possible approach to relief from this pressure other than through the activities of your League for Political Education.

And isn't it amazing, when you stop to think that of all the nations of the world outside of those behind the Iron Curtain, all of them today enjoy more freedom in the collective bargaining field than you here in the United States? That cannot be disputed. And what is the answer for it? That ballot, and bringing our people to the full realization that if our unions are to remain sound and are to continue to grow, the only way that will be possible is through the repeal of that vicious legislation.

There are thousands among us who don't seem to realize just what it has done to us. In the state where I come from, at this very hour, there are suits pending in the courts exceeding \$1,200,000 and some odd dollars against our smaller unions, if you please, for alleged violation of the financial responsibility section. One of these cases is one in which two unions are involved, and they are members of one international union. The one group had an employer that failed to pay his men on Friday, and on Monday the other union refused to go to work until they had received that money. That strike went on for about ten days. Now the owner of that industry is suing our union under the Taft-Hartley Act. How do you like that? Doesn't that bring this home to you? A mere sample of what is happening to us all over the country, and yet in this dark hour there are those who sit among us contentedly, feeling that we have the best collective bargaining contracts in the world, and at the same time they are of the opinion that nothing can happen to those contracts and that they

don't have anything to worry about because they personally have not yet been hit by it.

Employment conditions are so far above normal that it would be very unwise for any employer to engage in a test now to any great extent. But let us have a little slackening of work opportunities and see how quickly they will take advantage of that piece of legislation.

I have said many times over the country, and I want to repeat it again this morning, that any employer that wants to take full advantage of that law can render null and void any collective bargaining contract, and on that point I defy contradiction.

And so we want to make a fervent appeal this morning to all the leaders of all our international organizations, to the leaders of our state federations, to the leaders of our central labor unions—yes, to our local unions to take this matter a little more seriously than some of them have, and if possible to make available to us the services of their road men in these remaining weeks in this campaign.

I think you know the story with respect to our dollar contributions. We are from 25 to 30 per cent below the same date of last year, 1950. At the same time we have all of our friends in Congress and in the Senate who have stood up so loyally and fought for our cause in the legislative halls, asking us now for help, because we are the only people to whom they can appeal. Surely the National Association of Manufacturers won't help them. You can count on that, but they will help to put them out, along with the American Medical Association and with the other lobbies down in Washington which have fought so consistently against liberal and social legislation in these United States.

And so if they are to be saved, if we are to have some more liberals, there is only one possible way of doing that, and that is through having sufficient dollars to give them some aid. As little as it is, it means so much to them to help them with their radio programs, their television programs, their literature. Whether they like it or not, that they have to do, because their competitors have these facilities.

And so they are asking us day in and day out for help, more help, and I want to make a special appeal to you this morning: When you go back home please give it a little more push, so that we can get these dollars now, and not when the campaign is over. We must have them now so that the commitments these fellows have to make can be handled with an assurance that the money will be forthcoming.

So please don't let us down. We cannot win, we cannot retain these friends without your help in that dollar campaign. We have had, as you know, some rather outstanding victories in the primaries—too numerous to mention now because of the limitations of time—and we are quite confident we are going to have some grand victories in the general election if—that great, big “if”—we can get sufficient dollars. We have proven it in past campaigns. If we have sufficient help we can win.

We read in the papers nowadays editorials by Mr. Hearst, Jr., and some other distinguished Americans in which they say that labor has no voice in any election. Well, I think the record over the years answers that question very clearly, because in all of the industrial areas of the nation we have had many victories. That seems to answer that kind of a question.

Now, because of the limitations of time I am going to conclude and ask that my full written report on L.L.P.E. activities be entered as a supplemental report in the convention proceedings. In concluding once again I ask you to please give us all possible help in that dollar contribution program.

SUPPLEMENTAL WRITTEN REPORT ON L.L.P.E. ACTIVITIES

**(By James L. McDevitt, Director,
Labor's League for Political
Education)**

It is very appropriate that the A. F. of L. Convention should concern itself with politics. It is not only appropriate but also traditional. As George Meany said the other night, when a half-dozen unions first got together to form the A. F. of L. in 1881, their purpose in joining together was mutual self-protection against unfair laws. In that first platform adopted in 1881 there were a total of 13 points. The first twelve called for specific pieces of legislation and the thirteenth called

for non-partisan political action to elect officeholders who would enact the first 12 points.

Their purpose then and our purpose in forming L.L.P.E. in 1947 were the same. We do not seek government handouts as a reward for political action. What we want is good government operating under fair laws.

Those who say unions should concern themselves only with collective bargaining and that they have no business in politics are deliberately shutting their eyes to the facts.

You can't conduct successful collective bargaining when the law won't permit you. When the law provides for mandatory injunctions and damage suits for every trumped up alleged breach of contract; when the law forces union men to scab on their brothers by outlawing the secondary boycott; when the law denies union men the protection of the hiring hall, you can't conduct collective bargaining. You can't negotiate a decent contract until the Taft-Hartley Act is wiped off the statute books.

The only way to get rid of Taft-Hartley is to elect 49 Senators and 218 Representatives who feel the same way. Wishing won't elect them. It takes political action. Non-partisan political action is very much a trade union business—and it always has been.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Has our political education been successful?

Let's take a look at what has been accomplished since the A. F. of L. formed L.L.P.E. in 1947.

In that year we were at our low ebb. When the original vote came on Taft-Hartley we had only 25 friends in the Senate and 83 in the House—not even the one-third necessary to sustain the veto.

The 1948 election was the biggest upset in many years. When the vote came on Taft-Hartley repeal in 1949, we had increased our friends from 83 to more than 200 in the House and from 25 to 44 in the Senate—just short of a majority. But to the credit of that Congress, the first liberal legislation in ten years was passed. That Congress passed the union shop law for railway workers, increased the minimum wage to 75 cents and increased Social Security. The first slum clearance and public housing act was passed by that Congress.

Then came the 1950 elections. Usually in the off-year elections you can expect to lose a lot of liberal seats in Congress. Many of us were disappointed by the 1950 elections. It took the professional politicians to tell us to look at history before deciding to run for cover. The 1950 election was the best off-year election since 1934. 183 of our House friends survived the 1950 election—that's an even hundred better than the 83 we had in the terrible 80th Congress. The same was true in the Senate. We had 40 friends in this last Congress contrasted with 25 in the 80th.

Labor alone did not accomplish all this but we contributed our share. There is every reason to believe that we can hold

our own and actually increase our friends in Congress this year. Our position is much better now than in 1948. We need only 9 more friends in the Senate and 35 more in the House to pass a good labor law. If we do the political education job we can do, I believe you will see the repeal of the Act.

But there is one thing we can always be sure of—if we don't do our job—the other side will move in and do a job on us. Need I say that Senator Taft is hardly acting like a defeated candidate these days. He will call the tune in the next Congress if the reactionaries win. He isn't through with us yet. As the WALL STREET JOURNAL recently said, Taft proposes a law under which, and I quote: "No Union officer would be entitled to negotiate labor contracts for the employees of more than one company." I don't need to tell you that you might as well close your International Union offices if such a law were passed. But as the WALL STREET JOURNAL further said, and I quote: "This November's elections hold the key to what happens . . . It's still a good bet that the Congress will wait for a clue from the voters this Fall."

Never was a challenge laid down more clearly. I know you are going to meet that challenge by doing everything in your power this November to elect your friends and defeat your enemies.

REPORT ON L.L.P.E. ACTIVITIES

As Director of the League, I want to report to you very briefly on the highlights of our activity during this last year.

By action of the 1951 Convention L.L.P.E. was made a formal part of the A. F. of L. Our staff is now part of the A. F. of L. and our year-round educational activities are financed from A. F. of L. per capita funds.

Of course, the Taft-Hartley Act prevents us from using any A. F. of L. per capita in direct support of a Congressional candidate. Therefore, our campaign for voluntary contributions was launched during January of this year. I am happy to announce to you that out of the 92 A. F. of L. unions that could participate in this drive, 85 unions are so doing. That is better than 90 per cent cooperation. Membership books and letters of instruction were sent out by these 85 cooperating International Unions to approximately 23,000 local unions in every state in the union.

At this point we are not doing as well as we should. In 1948 we collected a little less than a half-million dollars. In 1950 we collected just over a half-million dollars. We have received less than two hundred thousand dollars so far this year. That's less than \$10.00 for each of the 23,000 locals to which membership books were sent. The members aren't going to come into your local union offices with a dollar in their hand looking for an L.L.P.E. card. You, the officers of our Organizations, have to take the cards out to the members and ask them to contribute. The cards won't get sold sitting

in a desk. Money already collected and sitting in a local union officer's desk won't help elect any candidates. We need the money in Washington now, so we can get it back to the State Leagues. Our friends running for office need funds now . . . not in the middle of November.

One of the first steps taken to merge the L.L.P.E. activities directly with the A. F. of L. was to eliminate the necessity of two publications, the A. F. of L. News Service and the L.L.P.E. League Reporter. In their place we now have the 8-page weekly tabloid, the A. F. of L. News-Reporter. This was an important step since the political education stories in the Reporter now carry behind them the full prestige of the A. F. of L.

The League has maintained its radio department giving service to our Local Leagues and to Congressional candidates.

The Frank Edwards nightly broadcast which was formerly financed in part by L.L.P.E., is now financed solely by the A. F. of L. However, Frank Edwards continues to give us the same fine cooperation in keeping his listeners posted on political issues.

One very important change being inaugurated this year is in the preparation of individual records by which Congressmen are to be judged.

In the past the League issued voting records on a yearly basis. The record was allowed to stand on its own with no appraisal made of each incumbent. In addition the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee maintained voting records dating back over many years. So the Executive Officers of the League were directed to sit down with the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee and work out a mutually satisfactory arrangement. I am happy to announce we have achieved complete success and harmony.

In the mail to the State Leagues right now are individual analyses of each incumbent Congressman running for reelection. These analyses include votes dating back to the 80th Congress on Labor measures, social welfare measures, domestic economic policy and foreign anti-communist aid. Also included is a compilation of the Congressman's individual actions in Committee and on the floor of Congress. The A. F. of L. Government Employees Council considered the record of each incumbent and provided us with the names of those they wanted mentioned as friendly or unfriendly on government employee legislation. Finally an individual appraisal of the record of each man is attached to each analysis. This appraisal indicates whether the man is worthy of favorable consideration or not. In cases where the record does not clearly speak for itself, no recommendation is made.

The important thing is that in the preparation of these analyses and of the final appraisals, the League and the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee worked in closest cooperation. There is complete concurrence in the votes used in these analyses and in the appraisals. Reaching agreement and preparing these individual

reports of course took time. They are coming to you later than I would have desired. In coming years you may be sure that they will reach you at an earlier date.

Needless to say, any of the material in these analyses may be used in any way you desire. The State Leagues have already received state breakdowns of the votes used in these analyses. Printed copies for the nation as a whole will be mailed out next week.

During the year we have prepared fund-raising leaflets, bulletin board placards, labor press material and special research services as requested.

In addition we launched a women's program designed to enlist the participation of trade union wives. We have sent out instructions and leaflets. We are mailing out weekly, what we call an L.L.P.E. Tip Sheet "For Women Only." These are being used as handouts and in the labor papers.

The 400 A. F. of L. Labor Editors throughout the country have given wonderful help during this campaign. It is only through the weekly papers and the International Union Journals that we are able to reach into every trade union home. The Labor Editors have certainly been great allies of L.L.P.E. in taking our material and reprinting it and in developing their own political education messages as it applied to their members.

On the organizational side, as you know the League does not maintain a regional staff. We depend of course on the State Federations and the Central Labor Unions to organize their own Leagues. However, either I or a member of my small Washington Staff, have managed to get into 38 States during the last nine months. I know that our visits have been hurried in most cases and I wish that we could have done more in any number of instances. However, in many parts of the country the State and Local leaders have built remarkably effective Leagues and I know that year after year we will perfect our techniques.

A meeting was held here Saturday of the State and Local L.L.P.E. officers. I am happy to say that we had an excellent turn out of more than one hundred even though it was a Saturday meeting. This was a work session in which we went over our many organizational and financial problems. Several important legal questions were raised and after full consideration by our attorneys, the information will be mailed out to all State offices. The spirit and determination demonstrated Saturday morning was certainly encouraging to me, and has renewed my confidence in our ability to do an effective job next November 4th.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Now that the primary elections are completed throughout the country, we have carefully checked the various elections looking for any clues that might indicate a trend this year.

There is one thing which may be encouraging. In every part of the country

the vote was higher than usual. If it is true that a big vote is favorable for labor's friends, then this should be a good election in November.

We cannot point to any notable successes in the Southern Democratic primaries. The type of hate campaign which was conducted in Florida, North Carolina and South Carolina two years ago has succeeded in discouraging high-type candidates from running for office.

Harry Byrd of course won in Virginia as most of us anticipated. However, labor joined with the other anti-machine elements in giving Senator Byrd enough of a scare that he felt compelled to embrace and endorse many liberal measures that he always opposed in the Senate.

We were more fortunate in the one party areas in the North in the Republican primaries. As an illustration, labor's staunch friend, Senator Langer of North Dakota, met the most bitter opposition within his party. Thanks in part to A. F. of L. efforts, Langer came through with the greatest victory of his political career.

In Maine, we played our part, along with other citizens groups, in retiring one of the worst men in the Senate, Owen Brewster. He was not only unfriendly to working people, but by his personal bad conduct proved that this corruption issue is bi-partisan and not confined to the Democratic party. Governor Payne, who defeated Brewster, has always been fair in his dealings with the A. F. of L. and can be expected to be a good Senator.

Some people are surprised that Joe McCarthy was not defeated in the primary in Wisconsin. I don't see why. He had the support of the Coleman machine which is one of the most powerful in the country. His opponent not only had to buck the organization but he had very limited funds with which to operate. McCarthy was a problem for his party bosses to solve. They chose to back him, and as is usual in party primaries the candidate endorsed by the party bosses wins. Don't be too optimistic about our chances for a Democratic victory against McCarthy in November. Wisconsin goes Democratic only in a landslide.

There are many states in which outstanding Senate candidates can oust reactionaries if they get the right kind of support in November. Scoop Jackson is pitted against the notorious Senator Harry Cain in the State of Washington. Mike Mansfield in Montana and Walter Granger in Utah appear to have good chances for victory. In Connecticut two very good friends of Labor, Senator Benton and Congressman Ribicoff are fighting an investment banker and a manufacturer for the two Senate seats there. This is a particularly tough and very crucial election in Connecticut. Labor's good friend, Senator O'Mahoney, is reported in a stiff fight for reelection in Wyoming as is Senator Chavez in New Mexico.

And so it goes in State after State. If we are to make a net gain in the number of our friends in the House and in the Senate, we can't afford to lose a seat, and

it will not be easy to take away enough reactionary seats to assure a liberal majority in the next Congress.

In all these campaigns we have been emphasizing to our people the importance of refraining from flexing our muscles in public—telling who we are going to purge and taking all the credit when a liberal wins. We are quite willing to work quietly and even through other groups where it is deemed advisable. We are interested in better lawmakers—not public credit.

CONCLUSION

Getting a good government is to the interest of every trade union member in this country. Political action is a primary trade union responsibility. We are not going to get results until we get enough voluntary contributions to really help our friends. A. F. of L. members will contribute if you, the leaders of this Federation, give them half a chance. Nobody is going to collect this money unless you do. You can make or break our A. F. of L. political program according to what you do when you leave this hall and go back to your states and communities.

Everything about our political program is above board. There are no deals made in smoke-filled rooms under our program. Our finances, our methods of judging candidates and the final decisions are just as open and democratic as human ability can make them. So long as you support and guide the policy it will remain so. As Director of L.L.P.E., I pledge you that I will devote my every effort to making our political arm stronger and an ever greater influence for decent government.

In conclusion, I want to express to the leaders of our affiliated unions our sincere appreciation for the splendid cooperation which we have received from them not alone in the 1952 campaign but in all the prior campaigns as well. It has been your support that has made possible the success which we have won since 1946. I am confident that not only the same degree of cooperation, but an even greater degree will prevail between now and election day.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I know we all appreciate this report that has been submitted by Director McDevitt of Labor's League for Political Education. It is educational and informative. It makes clear the fact that political conditions have so developed as to make it absolutely necessary for the American Federation of Labor to function in as large and as comprehensive a way as possible, through Labor's League for Political Education.

Brother McDevitt, I thank you very kindly for the report which you have submitted this morning.

The Chair now recognizes Secretary Meany for a supplemental report of the Executive Council.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECRETARY MEANY: I wish to make a supplemental report, unanimously adopted by the Executive Council.

There can be no doubt in the minds of thinking men and women that the economic welfare and future well-being of America's workers will be determined, more than ever before in history, by legislation.

This changing order, this break with past tradition, is none of our doing. It was forced upon us by the reactionaries. While publicly decrying the invasion of private liberty by government, the reactionaries have aggressively mobilized to undermine and destroy the freedom of labor by restrictive legislation at the Federal and State levels.

Since the founding of the American Federation of Labor, our trade unions, functioning as free institutions, have successfully overcome every challenge by hostile employers. Year by year, our trade unions have steadily lifted standards of living and conditions of employment. Wages have been increased; hours of work have been reduced; industrial hazards have declined; educational and recreational opportunities have been enlarged. A fuller and better life has been secured for all American workers.

But now the forces of reaction want to call a halt to this tide of progress. They are determined, if they can, to reverse the trend. To this end they have regrouped to fight labor on a new battle line. They hope to win back in the legislative and political field what they lost on the economic front.

The Taft-Hartley Act symbolizes the legislative club big business holds over the heads of labor. It has been supplemented by many State laws, even more severe, and by such restrictive Federal legislation as the Hobbs and Lea Acts. At the behest of business interests, Congress has enacted tax favoritism to the wealthy; it has ignored the interests of the consumers by weakening price controls; it has stopped all social improvement legislation in its tracks.

Unless such restrictive laws are repealed, unless the interests of all the American people are once more protected by Congress from rapacious raids by special interests, the American standard of living and our very way of life are bound to suffer irreparable damage.

Labor's indictment of the Taft-Hartley Act is clear and unanswerable.

It has revived the indefensible doctrine of conspiracy which plagued trade unions in the 19th century.

It has emasculated the just provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which prevented the Federal courts from being misused as an instrument to help employers fight unions.

By its enactment, the genuine union shop—the outcome of a century of struggle—has been swept aside.

Free speech has been made a mockery

and employers are now given license to force workers into captive audiences.

The right to strike has been reduced to a shadow of its former self. Employers today know the law permits them to sever the "employee status" of strikers at will.

Officers of free trade unions, who have led the fight against Communism, are forced by this law to submit loyalty oaths while employers are exempted.

As workers, as trade unionists, as sovereign citizens of our free land, we must meet the new reactionary challenge that faces us.

The time for action is at hand.

Let us meet our enemies on the new battlefield they have chosen. Let us use the weapon which every citizen of our free land possesses. Let us all vote—and vote intelligently—in the coming election.

We are convinced that our responsibility to our membership demands that we state frankly and sincerely where we stand in this election. Political neutrality would be an evasion of that responsibility. Our enemies do not practice political neutrality. If we hope to cope with them successfully, we must survey the facts and the issues and take our stand. In no other way can we effectively support our friends and defeat our enemies.

The issues and the facts are clear. We present herewith the platform recommendations submitted by the American Federation of Labor to both major political conventions in Chicago, together with the actions of both conventions on our recommendations:

The Taft-Hartley Law

The first proposal of the American Federation of Labor was to replace the Taft-Hartley law with a new law fair to management and labor alike, and in the public interest.

The Democratic platform approved our proposal. It strongly recommended the repeal of this unfair and obnoxious law. It called for a new approach to the entire labor-management problems on a basis of fairness and equality to all concerned.

The Republican platform praised and favored the retention of the Taft-Hartley Act. Its sole concession was the promise of amendments in general terms and at some distant future date—if and when future experience showed the need for them.

Prevention of Inflation

The American Federation of Labor requested a genuine stabilization program with effective price controls to end profiteering at the cost of American consumers.

The Republican platform completely ignored this vital issue.

The Democratic platform pledged continuance of workable price controls during the emergency and action to correct the wrong inflicted on the American people by

the weakening amendments to the Defense Production Act passed by Congress.

Rent Control

We proposed that rent controls be continued wherever housing shortages existed. The Democratic platform approved that course.

The Republican Party urged the abolition of rent controls except in defense areas.

Housing

We urged programs for private housing development, for public low rent housing, for slum clearance, for urban redevelopment and for farm housing.

The Democratic platform practically matched the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor on housing.

The Republican platform overlooked the problem of housing completely save for a statement that the party would cooperate with local governments in slum clearance.

Social Security

The American Federation of Labor proposed a system of federal insurance which would give genuine protection to people against the hazards of old age, disability and major illness. We urged this as a matter of true thrift not a "hand-out" state. Concretely, we called for liberalization of old age and survivors insurance benefits so that the payments matched the increased cost of living. We further recommended a workable system of disability insurance.

The Democratic platform called for higher benefit payments, extension of coverage to those not now protected and the elimination of restrictions on the amount which retired workers could earn while drawing the benefits for which they paid taxes.

The Republican platform did favor the extension of coverage. It did not advocate the payment of higher benefits to meet the rise in the cost of living. Instead, it promised to stop the inflationary price rise by cutting Federal spending. In the face of the War in Korea and the terrifically expensive defense program this hoped for solution was clearly unrealistic.

Health Insurance

Our recommendation was that there be established a genuine health insurance program to meet honestly the nation's health needs.

The Democratic platform goes only so far as to hope for an acceptable solution from the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. It did favor federal aid to hospital construction and aid for medical education.

The Republican platform not only opposed health insurance but condemned openly the whole idea.

Aid to Education

We asked federal aid to education so that full educational opportunity would be assured regardless of economic status or race.

The Democratic platform endorsed this broad program of federal aid to education.

The Republican platform stated that financing education was a local problem of the communities and of the State. This ignored the fact that there are a number of States which just don't have the money to provide their people with a decent education.

Taxation

We favored an intensive effort to bring federal defense and non-defense expenditures into balance with tax revenue—providing necessary defense needs were not neglected, international obligations and commitments were not ignored, and services necessary to the health and welfare of the American people were not curtailed. We also urged that tax loopholes be closed, that excise taxes be eventually eliminated, and when tax reductions become possible they should go first to persons in the low income tax brackets.

The Democratic plank contained no reckless or illusory promises to reduce taxes immediately. They did oppose a federal sales tax; they promised to close tax loopholes designed to favor special groups at the expense of the rest of the taxpayers. They agreed that low income persons should receive the first tax reductions when they became available.

The Republican platform eagerly promised immediate reductions in taxes by the elimination of waste and extravagance. Once again the Korean War and the cost of the defense program appeared to be conveniently overlooked.

Civil Rights

We are deeply concerned with the security and advancement of civil rights. The position taken by the American Federation of Labor was that Congress should enact a Federal F. E. P. C. law since America could not uphold the virtues of democracy in the family of nations while equal opportunity to work and to earn a living was denied to its own citizens because of race, creed or color.

The Democratic platform did not mention the F. E. P. C. by name. It did however commit the party in favor of federal legislation to secure the right of an equal opportunity for employment and other basic civil rights. The platform put the party on record against the filibuster.

The Republican platform makes no promises but indicates opposition to a federal law on anti-discrimination by declaring that state legislation should not be duplicated and no huge bureaucracy should be created.

Foreign Policy

We insisted that America must strengthen its defenses and those of the

free world. We asserted that America must refuse to yield to Soviet pressure in any quarter of the globe. Finally we urged the continuance of the Mutual Security Program.

Both parties have pledged resistance against Communist aggression and co-operation with the other free nations to maintain world peace. One fact is clear: Moscow can find no consolation in the foreign policy planks of either American political party.

This analysis clearly outlines the wide gulf that separates the two major parties on most domestic issues of vital concern to America's workers.

The Democratic Party's platform is responsive to the needs and desires of the workers and liberal-minded people of our country.

The Republican Party's platform is responsive to the demands of the ultra-conservative, anti-union elements in the nation.

There can be no hesitation on our part in declaring the obvious truth—that the Democratic platform is far more preferable to labor than the Republican platform.

In evaluating the qualifications of the candidates, we wish to emphasize that we are not moved by partisan considerations, but by facts.

We hold both candidates for the Presidency in high esteem.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower is a loyal and patriotic citizen. He has won the respect and admiration of all his fellow Americans and of millions of other free people throughout the world for his military achievements. Moreover, he is a man of great personal charm.

While we affirm the highest regard for General Eisenhower's military genius, it is as civilian that he is seeking the highest civilian office in the land.

There is little evidence available on record that General Eisenhower possesses any intimate knowledge of, or experience with, the great domestic problems facing our nation.

On international issues, he has dealt mainly with what he regards as mistakes made by the Democratic Administrations, while at the same time expressing views quite in keeping with the foreign policy of the Democratic Party.

In the domestic area, he has dealt in the campaign largely with fault-finding, instead of clearly defining his specific views on the big issues.

He does not favor repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and its replacement by a new law. His expressed views to this convention coincide largely, if not entirely, with those expressed by Senator Taft after his conference with the General. His professed opposition to "compulsion" offers labor little comfort in the face of his general approval of this law which is permeated with compulsion of labor.

He says "America wants no law to license union busting" and he concedes that the Taft-Hartley Act "might be used to break unions." Yet he wants to keep the law, with only such changes as Sen-

ator Taft agrees to. Such a stand offers labor no solid assurance.

To the working people of this country, the public embrace of the Republican Presidential candidate and Senator Taft, the symbol of reaction, came as a shock. Gen. Eisenhower, who was built up as the champion of liberalism in the Republican Party, has also clasped to his bosom such notable reactionaries as Senators Kem, of Missouri; Cain, of Washington; Bricker, of Ohio; Jenner, of Indiana, and McCarthy, of Wisconsin. This is indeed a sorry aggregation. Their professed views are contrary to Gen. Eisenhower's own expressed views and detrimental to the best interests of the American people. His support of such candidates destroys any possible notion that he could steer the Republican Party back to the path of liberalism.

Now let us give equally careful consideration to the Democratic Presidential candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson.

Gov. Stevenson has acquired knowledge, training and experience in the problems of government as the Chief Executive of a great State. He has shown himself throughout the campaign to be a man of courage, humility and integrity, as well as of great personal charm.

He told us forthrightly in his address to this convention that he is for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and its replacement with a new law that will deal fairly and justly with labor-management problems and protect the public interest.

His campaign has been marked by intelligent, specific discussion of campaign issues. He has not evaded. He has not equivocated.

The positive program outlined by Governor Stevenson before our convention and in previous campaign addresses offers hope to the American people because it is based upon the principle that the interests of the people are paramount.

In brief, he inspires our full confidence.

These are the facts as we see them. It now remains for us to act upon these facts in the interests of the 8 million members we represent, as well as in the interests of all the American people.

We must act here in full recognition of the fact that we are a voluntary organization, committed to the principles of democracy and individual freedom.

We emphasize that the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor and each and every one of their members are free to make their own individual political decisions without any compulsion on our part.

It is not our intention or desire to endorse any political party or to enter into partisan politics.

We must face the facts. We have an obligation to inform our members of the facts. Not only immediate considerations, but the entire future course of our country, require us to express our carefully considered choice as between the two Presidential candidates.

Fully conscious of our responsibility as trade union leaders and as Americans, we advise and urge each and every member of the American Federation of Labor to

vote for Adlai E. Stevenson for President of the United States on Nov. 4.

SECRETARY MEANY: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the supplemental report of the Executive Council.

. . . The motion was seconded by Vice President MacGowan.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It has been regularly moved and seconded that the report of the Executive Council to this convention just read be adopted. Are there any remarks?

DELEGATE TURCO, Newsboys: Mr. Chairman, my name is Turco, T-u-r-c-o. I am not a Republican; I am a Democrat. I advocate the Democratic ticket and vote for them.

The only thing that I am concerned with, Mr. Chairman and delegates and citizens of this nation, is that it is all right to act on political action, but I made an appeal to you a few days ago that, to have true political action you have to have united industrial action, and so far I haven't seen any report, I haven't seen any labor leaders or anyone else take a stand to unite labor on the industrial field. Don't kid yourself, Mr. Chairman—

A DELEGATE: A point of order.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The point has been made that you are out of order.

DELEGATE TURCO: Mr. Chairman—

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: May I advise the delegate that that subject is before the Committee on Resolutions and will be reported on?

SECRETARY MEANY: May I raise a point of order? Brother Turco has tried to discuss this subject at every phase of this convention. He has already discussed it at length on a report of the Taft-Hartley Act. He was told from this rostrum that the subject of labor unity would be reported on by the Resolutions Committee. He can have his chance to discuss it at that time. So my point is that he is out of order in bringing it into this discussion.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The point of order is well taken. The subject of labor unity is not before the convention at this time.

DELEGATE TURCO: You don't want labor unity, Mr. Chairman.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Are there any further remarks?

. . . Several delegates called for the question.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The question has been called for. All in favor of the motion will please rise to their feet.

Those opposed, the same sign.

It appears that there is no opposition whatever to the motion to adopt the report of the Executive Council, and the Chair declares it is unanimously carried.

That completes the report of the committee.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

We have now reached the point and time for us to proceed to transact the special order of business, the election of officers. The delegates in the convention yesterday fixed 11:00 o'clock today as the hour for the transaction of that special order of business. It is practically 11:00 o'clock now, so the Chair is calling upon Brother Robert Byron, President of the Sheet Metal Workers International Union to preside.

(Delegate Robert Byron, President of Sheet Metal Workers International Union, in the Chair.)

CHAIRMAN BYRON: The first nomination is that of President of the American Federation of Labor, and the Chair recognizes Brother Hannah.

DELEGATE HANNAH, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates to this convention: Once again I consider it a rare privilege and a signal honor to present to this convention for the high office of President a distinguished American, a tried trade unionist, one who is a typical product of the American labor movement, whose background represents everything that labor is in this nation of ours.

He worked in the mines with his father; became active in his own local union back in Ohio; took an active part in the state government; served as Chairman of the Senate Committee; was the sponsor of the first Workmen's Compensation Act

in the nation, which was used as a model in other states; played a very important part in his own International Union and served as International Secretary-Treasurer of that union with distinction and honor; was elected as President of the great American Federation of Labor and has served in that office with nobility, with honor, with courage and with distinction.

Therefore, I feel it a signal honor indeed to present to this convention for the high office of President of this Federation the name of the Honorable William Green.

CHAIRMAN BYRON: Are there further nominations? Hearing none, I declare the nominations closed.

DELEGATE MARTEL, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan Central Body: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green as President.

CHAIRMAN BYRON: No objection; so ordered.

SECRETARY MEANY: And in accordance with your instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

CHAIRMAN BYRON: I, therefore, declare him duly elected to that office.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Officers and delegates in attendance at this historic convention: I wish I could describe the feeling of responsibility which your action has conferred upon me, and my feeling of appreciation of this action taken by this great convention of the American Federation of Labor. There is a vast difference between a consciousness of responsibility and an appreciation of some kindness conferred upon one.

You have decided at a number of conventions of the American Federation of Labor to call upon me to serve as your President. I succeeded a great leader in the field of labor. I succeeded the mighty Samuel Gompers, who contributed much to the establishment of the American Federation of Labor. He had made a record with all classes of citizens that was tremendously impressive. No individual

could be selected to succeed him without being conscious of the fact that he was called upon to measure up to a high standard of service, a high standard of honor and integrity, and a high standard in recognizing the workers of America. I was impressed with that responsibility. It has affected me ever since I succeeded that great hero, and now it has increased today.

I tell you truthfully from my heart that I take up the work again for another year to which you have elected me, fully conscious of the tremendous responsibility which I have assumed. I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for this great honor which you have conferred upon me, and I am conscious of the fact that I owe you a debt I can never repay because of your action here today.

Thank you so much.

(President Green in the Chair)

VICE PRESIDENTS

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now calls for the nomination of a First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, and I recognize one of the oldest members of our great organized labor movement. He has been serving in an official capacity in a large organization for more than half a century.

And think of this—he is now attending his fiftieth consecutive convention of the American Federation of Labor as a delegate. That is a record; that is an honor. It is outstanding and deeply significant. All of us love him. Our relation with him is one of almost a religious character; we are bound together by solemn ties of friendship, and I am glad to present to you now Brother Frank Duffy, a delegate to this convention.

DELEGATE DUFFY, United Brotherhood of Carpenters: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I would ask you, my old friend, Bill Green, not to say anything about me. I am just an ordinary, everyday fellow trying to build up this organization as best I can for more than 50 years. I am glad to be here.

At this time the candidate for the position of First Vice President is usually

put forth to the delegates, and as my old friend, William L. Hutcheson, is the First Vice President, that brings me to this platform.

Some few years ago I had ideas. I didn't want to put them forth to the convention. I didn't want to cut anybody off from saying nice things about their own General Officers. I like to hear those things said.

Still I thought that if I would nominate one Vice President I might as well nominate all the Vice Presidents at one time, and I told them so. We all know these fellows—good, clever, capable, up to date, active, wide awake fellows in the labor movement. They know that movement from beginning to end, and we have all the confidence in the world in them. They know that, too, so I come to the platform this time not only to nominate my own President for the office of First Vice President, but to nominate the 13 Vice Presidents, so that you can deal with this matter as you dealt with it at the last convention in San Francisco.

To make it legal I must give you the names, and here they are: I nominate for the 13 Vice Presidents of this organization the following:

William L. Hutcheson, First Vice President.

Matthew Woll, Second Vice President.

George M. Harrison, Third Vice President.

Daniel J. Tobin, Fourth Vice President.

Harry C. Bates, Fifth Vice President.

W. C. Birthright, Sixth Vice President.

W. C. Doherty, Seventh Vice President.

David Dubinsky, Eighth Vice President.

Charles J. MacGowan, Ninth President.

Herman Winter, Tenth Vice President.

D. W. Tracy, Eleventh Vice President.

William L. McFetridge, Twelfth Vice President, and

James C. Petrillo, Thirteenth Vice President.

I have confidence in these men, and I give them to you now. When I nomi-

nated them in preceding conventions they were elected unanimously, and without any opposition. I hope that will occur now.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Brother Schoenberg to second the nominations that have been made.

DELEGATE SCHOENBERG, Cement Workers: Mr. President, each time when my good, old friend, the old war horse, Brother Duffy, of the great organization of the Carpenters has made this kind of motion it has been my privilege to second the motion. I do it now, realizing that every one of the Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor are men of great integrity, of high standing. They are great leaders of our great American Federation of Labor. I am happy to have lived long enough to be able to second the motion of the old war horse, Brother Duffy.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You have heard the nominations made by Brother Frank Duffy and seconded by Brother William Schoenberg. Are there any remarks?

DELEGATE VOLZ, Photo-Engravers: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot, the ballot of this convention, for the thirteen nominees for Vice Presidents.

. . . The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE WESTON, Washington State Federation of Labor: I wish to go on record in opposition to the motion just made. I think we are getting away from democratic procedure when we take an action of this kind. I wish to be on record.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Any further remarks? If not, all those who favor the motion please say aye; those opposed, no.

The motion is carried and the Chair recognizes Secretary Meany.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MEANY: In accordance with the decision of the convention, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for the following officers:

William L. Hutcheson, First Vice President.

Matthew Woll, Second Vice President.

George M. Harrison, Third Vice President.

Daniel J. Tobin, Fourth Vice President.

Harry C. Bates, Fifth Vice President.

William C. Birthright, Sixth Vice President.

William C. Doherty, Seventh Vice President.

David Dubinsky, Eighth Vice President.

Charles J. MacGowan, Ninth Vice President.

Herman Winter, Tenth Vice President.

Daniel W. Tracy, Eleventh Vice President.

William L. McFetridge, Twelfth Vice President.

James C. Petrillo, Thirteenth Vice President.

PRESIDENT GREEN: And in conformity with your decision and the announcement made by the Secretary Treasurer, I hereby officially declare these Vice Presidents of the American Federation of Labor just named duly elected for the ensuing term.

SECRETARY-TREASURER

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now calls for the nomination of Secretary-Treasurer. I recognize Delegate Durkin, President of the Plumbers and Steamfitters International Union.

DELEGATE DURKIN, Plumbers: President Green and delegates of this convention: I wish to place in nomination the name of a member of our Plumbers Local Union of this city, one who has been a member of that local union for 35 years and who has served an apprenticeship of five years under the supervision of the journeymen members of that organization.

In 1922 he was elected as business agent of his local union, and in that office he served as a delegate to the Building Trades Council of New York, as well as to the Central Body of New York City. Because of his ability, which was recognized by all of those with whom he

associated, they selected him as President of the New York State Federation of Labor. While acting as President it was his duty to carry out the legislative program of the State Federation of Labor of New York. During that period of time the finest legislation that was ever passed in any state in this country was passed here in the State of New York. The leader in state legislation prior to that time was the State of Wisconsin, and when the President of the United States of America decided that a study should be made for the passage of a law, a better law for unemployment compensation, the committee that he appointed to make that study accepted the principles as set forth in the law of the State of New York.

I have served for eight years as the head of the Labor Department in Illinois. Secretary Frances Perkins of the Labor Department of the United States had called upon the heads of our Commissioners of Labor of all of the states in the Union as well as the Presidents of the State Federations of Labor, for the purpose of trying to bring the laws of the different states up to the standard where they should be, and to amend acts that were on the statute book concerning labor for many years.

During those conferences we got to know just what laws were passed here in New York under the leadership of this member whom I intend to place in nomination. Because of the fine work that he had done as President of the New York State Federation of Labor and as an official of his local union, International Presidents of the American Federation of Labor requested that he serve in the capacity of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. It was they who sought George, and not George seeking the position. George has done a fine job as Secretary-Treasurer, and I don't have to tell you because you are well acquainted with the service that he has rendered as Secretary-Treasurer. George is one plumber who always carried the tools that were necessary to do the job required of him in handling labor matters. He is one that, after his God, his family and his country, the American Federation of Labor comes next.

I place in nomination the name of George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Delegate Murray, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, to second the nomination.

DELEGATE MURRAY, New York State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you sincerely for the recognition of the privilege extended to me and the workers of this state of seconding the nomination of a man who has served his state, as the previous speaker has told you, in a manner that could not be excelled or has not been excelled before or since in the State Federation of Labor in our legislative halls.

George Meany's tireless efforts have forwarded the promotion of the labor movement. He has served in every position, either minor or official, in a manner most satisfactory and efficient. It is a privilege not only for me, but for the workers of this state, both organized and unorganized, to second the nomination of George Meany to continue in office—and I believe I express the will of every delegate here—as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT, Barbers: Mr. Chairman, believing in unity, I move that the nominations be closed and Brother Meany be elected by acclamation.

... The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT GREEN: It has been regularly moved and seconded the nominations be closed and that the Assistant Secretary be directed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the reelection of George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. All those in favor of that motion will please say aye; opposed, no.

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

The Chair recognizes Assistant Secretary Brennan.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY BRENNAN: In accordance with your instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George Meany as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to officially declare Brother Meany reelected

as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

SECRETARY MEANY: Mr. Chairman and delegates: In observance of the usual custom, I want to say a word of thanks to the delegates for reelecting me to this position. I want to particularly thank my old friends, Marty Durkin and Tom Murray, for performing their usual tasks.

This convention to me is one of the outstanding events of my life, particularly because it is held in this city where I was born and where I grew up, but more particularly because I have seen here today concrete evidence that the American Federation of Labor is growing up.

The decision taken here this morning to me is one of the most important ever taken in the history of our movement, and I think that we should give a little thought to it and try to keep in mind that the advice to our membership to use their strength at the ballot box cannot make politicians out of trade unionists. We are not politicians. We have no intention of being politicians. Surely no self-respecting trade unionist would indulge in the blatherings that we hear during a convention year where speaker after speaker gets up to say how good his candidate or his party is and how vicious and how evil the candidate of the other party is. We don't have to indulge in that sort of political blatherings. We have a mission to perform, and whatever interest we have in the political field is to help bring about the accomplishment of that mission. We make no pretense of any desire to take over the government. We merely follow our first objective of improving the conditions of life and of work of the great mass of working people in this country, and in that way make our contribution to the welfare of the nation as a whole.

This convention has written history. This convention has served notice that we will not take a place as second-class citizens. We have served notice that we don't want people to tell us to keep our nose clean, that we don't want people to tell us not to stick our neck out for fear we may be on the losing side. Better a thousand times to be on the losing side than to abandon a duty and a responsibility that lies before us.

This organization when it was set up charted a course of action and an objective was laid down—that objective has not changed. The American Federation of Labor has made its contribution to the welfare of this nation by following its path toward that objective. We are going to continue to follow that path. We are going to be trade unionists first, last and always, and any excursions we take into any other field are only for the purpose of carrying out our job as trade unionists.

So, to me, this convention is an historic occasion. It represents the further progress of the American Federation of Labor and it serves notice on those who stand in our way that by every American method, by every method that is decent and fair, we are going to serve the working people of this nation. Thank you.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now calls for the nomination and election of fraternal delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress.

DELEGATE SCHNITZLER, Bakery and Confectionery Workers: Mr. President, it has been the practice of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in the past to empower the Executive Council to select the representatives that will serve as fraternal delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

As we examine the work that has been done by the fraternal delegates that have been selected by the Executive Council, we find that they have discharged their duties and obligations in such a manner to bring great credit and honor to the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore, I move that this convention empower the Executive Council to make such selections as fraternal delegates that may be required by the American Federation of Labor.

... The motion was seconded by Delegate Quinn, Secretary of the New York Central Body, and carried.

CONVENTION CITY, 1953

PRESIDENT GREEN: The next order of business is the nomination and selection of the convention city for the convention to be held next year.

SECRETARY MEANY: I want to make an announcement in regard to the convention city. We receive a number of invitations from various sources every year asking us to hold our convention in different cities of the country. A number of these invitations come from hotel associations, convention city bureaus, from the city officials. These invitations that come from the sources I have just mentioned are not recognized as official invitations.

We do, however, print them for the purpose of the record in the proceedings. The only official invitations that can be recognized according to the long-standing rule of the American Federation of Labor are the invitations from the labor movement, the A. F. of L. labor movement of the particular city that desires the convention.

This year I want to announce that we have three such invitations, one from the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Missouri, asking that the convention be held in that city; likewise one from the Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, Louisiana, and one from the Central Labor Union of Dade County, Florida, asking that the convention next year be held in either Miami or Miami Beach, Florida.

Those are the three official invitations, St. Louis, New Orleans and Miami.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Brother Burton P. Nuckols, President of the Miami Central Labor Union, who wishes to nominate a city in which to hold the next convention.

DELEGATE NUCKOLS, Miami Florida Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, members of the Executive Council, fellow delegates to this convention:

I am very happy to have this privilege of bringing to you the invitation from the Playground of America. When we say "Playground of America" we mean just exactly that. I don't think there is any

other place in the world to which you may go where you may find more entertainment, unless it might be the city of New York.

I felt somewhat hesitant after coming to New York and extending this invitation, because the people here have done such a magnificent job of entertainment it will be very difficult for any city to follow the example which they have set.

I want to tell you a little bit about Miami and Dade County. The city of Miami, of course, is the largest of the cities of Florida, but adjacent to it it has Miami Beach across beautiful Biscayne Bay, and adjacent to it, just going across the street, you come to the beautiful city of Coral Gables. All around we have the cities of South Miami, Hialeah where the famous race track is located, and Miami Springs. We also have Miami Shores, North Miami, North Miami Beach and then a number of other little towns around that we won't take time to mention.

We have one of the best fishing places in all the world. Adjacent to the Municipal Auditorium in the city of Miami is the world's greatest fishing fleet of chartered boats in which you may go into the waters of the Atlantic Ocean, several miles off shore, where you may enjoy the drift fishing from the fishing boats or sail fishing, fishing for the big ones on the chartered boats.

In addition to this all down south of us we have the Florida Keys, some of the greatest fishing spots in all the world. The great overseas highway takes you down to Key West, Florida. Just an hour away by airline is the city of Havana, Cuba which offers a most pleasant side trip for those who come to our city on convention business.

... Delegate Nuckols continued at some length to relate the progress of relations between labor and management in the city government, and particularly with reference to the bus drivers on the city transportation system.

... He closed with an invitation to the convention to come to Miami.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Brother Renschen, of the St. Louis Trades and Labor Union.

DELEGATE RENSCHEN, St. Louis Trades and Labor Union: President Green, Secretary Meany, officers and delegates of this convention: As a delegate of the Central Trades and Labor Union I was unanimously instructed to extend this invitation to you to have your next convention in St. Louis. I am not going to take up your time telling you about St. Louis, but I hope you will select our city and come and see for yourselves. That is your pleasure, and I hope it will be St. Louis next.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to announce that New Orleans has withdrawn its invitation to hold the next convention in that city.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Randolph.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Sleeping Car Porters: President Green and delegates, since the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have had some unhappy experiences in communities where the patterns and mores reflect the spirit of white supremacy I think the question of the selection of the next convention city ought to be given some consideration.

I listened with great interest to the first speaker with respect to Miami. May I say to you that Miami is notoriously guilty of a most reprehensible form of discrimination against people because of color and race. In Florida Jewish synagogues and Catholic cathedrals are bombed.

Last Christmas Harry H. Moore, a Negro representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and his wife were blown to death, being bombed out of their beds while they were asleep. And what was their crime? Their crime was that they were fighting for equality with respect to the right to vote and equality with respect to educational opportunities.

Consequently the representatives of Florida, or any part of Florida, particularly Miami, need to carry on some missionary work in their own home in order that they may convert their people to the

principles of the brotherhood of man before they call on a convention such as this to come to their city.

We are living in a day when the forces of democracy and Communism are locked in a death struggle for survival, and our great claim for survival, our great claim for the confidence and faith of the world is that we believe in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, which states that all men are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Today in Miami Negroes are not only not permitted to get accommodations in the hotels, but, as a matter of fact, sometimes they are not permitted to even go on the streets late at night in Miami Beach. It is one of the places in the South where men of color are practically devoid of any of the civil rights.

And so I want to register the unequivocal, definite, positive position of the delegates of the Sleeping Car Porters against the consideration of Miami for the next convention city.

Now, what about St. Louis? I haven't heard that St. Louis has changed its policy so far as giving accommodations to citizens of color in its hotels. Their policy may have changed—I don't know anything about it. But may I say that Brother Webster and myself were greatly humiliated in Houston, Texas, and had it not been for my good friend, George Meany, we probably would have been thrown out of the Rice Hotel on our necks. George saw Milton Webster and myself on our way to the Rice Hotel and he said, "I will chaperon you," because he knew some incident was going to occur, because he also knew we were going in the front door. And do you know when the colored citizens of Houston heard that Milton Webster and myself had gone into the front door of the Rice Hotel they were alarmed, they said that had never happened before. And we said to them, "Well, perhaps it would not have happened this time had it not been for George Meany, because we no doubt would have been thrown out on our heads." Of course, we were going in the front door.

Now I haven't heard that St. Louis

has changed its racial policy. Negroes are not allowed to go into the hotels of St. Louis, and I think the American Federation of Labor ought to take the leadership in opposing any city, in rejecting any city which hasn't got the sense of democracy and brotherhood and Christianity to recognize all delegates as equal and to give them equal opportunities—all kinds of opportunities so far as accommodations are concerned.

And so unless some drastic and revolutionary change has taken place with respect to the racial policy of the hotels of St. Louis, I want to go on record in opposition to the selection of St. Louis as the next convention city.

Of course, the Sleeping Car Porters haven't the power to change your position, but at least we want to register our exception to your position if you decide to go to a city where their hotels practice discrimination against Negroes, in order that the cities in question may know that their policies are watched, criticized and condemned.

And so, brothers and sisters, I consider this an important question, because it involves the dignity of the personality of every delegate in this convention, and the essence of democracy is respect for the dignity of the personality of the individual. That is the essence of democracy in contradistinction to the totalitarian doctrine of communism, and when a hotel or any other institution practices discrimination against a worker or an individual on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, it is an attack upon the principles of the dignity of the personality of the human being. Consequently we want to register our opposition to that policy.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The selection now comes on one of the two cities that have been nominated.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Herrmann of the Typographical Union.

DELEGATE HERRMANN, Typographical Union: I think this is a very important question to decide. There seems to be some difference of opinion about where to go

for the next convention. I for one, and I think I am expressing the sentiments of many delegates to this convention, do not feel that this should be made a popularity contest of one city against another. The thing I am interested in, and I believe many delegates feel the same way, is a city where we will have ample accommodations, a place where we are welcome, where they have a decent climate, and if I am in order I would like to see the man who has arranged for this and many other conventions study the rates of the hotels and the accommodations for our people. Let him and the Executive Council handle this question, and we will all get a fair deal.

I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the question of the selection of a convention city be referred to the Executive Council, to make a study of the hotel rates and the accommodations, and then announce the convention city.

... The motion was seconded by Delegate Killen, Pulp and Sulphite Workers, and carried.

DELEGATE RENSCHEN, St. Louis Trades and Labor Union: I would like to advise the Executive Council and this convention that the hotel facilities in St. Louis are ample and that the policy in regard to discrimination has been changed. I am happy to say that the hotel which has been selected for headquarters will have its facilities available to all convention delegates.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now calls upon Vice President Daniel W. Tracy to preside over the convention during the submission of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

(Vice President Daniel W. Tracy in the Chair)

CHAIRMAN TRACY: Thank you, President Green. The Resolutions Committee will continue with their report, and the Chair recognizes the Secretary of the committee, Brother Soderstrom.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Committee Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following report:

FOREIGN TRANSCRIPTION IMPORTS

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates George Heller, H. O'Neil Shanks, Pat Somers, Jack Irving, Associated Actors and Artists of America.

(Third Day's Proceedings, Page 378)

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

U. S. COPYRIGHT LAW

Resolution No. 139—By the Delegates of the International Typographical Union; International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America.

(Third Day's Proceedings, Page 378)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

MINIMUM WAGE POTTERY INDUSTRY IN PUERTO RICO

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, Leonard Greco, Robert A. McCann, National Brotherhood of Potters.

(Third Day's Proceedings, Page 378)

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

PROTECTION OF STAINED GLASS INDUSTRY AGAINST IMPORT COMPETITION

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian Madsen, Franks Owens, Peter Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(Third Day's Proceedings, Page 379)

Your committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

PREFERENCE TO AMERICAN-MADE MIRRORS

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates L. P. Lindelof, L. M. Raftery, Christian Madsen, Franks Owens, Peter Yablonsky, James P. Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 379)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

"LABOR'S DAILY"

Resolution No. 143—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Lewis M. Herrmann, John A. Austin, Horace Imeson, J. Arthur Moriarty, Wallace Reilly, International Typographical Union.

(Page 410, Fifth Day's Proceedings)

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

... The recommendation of the committee was adopted, on motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 61)

In view of the Convention's action on this matter no further action is required.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the committee on all resolutions assigned to it. However, we have two subjects left from the Executive Council's report, and two originated by the committee at the request of the Council.

ISSUANCE OF CHARTER TO DOLL AND TOY WORKERS

(Executive Council Report, Page 477)

We wish to welcome into the family of the American Federation of Labor the International Union of Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada and we ask for the adoption of the supplemental report of the Executive Council on this subject.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

LABOR'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, Page 285)

The activities of our Labor's League for Political Education are supported by voluntary contributions of our members and friends. At this decisive time, it is vital that maximum cooperation be extended by all of our affiliates in calling upon the membership to contribute financially toward making the work and the services of the League effective. Friends of Labor must be returned to public office and its enemies and opponents defeated. This can be done only with the full knowledge of the candidates' records and on the basis of clear explanation of the issues involved. It is up to every trade-unionist to support and assist in the activities of the League to this end.

We stress that the expanded activities of the League in carrying on political education must carry beyond the coming election. The organized and richly financed campaign of reactionary interests to abridge the rights of workers, to limit their opportunities and to cripple trade unionism, will be pressed against Labor in Congress, in the State legislatures and all political bodies throughout the land. This drive must not only be met and overcome, but turned back by positive and militant support of candidates and issues from the broad ranks of organized labor.

We commend the officers of the League and its Administrative Committee for the excellent services they have rendered and ask for intensified support of its work.

With these comments, we ask for the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

LABOR UNITY

The American Federation of Labor has been steadfast in its efforts to heal the breach in the ranks of organized labor and to reestablish a united trade union movement in our country.

Mindful of the urgency of achieving complete labor unity, the American Federation of Labor has on a number of occasions initiated negotiations and conferences towards this end. But we must regretfully report to the convention that

these negotiations have been interrupted and discontinued by the C. I. O.

The American Federation of Labor is prepared to resume these negotiations designed to achieve organic labor unity. We have a committee charged with conducting such negotiations to a successful conclusion. This committee will welcome the reopening of the negotiations for full organic unity of American labor when the C. I. O. is ready to resume the deliberations.

Developments at home and abroad have made it increasingly urgent that such organic unification be attained at the earliest date. Once again, we appeal to the C. I. O. to respond to the need of the hour and join with us in building a united labor movement in the United States.

... Committee Chairman Woll moved the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

... The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE TURCO, Seattle Newsboys:

Mr. Chairman, I notice in the resolution the only one you invite is the CIO, the same as you did in San Francisco. As you know, there are a lot of other independent unions which want to come in with the American Federation of Labor. You cannot have unity in labor, as I told you in San Francisco, Cincinnati, Houston, Texas, and St. Paul—you never can have unity unless you get all the workers.

The CIO represents a very small portion of organized labor. The Mine Workers should be notified to come and meet with you folks, but so far you haven't even answered the telegram of John L. Lewis, saying you were willing to cooperate with him.

You have other independent unions—the Railroad Brotherhoods, the West Coast Longshoremens and other unions. If you people are sincere and you want unity, not just on the political field but on the industrial field as well, you have to take into consideration other working men and women independent from the American Federation of Labor or the CIO. Brother Green knows it and Brother Meany knows it. They are both stubborn, and some other members of the Committee are so stubborn that they won't meet with Lewis and really amalgamate and unite the labor movement of this country.

SECRETARY MEANY: I want to apologize for even taking the time of the convention on this subject, but I think the record should be clear. Brother Turco

makes the point that the American Federation of Labor only thinks in terms of the CIO in regard to labor unity. The record is quite clear.

In 1935 the Committee for Industrial Organizations was formed, and they separated from the American Federation of Labor. That committee was under the Chairmanship of John Lewis, and it created the Congress of Industrial Organizations later on. We have had negotiations with the CIO on the theory that if we are going to unify the labor movement the best step is to try to get back into the American Federation of Labor the one large bloc that is outside the Federation, and that any independent union has always been welcome in this organization and can act independently.

We have had a Unity Committee, according to my knowledge and according to the records of the American Federation of Labor, since 1937, or possibly early 1938. That committee met for some time in 1938 and drew up a report. The Chairman of the CIO Committee was Phil Murray. I think the members of the A. F. of L. Committee were Matthew Woll, Harry Bates and possibly Dan Tracy. I am not just sure, but at any rate, it was made up of several members of the Executive Council.

After a number of sessions they brought in a report and were prepared to release it to the press. It was completely agreed as to the method of bringing these organizations back into the American Federation of Labor. Phil Murray presented that to John Lewis in his office, and John Lewis walked over to the window, looked out the window for about ten minutes, and then solemnly strode back to his desk, tore the proposal up and put it in the waste basket without reading it.

That Committee of the American Federation of Labor has remained in existence to this day. The membership has changed. We have had conferences on many, many occasions. We had conferences in the early 1940's, we had conferences in 1946 and again in 1950. On each and every occasion the conferences were recessed by action of the CIO—not by the American Federation of Labor. That is the clear record—by Lewis, by Murray, and by the negotiators of the CIO on every occasion. The American Federation of Labor has not recessed

one conference or broken one off.

In May of 1950 Phil Murray addressed a letter to the American Federation of Labor, to the Machinists, to the United Mine Workers, to the Railroad organizations and he gave it to the press. We were meeting in Philadelphia. We replied to that letter and we said in effect that we were for unity, and that we thought the best way to achieve unity was to get the American Federation of Labor and the CIO together and then see if we could not bring the others in.

Murray agreed in writing to that proposal of the American Federation of Labor, and in the last week of July of 1950 meetings were held for two consecutive days in the Statler Hotel between the Committee of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee of the CIO. Considerable progress was made. In fact, the CIO representatives said publicly that they thought it was only a question of thirty days before there would be actual agreement and an instrument signed by both parties.

They agreed to meet on the 4th of August, 1950 in Chicago and appointed a subcommittee consisting of Allan Haywood of the CIO and Charles MacGowan of our organization, to draw up the agenda for that meeting. When the subcommittee met in Haywood's office—MacGowan had gone to Haywood's office three days before to help draw up the agenda—Haywood said that Phil was very much disappointed that we had gone ahead so far without bringing John L. into the picture, that they had called up Murray from that office and Murray had asked that the negotiations be postponed until he was personally able to attend. He said he was ill at the time, and of course he was ill.

He reported the negotiations to his convention at that time and reported that they had been broken off at his request. Of course, he repeated his disappointment that the Mine Workers had not been brought in, but he neglected to call attention to the fact that he, in writing, had agreed that negotiations continue between the American Federation of Labor and the CIO without the Mine Workers being present.

In so far as our friend, Turco, who appears as a spokesman of the Miners—he says he has been in consultation with

the Miners prior to coming here—let me say that the telegram from Mr. Lewis was received and replied to by President Green. He was told that the telegram would be brought to the attention of the Executive Council. Mr. Turco seems to think that any communication received by the American Federation of Labor during a convention should come on the floor of the convention. We receive on an average of a thousand communications a day, and surely we don't bring them all to the attention of the convention floor. We bring to the floor only the business brought to it by the Executive Council and by the various organizations.

I would like to submit most respectfully to Brother Turco that if John Lewis wants to get action on the subject of labor unity and feels that the Miners should come back, he is quite familiar with the process of returning to the American Federation of Labor. He is also quite familiar with the process of leaving the American Federation of Labor, and if John Lewis wants to come back to the American Federation of Labor and in that way make a contribution to labor unity, he has made applications before, and I suppose he could make one again if he wants to take that step.

In so far as reference to the West Coast Longshoremen by Brother Turco is concerned—and he has referred to it several times—let me make my position quite clear. I want to see labor unity, and I believe that the home for all these organizations is in the American Federation of Labor. But when the West Coast Longshoremen talk about coming into the American Federation of Labor I think that we would give it some grave consideration and view it with some great misgivings. Harry Bridges is still the head of the West Coast Longshoremen. We like to keep the American Federation of Labor an American organization. We are grateful to the CIO and to John Lewis for having provided a home for the Communists of the labor movement from 1935 until they kicked them out in 1947, and we think if the West Coast Longshoremen want to find a home they might try the CIO again, or maybe they might team up with John. He likes to get people like that in. He has proven that by his record.

I don't think under the present circumstances an organization that carries on and follows the policies of Soviet Russia, indulges in political strikes and tries to hamper the defense program of our country and has continued under the leadership of a follower of the Moscow line and a member of the Communist Party—I don't think at the present moment we would embrace or welcome the West Coast Longshoremen.

So let the record be quite clear. The American Federation of Labor is for unity. We will be glad to talk to the CIO. We will be glad to receive an application from John L. and give it whatever consideration it deserves.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN TRACY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Ryan, of the Longshoremen's Organization.

DELEGATE RYAN, Longshoremen: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I just wanted to add this brief word to Secretary Meany's very able explanation about the West Coast Longshoremen. We have made great progress in organizing the West Coast Longshoremen and bringing them back under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and with the new activity in the Marine Trades Department we feel sure that within a very short space of time we will have the West Coast Longshoremen back without Bridges. He can go to Lewis if he wants to.

... The motion to adopt this section of the committee's report was carried.

CHAIRMAN WOLL: The committee has but one further resolution, and that is a resolution of thanks which we will report on just prior to adjournment of the convention.

CHAIRMAN TRACY: The time of adjournment has arrived. Are there any announcements?

COMMITTEE TO STUDY PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THE TAFT- HARTLEY ACT

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: You will recall that earlier in the sessions a report

of the Committee on Resolutions mentioned the fact that the Executive Council, at the request of the Building and Construction Trades Department, had appointed a special committee to study the problems arising out of the Taft-Hartley Act, that committee to be representative of the various segments of A. F. of L. affiliates. Consequently the following committee has been appointed: Myself, Matthew Woll, as chairman, George Meany,

William C. Doherty, Richard Gray, James Brownlow, Albert Hayes, Richard Walsh, Irvin Barney, David Dubinsky, William L. McFetridge, Woodruff Randolph, Daniel J. Tobin and Harry Lundeborg.

The committee will meet immediately on adjournment in Parlor C to organize its work on this great task assigned to it.

. . . At 12:30 o'clock, p.m., the convention was recessed to 2:00 o'clock, p.m.

SEVENTH DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:15 o'clock, p.m.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We have a young friend and acquaintance here who is paying us a short visit this afternoon. He means much to us because his father was a devoted friend while serving in an official position to the American Federation of Labor. I refer to Robert F. Wagner. He was United States Senator from the State of New York and he served in various other capacities, and while serving there we could always rely upon him as being the friend of the American Federation of Labor. Because of illness, as you know, he has been unable to continue his former duties. His son is here, and he is the president of the Borough of Manhattan here in New York. I want to introduce him to you for a brief message.

I deem it a great pleasure and a privilege to present to you Brother Robert F. Wagner, Jr., President of the Borough of Manhattan.

MR. ROBERT F. WAGNER, JR.

(President, Borough of Manhattan)

Mr. Green, distinguished officers and delegates to this great convention: It is a great privilege for me to say just a few words here today. I know you have been greeted officially to our city, and I would like to add that the Borough of Manhattan is very, very proud of the fact that this convention is being held not only in the city of New York but in the Borough of Manhattan.

I might say, too, that Mr. Green was very kind to refer to my father and some of the things that he was able to accomplish in the field of labor legislation,

with the great support of the leaders and the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

My father did ask me, when I informed him that I might say a few words here today, to convey to all of you his very good wishes. As many of you know, he hasn't been well over the past year, but he assured me that so long as he has a spark of life in him he will continue in whatever way he can to fight for the things which have made America great and have brought liberty and freedom to the labor movement and to the men and women who work, and work hard in this country.

I know that he has had the privilege of working shoulder to shoulder with many of you here in the years when victories were hard to be won, but they were won, and those of us who are trying to follow now in the footsteps of these great men, the one thing we can do to show our appreciation to them is to rededicate ourselves on such occasions as this to continue the battle until democracy is brought to all of our people, until we have the kind of a labor law that is not written in an atmosphere of vindictiveness, but a labor law which gives to all of our people their just rights in this great land of ours.

I know we rededicate ourselves to carry on that fight. We will not rest on our oars, but we will keep fighting continually every day of our lives so that we can be worthy of their confidence in us and be worthy of the great tradition they have left us and left America.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We thank Mr. Wagner for his visit with us and for the address he has just delivered. I know you all appreciate it very much.

Now it is my pleasure to present another friend who came this afternoon and was scheduled to address the convention, but because of the limitations of time that will be impossible. I am going to present

him to you and then ask him to let us include his address in the proceedings of today.

I refer to Mr. Harry Goldberg, who is the representative of the A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee in Asia.

MR. HARRY GOLDBERG

(Representative of A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee in Asia)

President Green, officers and delegates:

In discussing the relation between Asia and ourselves, I proceed from the initial premise that we need each other. If we do not learn how to bind Asia firmly to us with sympathetic bonds of friendship, we will inevitably rue the day. I go further. If we lose Asia, we must perish! But that is a melancholy thought not only for us, but one that must also give Asia serious pause. For, if we go, then Asia will stand helpless before the on-rushing juggernaut of the new totalitarian despotism.

Those who think that Europe must come first in our defensive scheme of things, with Asia shoved relatively into the background, are dead wrong in the long view. We live in one integrated world, each part being as important as the next. Korea or East Germany, Indo-China or Yugoslavia or Italy or Turkey all pose the same fundamental problem to us, the same fundamental threat of an aggressive communism bent on world conquest. And whether it be in Asia or Europe or elsewhere, that threat can first be contained and then beaten back in the long run only by the building of a democratic world community, with the separate parts acting together on agreed principles in mutual understanding and respect.

I purposely stress the words, "mutual understanding". This implies a reciprocal relation, a two-way street. There must be a give and take between Asia and ourselves. A bit of humbleness and self-searching on both sides would be decidedly in order since we do not, admittedly, see eye to eye on some very fundamental matters. We must approach each other at our best, try to see the other's viewpoint and, consonant with our principles, seek to overcome those shortcomings which lead to misunderstanding between us. We can learn from each other.

For a year and a half, Mrs. Goldberg and myself worked together with the democratic labor movements in India and Indonesia. We tried to give our Asian friends an idea of our labor movement; what we were thinking and doing, and why. In turn we learned what Asia is thinking and why.

Now concretely, what does Asia think, what does she want, what does she resent, and to what extent is she justified in her thoughts, desires and resentments?

First, Asia wants a place in the sun. Too long have her people been kept in the dark. Misery and suffering have been the continuous lot of the overwhelming majority of Asians. The Asian masses want a better life and want to be masters of their own fate. They are on the move, irresistibly. The Nationalist movements, which are the political embodiment of their desires, must be met half way by the West. If their legitimate aspirations are not satisfied, then they will inevitably, in frustration, succumb to the temptation of either the fanatical right or of communist reaction.

For us in the West, understanding the latter point is the beginning of all wisdom. Unfortunately, our implementation of this elementary wisdom has not been as consistent as it should and *could* have been. Few things, recently, have hurt us as much in Asia as our abstention on the Tunisian question in the Security Council. We are repeating in Tunisia the same mistake we committed in Indo-China. Had we, years ago, forced a similar solution in Indo-China, as we did later in Indonesia, there would not be, as there is today, the problem of Ho-Chi-Minh and communism in Indo-China. Our inability or unwillingness, for whatever reason, to break sharply with French colonialist recalcitrance can in time only drive moderate Tunisian nationalists into the hands of communism. We are giving Joe Stalin a tremendously valuable present, free of charge, and thereby plunging the knife in our own backs, digging our own graves.

Let me say, in this connection, that the role of the American Federation of Labor has been an honorable one. Our faithful adherence to democratic principles of anti-colonialism is known all over Asia and appreciated. To the extent that it is possible, we have saved, as it were, the honor of American democracy. Had the State Department followed the lead of the American Federation of Labor, we would be sitting much prettier in Asia than we are at present.

But having granted Asia the legitimacy of its resentment at the colonialist vestiges and throwbacks still apparent in the activities of the Western world, let me say that she does not face up squarely to the entire problem of imperialism, per se, in our world today. Let Asia look objectively at the record and not lose sight of the forest for some individual trees. So-called Western imperialism is a spent force today, a dying phenomenon, practically a museum piece. The process of decolonialization in the Western world has proceeded a long way—I mention India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, the Philippine Islands, Ceylon, etc. Though vestiges remain and throwbacks appear, *that process is essentially irreversible.* It will be completed the more rapidly if the democratic and labor forces of East and West remain united instead of estranged from each other. Indeed, it is so apparent that the key to the solution of this problem (as to so many other vital ones in our

present situation of extreme social tensions) resides exactly in this unity of East and West that we both bear the grave responsibility of not failing in our attempt to forge this unity.

No, the conscious, aggressive and growing imperialist force in our world today is constituted by world communism. Asia does not see this clearly enough, it underestimates the communist-puppet role of Ho-Chi-Minh in Indo-China and too many regard Mao-Tse-Tung as a legitimate Asian nationalist instead of one of the chief buttresses of world communism. To support communism in the hope that this will somehow advance the cause of genuine nationalism is to indulge in dangerous delusions; means to turn the nation over to the executioner! Communism is as distinct from healthy nationalism as colonialism is from democracy.

Above all, in equating communist imperialism with so-called Western imperialism as two forces of equal magnitude for evil, Asian neutralism is allowing its suspicion and prejudice to override its sense of balance of realism. For all its still existing weaknesses and imperfections, democratic society is an open one in that it allows for free enquiry, criticism, experimentalism and change; in short, permits of continuous social betterment, with the rights and the well being of the individual as the guidestick and measure of that society. Communism—with its slave labor camps, its terrorism, its regimented economy, its cultural straight-jacket, its crushing of every vestige of individualism and liberty—is a frozen society which, in the absence of any critical agency within it, tends toward the perpetuation and even intensification of its manifold evils. No reasonable humanist can remain neutral between the two basic conceptions struggling for mastery over the minds of men.

Secondly, Asia needs and wants help. She resents the fact that she seems to be regarded as a second-class citizen vis-a-vis Europe, especially when she regards her need as greater. At the same time she is proud and sensitive. She would like aid given objectively, from the heart and without any strings attached.

There is much to be said for Asia's viewpoint here. The world can never attain to stability as long as one-half of it is continually on the verge of starvation. If we are our brothers' keepers (as we should be) then aid, to the greatest extent possible, without any strings attached, should flow out of the simple, generous, human conception: "He who hath and can spare, should give; he who hath not and needs, should receive." We should give generously!

But Asia, too, has a duty here. We say frankly to our Asian friends, "Be not unduly sensitive, even to the point of suspicion. Accept the aid in the spirit in which it is given. In spite of some awkwardness and fumbling here and there on our part, that spirit is from the heart. Forget the cliché phrases and look at the

reality." That aid is designed to strengthen Asia, to help it realize its destiny. Indeed it is designed to help Asia *keep out of war*—a respite which Asia herself desires so intensely and needs so badly—and not, as too many Asians so naively imagine, to drag her into the maelstrom. The strengthening of the free world is the prerequisite to the avoidance of war, Asia's clear indication that morally she stands with world democracy would greatly decrease the possibility of world war. She owes it to herself, above all, to make that moral choice!

Thirdly, Asian democrats and trade unionists have always stressed to me the so-called peaceful way to beat communism, i. e., to build up a country, raise its standard of living, extend democratic freedoms; remove, that is, the economic and social misery upon which communism feeds and grows. In other words, seek to create a satisfied community which is the best bulwark against the onmarch of communism. That is perfectly O. K. and we are with you most certainly as far as it goes. But we must say clearly that it simply does not go far enough. It underestimates the *external* threat continually posed by an ever-advancing communism. As the case of Czechoslovakia, for instance, (and there are others) so amply demonstrates, a satisfied, well-developed democratic state provides no fool-proof guarantee against attack and possible conquest. It is because weakness is an eternal temptation for Joe Stalin to march that military defense is necessary. We are quite cognizant of the social waste involved in huge armaments and would rather see the vast sums involved turned over to fight misery, starvation, ill-health, etc. But it needs two to make a bargain, and to disregard the nature of the beast would be suicidal. I agree with our Asian friends that you cannot down an idea just with guns. But communism is not just an innocent idea. It is a vast world conspiracy based on terror, that is intent on taking over the world and shaping it in its own hideous image. That must be prevented with every means at our command, for communist hegemony is a fate worse than death!

Finally, in regard to the labor movements of India and Indonesia, may I offer just one point for serious consideration by our Asian friends. I refer to the relation between political parties and trade unions. In India and Indonesia, the trade unions are too much under the influence of the political parties. The two large non-communist labor federations in India—the INTUC and the HMS, both members of the ICFTU—vie with each other on the political field and remain divided. In Indonesia, which as yet has no organizational relationship with the ICFTU, the situation among the non-communist sections of the labor movement is even worse. In Indonesia this is especially regrettable since there the communists are the strongest single element in the labor unions. In India, fortunately, the communists are the **weakest**, but they have made some

serious inroads recently. The only way to check their further progress is for the non-communist labor forces to unite. Trade union unity, the building of a national independent non-communist trade union movement is the need of the hour in both India and Indonesia.

These then are the points involving the relationship between East and West which I wanted to raise. It is vitally important that we reach complete rapport on them, if at all possible. Towards this end, I would propose, therefore, the following basic program on which, I think, we could march together.

1) Against communism as the chief threat on a world scale to the liberty of the peoples and the chief enslaver of the human body, the chief despoiler of the human spirit.

2) Against any and every other kind of authoritarian and dictatorial regime which chains the human spirit and prevents it from realizing its full potential of growth, whether it be the old fascism of Hitler and Mussolini, or the present Franco or Peron regimes, or the ugly racist dictatorship of Malan in South Africa.

3) Against any and every vestige of colonialism in Asia and Africa and for the rights of all peoples to govern themselves and decide their own destinies.

4) For the pooling of the world's resources in a "One World Plan", designed to smooth trade relations to the mutual benefit of all concerned, give help where help is needed most, and stimulate at the most rapid rate possible, in the light of their separate economic structures, the industrial development of the undeveloped sections of the world.

5) For the enormous increase of aid by all the relevant agencies—UNESCO, Point 4, Colombo Plan, Philanthropic Foundation, etc.—without any political or other kind of strings attached, to Asia and Africa, which would develop potential power resources, raise agricultural production, stimulate industrial development, help raise the impermissibly low standard of life for Asians and Africans, help raise health standards, etc.

6) For a free as against a regimented culture and the right of any individual to project his creative vision as he sees it without interference by the State or any other officially ensconced group.

7) For strengthening the United Nations as the symbol of the ideal of "One World"; as the forum for the propagation of the ideals of freedom and justice; as the mediator in disputes; as the punisher of unwarranted aggression against its basic ideals; as the guide to a world of peace, prosperity and justice.

Such is the program. Undoubtedly relevant points can be added, but it can certainly serve as a basis for consideration. The heart of it is concern for free-

dom, individual liberty and well-being, and their extension as widely as possible. I believe we share these fundamental ideals and can unite on them. They can be carried out jointly only if the West sheds the remainders of its colonialism, and Asia sheds its neutralism. If we fail to come together, we will be faced in common with the long, cold night of communist overlordship.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Then I want to submit a companion of Mr. Goldberg's who is with him and who comes from Indonesia, Mr. Soebagijono, who represents the Union of Islamic Workers of Indonesia.

MR. MOH. SOEBAGIJONO (Union of Islamic Workers of Indonesia)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I will begin by expressing my thanks to the American Federation of Labor for this opportunity to attend your conference and study the character of the American labor movement. I do this not only for myself but also in the name of my organization, the S. B. I. I.—The Union of Islamic Workers of Indonesia.

The labor movement in my country is generally of a political character, since it is a young movement born only recently in the struggle against colonialism. Together with other groups in society, labor shared in the hardships of the common struggle for our national independence. We looked to the Government to help improve the situation of labor. We expected that, as the representative of the general community, it would do so through its agency, the Ministry of Labor.

At first, our labor movement was led by the Communists. Today, unfortunately, SOBSI, which is the communist-controlled labor federation, is still the strongest organization in my country. But in the recent period, the non-communist sections of the labor movement have been growing gradually stronger and stronger. My own organization, the S. B. I. I., which is a Moslem trade union movement, though coming late on the scene, is already a substantial power.

As Moslems, we do not like communism and we will fight it.

When poverty and dearthness can be driven away from Indonesia, and the foreign capital invested in Indonesia, which we still need, can be adapted to the needs of Indonesia itself and help to solve our economic problems, then the non-communist and more constructive section of the labor movement will make even greater strides forward.

We hope that the American Federation of Labor in its struggles for social justice will also be able to help drive poverty and drabness away from the new, independent Asiatic States. Even as we hope

this, we are also convinced that the improvement of the laborer's position in Indonesia in the first instance is the task of the Indonesian workers themselves. But we will not refuse; we will be grateful for, help given to us.

I promise to make the best of the opportunity you have given me to study the American labor movement.

My organization, the S.B.I.I., wishes this conference of the American Federation of Labor great success.

Let the world work together for freedom, peace, humanity, equality and democracy.

Thank you.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Meany submitted the following messages:

CZECHOSLOVAK FEDERATION OF LABOR IN EXILE

September 17, 1952

President William Green
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Commodore
New York, N. Y.

Dear President Green:

May we be permitted to send to the AFL Convention our best fraternal greetings on behalf of the Czechoslovak free trade unions in Exile. As the American Federation of Labor our unions were members of the former International Federation of Trade Unions and were defending through decades the freedom and the rights of labor in our country. Now in exile we are raising again our voice to tell the workers of Czechoslovakia, suffering under the most abject tyranny to resist and to prepare their liberation, and we rely in our efforts on the solidarity of A F of L and the democratic unions of other democratic lands. We wished this endeavour would find also full understanding of all those who are engaged in matters concerning our captive country, radio and other ways of communication included.

We would be glad to receive a guest invitation to your convention.

With best wishes to your deliberation, we remain

Yours fraternally,

(s) George Stolz, Chairman

(s) Vaclav Patočka, Vice Chairman

September 23, 1952

CHARLEROI

American Federation of Labor
New York, New York

Cordial greetings to A F of L convention. Wish full success and the realization of

your program especially in defense of freedom and peace in the world.

Arthur Gailly, Head
Belgian Metal Workers
Trade Union

4 Roma

18 Sept. 1952

6:53

Lt AFL Convention Hotel Commodore
New York, USA

The Longshoremen Membership of the C.I.S.L. and the I.F.T. send to the convention best fraternal greetings reaffirming the will of their own membership to pursue and guarantee the indispensable safe guarding of social progress in an atmosphere of liberty and democracy stop we assure our continued action in defending against any menace the security of the port workers and in respect of the Atlantic Pact.

I. Maffei
Secretary General
Longshoremen

Sept. 17, 1952.

Washington, D. C.
William Green, President
American Federation of Labor
%Commodore Hotel, NYC

On the occasion of your annual convention this committee wishes to extend congratulations on your past progress in all areas of social and economic welfare as well as in our mutual effort to effect a sound national health system affording better medical care to all Americans. We are keenly aware of how close the cause of better health has always been to the American Federation of Labor as amply demonstrated in its efforts not only in working for sound health legislation but also throughout the action of many of its constituent unions in collective bargaining agreements for health benefits and in developing union health centers providing comprehensive medical services for members in working toward our common goal of health service. We are proud to have the generous financial support, the unmitigated interest and the wholehearted cooperation of the American Federation of Labor. I hope you will extend this message of appreciation to the officers and members of the many unions with the Federation who have also responded generously to our appeals for funds to carry forward this program.

Michael M. Davis, Chairman,
Executive Committee
Committee for the Nations
Health

PRESIDENT GREEN: I am pleased to present to you now the American Federation of Labor representative who has been serving us in Germany and in Austria for

a long period of time. He came from Germany a few weeks ago and is here in attendance at this convention. I refer to Henry Rutz, who is located in Germany and Austria as the representative of the American Federation of Labor. I present him to you now for a brief address.

MR. HENRY RUTZ

(A. F. of L. Representative in Germany and Austria)

President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Meany, delegates and friends: I appreciate the desire of the delegates to get the business of this convention over with. Consequently, instead of delivering my prepared address I am going to recommend that the same be submitted for the printed record, and those of you who may be interested in reading it can do so at your leisure.

I am very happy to have been able to represent you people in Europe during the past year, and on this occasion I have been requested by our German and Austrian colleagues to convey to you their greetings and their good wishes for a successful coming year.

I thank you.

... The address of Mr. Rutz follows:

I appreciate the opportunity of once again having the privilege to address this convention as your representative in Germany and Austria. My report to you will touch only upon such problems as affect United States relationships with these two countries; how these relationships can aid the German and Austrian peoples in their determination to line up with the western democracies in an eventual showdown with a Soviet Russia which is working hard at European domination.

I will take up briefly: the question of German re-armament; United States Army practices in Germany and Austria; the fight of the Berliners to keep their city free; the various American Federation of Labor aid programs for these countries; and make recommendations for future policies which, if followed, I believe will retard the anti-American trend so noticeable lately on the part of Europeans who should be our friends.

During the past year important moves and counter-moves in both the military and diplomatic fields have been engaged in by Soviet Russia and the Western Allies: Russia attempting to make of Germany a "neutral", using as bait the promise of a unified Germany; the Allies on the other hand attempting to line up Western Germany with Western Europe through the so-called Contractual Agreement and the Six-Power European Defense Community.

The Contractual Agreement is a sort of peace treaty which the United States Secretary of State and the Foreign Ministers of France and Great Britain have

worked out with the Chancellor of Germany the purpose of which is supposed to give Germany sovereignty—supposed to make it an equal partner among the nations of Western Europe. Whether right or wrong, the Agreement does not give Germany equal status so why try to kid the German public? Just one example—of which there are many—the so-called peace treaty avoids completely the question of the economic annexation by France of the German Saarland, a unilateral move on the part of France, in which the United States and Great Britain were not consulted. It was an annexation in violation of the Atlantic Charter, of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and of the spirit of the United Nations. The people of the Saarland were not asked as to whether they wanted to be separated from the German Federal Republic, and, of course, the German Government was ignored entirely when the annexation move was made. The Allies must finally and definitely decide if Germany is an enemy or an ally. If an ally, Germany must be accepted on the basis of full political and economic equality.

Now as to the question of re-armament. We cannot escape the following facts: There are 50,000,000 people in Western Germany. They possess a rich country with a coal and iron center in the Ruhr that is one of the economic prizes of the world.

They are an energetic, sober, disciplined, intelligent people. On top of all this they hold a key region in Europe, strategically speaking. Once you agree that there is a risk of Russian aggression and that the Russians cannot be stopped without German help, there is an inescapable argument for German re-armament.

Unfortunately there are large segments of the German population including the Socialists and a majority of the Labor movement which are opposed to German re-armament under present conditions. Frankly, the vacillating policies of the Allies have caused Germans to distrust our aims. We are asking the Germans to contribute men and arms in exchange for our pledge to defend them against the Russians. Yet every month or so they hear a Western military or civilian leader declare that defense along the Elbe river is impracticable and that we will have to retreat at least to the Rhine before mounting a counter-offensive. This suggests to Germans that they are to be used only for a delaying action with their cities, just recently rebuilt, being left to the mercy of the Russians.

For the past 18 months the Germans have closely watched United States policy in Korea. They believed in the pledges made by President Truman and the United Nations to secure the unification of Korea. But then they saw us start to waver and seize the first opportunity to discuss an armistice with the communists on the basis of a compromise that would perpetuate the present partition of Korea. Will the Allies some day let down

the Germans, who also long for a unified country, in a similar manner?

Furthermore, German labor distrusts United States aims because of the obvious and continued support given by our Office of the High Commissioner to the anti-labor Adenauer government. A regime which has staffed its foreign ministry with 80% of personnel taken over from Hitler's notorious Ribbentrop, cannot be entrusted with the job of establishing a democratic army. The German Trade Union Federation is demanding new elections which will certainly bring about a more liberal governmental alignment.

During the past year numerous complaints against United States Army labor practices were received at the American Federation of Labor Duesseldorf Bureau. Some of these complaints were routed through the Office of the U. S. High Commissioner, while others were taken up by your representative directly with the Commanding General, United States Forces in Europe, and the Commanding General, United States Forces for Austria. I am happy to report that a serious attempt is being made in Germany to bring United States Army hiring policies in line with German labor law. However, incidents still occur which remain a constant source of irritation. For example: the Trade Union Federation jointly with the Consumers Cooperative were entitled to buy former Nazi Labor Front Property as restitution for the property confiscated from the trade unions by the Nazi Labor Front in May 1933.

So in 1949 they bought a bank building in the business section of Munich built by the Nazis in 1936 with funds stolen from the former unions. The United States Army, however, has requisitioned this union and cooperative-owned bank for the American Express Co. because "it provides some services to Army personnel." The Labor and Cooperative Bank is denied the use of its banking quarters and is crowded in small rooms on the second floor. Insofar as the American Express Co. competes with German banks for the tourist and foreign exchange business, Germans are wondering why America doesn't practice what it preaches about the advantages of the free enterprise systems and withdraw United States governmental subsidies and support from this competitive organization. The Trade Union Federation and the Munich City Council have offered to find suitable quarters for the American Express Co. so that the Union could take over its building, but the American Express Co. is doing a good business in its present quarters and has no intention of moving.

In Austria the relationship between the United States Army and the Austrian people has deteriorated during the last two years. Directives were gotten out regulating the employment of Austrian civilians without consultation with trade union leaders and with little regard as to existing Austrian labor law. Needless to say, these incidents do untold harm to Austrian-

American and German-American relations and undo much of the good will built up through Marshall Plan monies. The American Federation of Labor is taking up this serious situation with Defense Secretary Lovett with the hope that corrections in U. S. policies will be made.

Among the other requests for aid on the part of the American Federation of Labor was one from the German Metal Workers Union. This union's 1,550,000 members were placed on a United States blacklist denying them the right to emigrate to America. Fantastic? We thought so too but after an investigation found it was true. The Metal Workers Union, one of the most democratic in Germany, was listed as a subversive organization. Some 100 Eastern German refugees who had become members of this organization were denied visas to emigrate to the States because of this ruling. Due to the efforts of the American Federation of Labor we finally got this assinine ruling changed on December 28th, three days before the deadline for these refugees to qualify under the DP emigration program.

Probably the biggest thorn in the side of the Russian body politic is the existence of a free Berlin in the midst of slavery. Russia is determined to end the influence which the free world exerts on East Germany and the satellite countries through West Berlin and will devise new methods of harassment and intimidation. Through harassment and intimidation the Communists hope to accomplish two things: (1) Curtail the placement of orders in Berlin by West German industries and stop a flow of capital needed in Berlin to rehabilitate and modernize a war-torn economy; (2) if successful in this aim, unemployment in Berlin, already encompassing nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the employable population, will grow to such dimensions as to cause complete demoralization. Then, the Kremlin believes, the time will be ripe for grabbing this world-famous bastion of freedom.

The Kremlin's designs on Berlin must and can be thwarted! First of all the Allies should assure Western buyers that orders placed in Berlin will be delivered. Your representative is convinced that America will risk no war if it takes stern measures to keep open the lines of communications between Berlin and the Western democracies should the Russians again violate the Potsdam agreement in trying even a partial blockade. Secondly, a larger share of Germany's Mutual Security Aid monies should be directed to Berlin. In this connection a survey should be made to determine which industries in Berlin can operate most effectively under Berlin's peculiar situation. Thirdly, the German Government in Bonn should be prevailed upon to shift more of its purely clerical functions to the former capital. Tens of thousands of the presently unemployed are former German federal government employees. Neither the Allies nor the present Bonn Government have given Berlin all the support it deserved. The extra effort and the extra capital necessary to keep Berlin free is minute in comparison to the sacri-

offices of the unemployed Berliners who have kept up an uncompromising fight against the spread of totalitarianism and who have put their faith in an eventual liberation by the most powerful of the democracies, the United States.

The American Federation of Labor Bureau for Germany and Austria, in addition to functioning as a liaison between the German and Austrian trade union federations and our United States Government, has carried on an extensive educational and relief program. CARE packages were distributed to needy old or invalid trade unionists in Western Germany and Berlin and to political escapees from behind the Iron Curtain. Your representative was invited to address several of the national conventions of German and Austrian unions. The reception accorded at these meetings was a testimonial of the esteem in which the American Federation of Labor is held by these organizations.

The American Federation of Labor's Free Trade Union Committee's publications continue to be the most effective of its kind in Europe. Articles appearing in the German edition of the International Free Trade Union News have been reprinted by the Germans in thousands of copies. Over a million of our Slave Labor Maps, pinpointing slave labor camps in Russia, have been distributed in Austria, Western Germany, and in a special edition, Eastern Germany. In Vienna the Russians confiscated 500,000 copies of these maps and threw the owner of the bindery which was folding them in jail along with his wife. Due to the efforts of the U. S. High Commissioner for Austria, the bindery owner and his wife were released after two-weeks of Soviet imprisonment. This incident, naturally, increased the demand for our Slave Labor Maps all over Europe.

But the pamphlet which really met the needs of the times was this 26-page document called, "Who is the Imperialist?" It is the answer to the growing number of European "neutralist" spokesmen. These "neutralist" spokesmen may be either secret agents of the Cominform, or they may be naive individuals who believe that the present world struggle is only one for world power between the U. S. A. and Soviet Russia.

This pamphlet graphically pictures, in black and red, the areas taken over by the Soviet Union either by annexation or through satellite control, since the beginning of World War II. It also records the areas relinquished by the so-called imperialists, Great Britain and the United States, since the beginning of World War II. The recapitulation reveals that the western democracies, primarily Great Britain, but also the United States and The Netherlands, have granted independence to 545,000,000 people while the Soviet Union has subjugated 575,000,000 people. So who is the Imperialist?

The Duesseldorf Bureau of the American Federation of Labor sent out 500

letters with a copy of this pamphlet to youth organizations, women's clubs, parent-teachers groups, political parties, university student organizations, trade unions, local public forums, and the various religious societies, with a request for an order for this publication. Within three weeks the response exhausted our first printing of 500,000 and another printing of 200,000 has since been disposed of.

In conclusion, I wish to offer a few observations. The Russian threat of expansion has forced the United States to shift its European aid from the economic to the military; that is, from the Marshall Recovery Program to the Mutual Security Program. This shift is popular with nobody. It means that Western European nations will have to divert to defense purposes funds which they had hoped to use to bolster up their still precarious economies. This shift should not and need not result in a lowering of workers' standards. If the Western European countries receiving American aid will give their democratic trade unions an equal voice with management in the administration of these American funds, workers will be able to buy butter while they are producing guns. As far as the German and Austrian trade union movements are concerned, they are among the most solid in Europe. The Communist influence in these organizations is just about nil. These democratic organizations must be brought more fully into the councils of their national governments.

It is this free trade union movement in Europe which the American Federation of Labor has been supporting which has the power to save Europe for democracy and, in doing so will also strengthen the various allied forces everywhere which are striving to bring peace to the world.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY MEANY: I would like to announce that a disabled member of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union of Syracuse, New York, Local No. 60, is conducting a sale of union made ties in the lobby of this convention hall. He is Mose Thomas Currier, of Syracuse, New York. There is also beside him a retired honorary member of the Plate Printers Association, Mr. Harry M. Nannes, who is selling union made razor blades.

PRESIDENT GREEN: You will recall we announced that Mr. Cyrus S. Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, would come this afternoon for the purpose of presenting a message. He is here, and I am pleased

to introduce him to you. We all know of him. He has rendered excellent service in this governmental position that he has held for some length of time. He has shown his ability to mediate and bring about settlement of differences arising between employers and employees over a long period of time.

I am happy to present to you Mr. Cyrus S. Ching, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service of the United States Department of Labor.

MR. CYRUS S. CHING

(Director, Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service)

President Green and friends, I consider it an honor and a privilege to be here and talk with you for a few moments and tell you a few of the ideas I have in connection with the work that you are engaged in and the work that America is engaged in. I deem it a great honor to appear before an organization of this kind that has stood for what you have stood for over these many years.

I got off the elevator just as I came into the hotel, and the first man I met was a fellow I knew when I first started in collective bargaining in Boston, Massachusetts, 35 years ago. That was the time I learned something about collective bargaining.

I have this to say to you in all sincerity, that this will be my last public appearance as a government employee. So I am going to say to you what I said before I entered the government service, what I have said as a member of the government service, and what I will continue to say as long as I am able to say it, and that is that every generation of Americans has an installment to pay on the price they pay for freedom.

So we all have that terrific responsibility, and one of the greatest foundation stones, one of the most important foundation stones that we have in our form of government is free collective bargaining.

I have been connected with an agency as Director whose responsibility is to try to make collective bargaining work. I think perhaps we have done something along that line. If we haven't it has not been my fault, because I have been surrounded with one of the best staffs that any man could have, a great number of whom came from the organizations around this room. Those men that we have in the service who were connected with labor organizations in the past have not attempted to think in terms of their own labor organization, but the job we had to do to make collective bargaining work. I have never heard any criticism at all, strange to say, in five years in this

service; I have never had but one criticism and that was a letter that I had from a man I knew and he said that he thought the man representing the Union was too familiar with our commissioner. And I said, "Who was the man?" And he said it was Pat O'Brien. And I said that if I had been there I would have called him Pat, too, because we have called each other by our first names for many, many years. That is the only criticism I have had, but I have had words of praise heaped on our organization.

I don't know how successful I have been. I have tried to do my best. . . . I have tried in every way possible to make a contribution to the betterment of human relationships between labor and industry. I have had the backing of the best boss I have ever worked for, Harry S. Truman. I have had the heartiest cooperation both from labor and all of government officials, and most of industry. You can't succeed unless you have that sort of cooperation.

The thing that I ask you to do is to give the same cooperation, the same degree of backing to my successor, a man whom a lot of you know, David L. Cole, who is the incoming Director on the last day of this month. He is deserving of all the cooperation and help that he can get from you, and I know that he will need all the help that you can give him, the same as I have needed it.

All I can say in closing is God bless you, Bill Green; God bless you, my friends.

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to thank Brother Ching in your name for his visit and for his address. We interpret his presence here as evidence of his deep interest in the successful expansion and development of the American Federation of Labor.

Thank you for your visit this afternoon, Mr. Ching.

I am now going to call upon Vice President Doherty to preside for a short period of time.

. . . Vice President Doherty in the Chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION (Continued)

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Legislation, Committee Chairman Leo E. George.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GEORGE: The secretary of the committee will continue and complete the report of the committee that was broken off last evening.

... Committee Secretary Stephens continued the report of the committee as follows:

FEDERAL LICENSING OF LABOR CONTRACTORS

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 52, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

LEGISLATION FOR ESTABLISHING ARBITRATION PROCEDURE FOR FIRE FIGHTERS

Resolution No. 121—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM— GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates of: Building Service Employees International Union; International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; Railway Mail Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of

North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; International Association of Machinists; Central Labor Union of Panama Canal Zone.

(Page 49, First Day's Proceedings)

It is the recommendation of the Committee on Legislation that item "a" of the resolve be amended by adding the words "including hourly paid employees in the Postal field service" and that the resolution be adopted as amended.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

TOP PAY FOR POSTAL WORKERS AFTER FOUR YEARS

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution as it is consistent with the intent of the general resolution on Government Employee Legislation (No. 77).

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM— AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates James A. Campbell, Berniece B. Heffner, Henrietta E. Olding, American Federation of Government Employees.

(Page 67, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

SALARY INCREASES FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Joseph M. Rourke, Connecticut Federation of Labor.

(Page 68, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution as it is

consistent with the intent of the general resolution on Government Employee legislation No. 77.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

REPEAL OF SO-CALLED WHITTEN AMENDMENT TO THE 1951 SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor

(Page 66, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

UNION RECOGNITION FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 125—By Delegate Joseph M. Rourke, Connecticut Federation of Labor.

(Page 68, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends the adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

TEMPORARY HAZARDOUS DUTY

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 69, First Day's Proceedings)

The Committee on Legislation recommends amending the first resolve by striking out the term "IVB" and inserting in its place the term "classified civil service". The Committee recommends adoption of the resolution thus amended.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Stephens, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY STEPHENS: Mr. Chairman, this completes the work of the committee, and our report is signed by the following members:

Leo George, Chairman
Russell M. Stephens, Secretary

Michael Fox
James M. Duffy
Edward Carlough
James A. Campbell
John M. Eklund
Samuel J. Meyers
Thomas V. Green
Christian Madsen
William Lorenz
James Muwatt
Edward P. Ringius
Berl H. Hannah
Frank X. Martel
Paul A. Nagle
Joseph Tonelli
Joseph Breslaw
Marshall Shafer
George Heller
Edward F. Benning
Benedict Tantillo
George Hardy
George Sparkes
Joseph D. Keenan
Harry Finks

Committee on Legislation

At this time I move adoption of the report of the Committee on Legislation as a whole.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... The committee was discharged with a vote of thanks by the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

VICE PRESIDENT McFETRIDGE: The Committee on Adjustment wishes to report. Secretary Cross will give the report.

... Committee Secretary Cross submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

FIRE FIGHTERS LOCAL 2—OPERATING ENGINEERS LOCAL 587

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, Michael L. Smith, Glenn Thom, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(Page 64, First Day's Proceedings)

After hearing both parties to this dispute, namely the International Associa-

tion of Fire Fighters and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, your committee took the following unanimous action:

RESOLVED, That the entire matter be referred to President Green, and that he shall call together the interested parties in order to attempt to resolve an amicable settlement.

The committee moves concurrence in its report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Cross, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

This completes the report of the Committee on Adjustment and it is signed by the following:

William L. McFetridge, Chairman
James G. Cross, Secretary
Raymond H. Dalton
George Wright
Peter Fosco
Charles L. Bagley
J. P. Wilson
J. P. Poteet
E. J. Manion
William J. Finn
George W. Lawson
L. M. Rafferty
Harry Nacey
Joseph J. Delaney
Joseph O'Neill
Toney Gallo
Wm. P. Raoul
Gordon Chapman
George Grisham
J. H. Sylvester
A. J. Bernhardt
Morris Weisberger
Phillip Koerner
Joseph Fahey
George Bucher

Committee on Adjustment.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Sims of the Auditing Committee.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SIMS: Mr. Chairman and delegates, your Auditing

Committee, having completed its audit, is now ready to submit its report. I will call upon Secretary Schneider to read the report.

... Committee Secretary Schneider submitted the following report on behalf of the committee:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your auditing committee, duly appointed by President Green in accordance with the requirements of Article III, Section 5, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, desires to present the following report for the consideration of this convention:

At the outset, we wish to call attention to the fact that the audit covered a period of ten months rather than the usual twelve months. The reason for this is that last year the convention changed the date for the closing of the books of the American Federation of Labor from August 31 to June 30. This audit, therefore, covers the ten months from September 1, 1951 including June 30, 1952.

We have examined and audited the books of the Federation covering all of the financial transactions, and are pleased to advise that we found all accounts correct and in excellent condition.

The cash balances on hand have been verified by signed letters from each of the banks where the Federation has money on deposit. These letters certify as to the amount on deposit as of June 30, 1952, and by comparing these figures with the figures appearing in the books of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, we found the balances to be in complete agreement.

We have counted the securities owned by the Federation. The records show that there are \$500,000 in U. S. Government Bonds and 700 shares of Union Labor Life Insurance Stock which carries a book value of \$15,000. A listing of the bonds and stock follows in this report. We wish to point out, however, that at the time of our audit, \$20,000 of the bonds are not actually in physical possession of the Secretary-Treasurer; in lieu thereof he has an official receipt from the legal department of the A. F. of L. signed by J. Albert Woll for this \$20,000 in bonds which were turned over to Mr. Woll and are being used as collateral only in the court case of Deena Artware, Inc. vs United Brick and Clay Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor. The clerk of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals verifies the above two \$10,000 bonds are in the Court's possession. These bonds are to be returned to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL at the conclusion of this case.

We are listing below the receipts and

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

expenses of each of the American Federation of Labor's accounts:

RECEIPTS

Balance on Hand August 31, 1951	\$ 949,944.24
Per Capita Tax \$2,999,991.04	
Paid Subscriptions, American Federationist,	1,903.59
Per Capita Tax Subscriptions, American Federationist,	298,772.81
Per Capita Tax from Locals Allocated to Defense Fund,	171,121.80
Initiation Fees	56,871.75
Reinstatement Fees	1,657.50
Supplies	15,203.56
Interest	7,200.00
Premiums on Bonds of Officers of Unions Bonded thru AFL ...	34,228.78
Contributions, LLPE	979.55
Subscriptions, News-Reporter	20,220.48
Disbanded and Suspended Unions and Miscellaneous Receipts	12,967.74
Total Receipts	\$3,621,118.60
Grand Total	\$4,571,062.84

EXPENSES

Organizing Expenses	\$ 727,364.12
Salaries:	
Organizers' ..	646,542.59
Office Employees':	
AFL	307,205.26
WEB	18,857.20
LLPE	59,743.82
Administrative:	
AFL	120,516.29
LLPE	12,461.36
Miscellaneous General Bills:	
AFL	1,056,686.90
WEB	13,008.64
LLPE	72,584.25
Printing and Publishing American Federationist,	145,380.00
AFL News-Reporter	87,649.90
Defense Fund ..	162,755.00

Premiums on Bonds of Officers of Unions Bonded thru AFL ...

28,400.07

Total Expenses \$3,459,155.40

Balance on Hand June 30, 1952 \$1,111,907.44

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 644,056.30
In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions	467,851.14
Balance on Hand June 30, 1952	\$1,111,907.44

The following is a schedule of the securities owned and monies deposited:

U. S. Savings Bonds, 2½%, Maturity May 1, 1960	\$ 100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds, 2½%, Maturity May 1, 1961	100,000.00
U. S. Savings Bonds, 2½%, Maturity July 1, 1962	100,000.00
U. S. Treasury 2¾% Bonds 1975-80, Maturity Value \$200,000.00	198,452.53
Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock (700 shares)	15,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Subject to check)	2,000.00
City Bank (Subject to check)	5,000.00
Brotherhood State Bank, Kansas City, Missouri (Savings Account)	20,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Subject to check)	10,000.00
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)	561,454.91

Secretary-Treasurer's Balance June 30, 1952

\$1,111,907.44

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts from December 20, 1924 to and including June 30, 1952	\$ 136,375.30
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including June 30, 1952	122,728.87
Balance on Hand June 30, 1952	\$ 13,646.43
Funds deposited as follows:	
Riggs National Bank Checking Account	\$ 13,646.43
Balance on Hand June 30, 1952	\$ 13,646.43

AFL BUILDING FUND**RECEIPTS**

Cash Balance on Hand	
August 31, 1951	\$ 22,344.00
Rents—901 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.	\$ 45,061.07
Sale of waste paper	220.58
Gas—refund ..	69.95
Rents—1525 H Street, N.W.	6,200.00

Total Receipts\$ 51,551.60

Receipts and Balance.....\$ 73,895.60

EXPENSES

Maintenance—901 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.:	
Payroll (Build- ing Em- ployees) ...\$	28,152.67
Taxes	3,683.60
Electricity ...	1,958.92
Fuel (Coal) ..	1,509.65
Supplies	1,932.20
Plastering and painting ..	90.09
Cleaning win- dows	450.00
Upkeep and repairs	596.14
Upkeep and re- pair of ele- vators	1,230.38
Hauling ashes and trash ..	250.00
Miscellaneous expenses ..	950.00
Water rent ...	132.98
A. F. of L. Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund ..	848.24
Social Se- curity FICA ..	548.72

Total\$ 42,333.59

Maintenance—1525

H Street, N.W.:

Payroll (Build- ing Em- ployees) ...\$	1,891.00
Gas	711.86
Trash re- moval	157.50
Telephone service	72.48
Electricity ..	802.41
Supplies	237.79

Cleaning windows ..	250.00
Taxes	16,108.04
Water rent ..	67.37
Upkeep and repairs	818.14
Plastering and painting ..	158.24
Total	\$ 21,274.83
Total Expenses	\$ 63,608.42
Balance on Hand June 30, 1952	10,287.18

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and Balance.....	\$ 73,895.60
Expenses	63,608.42
Balance on Hand June 30, 1952	\$ 10,287.18
Monies deposited as follows:	
Riggs National Bank.....	\$ 10,287.18

In conclusion, your committee wishes to emphasize that the total receipts for the fiscal year amounted to \$3,621,118.60, while the total expenses amounted to \$3,459,155.40, an excess of receipts over expenses in the amount of \$161,963.20.

Finally, we wish to express our appreciation to Secretary-Treasurer Meany and his assistants for the help and cooperation extended to us in the performance of this assignment.

Respectfully submitted,

Curtis R. Simms, Chairman
H. A. Schneider, Secretary
Peter Kleinkauf,
Auditing Committee

... On motion of Committee Secretary Schneider, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF
AUDITING COMMITTEE**

Committee Secretary Schneider submitted the following supplemental report on behalf of the committee:

American Federation of Labor Employees'
Retirement Annuity Trust Fund
for the period September 1, 1951 to June
30, 1952

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, September 1, 1951	\$ 418,680.62
A. F. of L. weekly contributions. \$	13,992.26
Employees' weekly contributions ..	13,992.26

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds	9,662.50
Total Receipts	37,647.02

Total Receipts and Balance..\$ 456,327.64

DISBURSEMENTS

Benefits Paid ...\$	1,446.70
Withdrawals Paid	2,969.79
Death Benefits Paid	1,096.40
Total Disbursements	5,512.89

Balance on hand, June 30,
1952\$ 450,814.75

ALLOCATION OF INTEREST

Investment Earnings Clearing Account	
Balance on hand, September 1, 1951	\$ 5,742.98
Receipts—September 1 to De- cember 31, 1951.....	4,337.50
Excess Interest on With- drawals	21.20
Total	\$ 10,101.68

Less: Allocations made
December 31, 1951:

To Prior Service Liability \$	7,019.66
To Fed- eration Accu- mulations	1,280.89
To Mem- bers Ac- cumulations	1,109.16
To An- nuity Reserve	691.97
	10,101.68

Receipts—January 1, 1952 to June 30, 1952.....\$	5,325.00
Excess Interest on With- drawals	52.46

Balance, June 30, 1952.....\$ 5,377.46

BALANCE SHEET

For the period September 1, 1951 to June
30, 1952

ASSETS

Investments	\$ 450,000.00
Cash	814.75
Total	\$ 450,814.75

LIABILITIES AND INCOME

Prior Service Liability.....\$	289,048.18
Federation Accumulations ..	68,832.54

Members Accumulations	57,344.21
Annuity Reserve	30,212.36
Investment Earnings Clearing	5,377.46
Total	\$ 450,814.75

The securities owned by the American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund consist solely of United States Treasury Bonds.

We examined and counted the bonds and found them to be correct as listed in the Bond Record.

Respectfully submitted,

Curtis R. Sims, Chairman
H. A. Schneider, Secretary
Peter Kleinkauf,
Auditing Committee.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Schneider, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SCHNEIDER: Mr. Chairman, that completes the work of the committee and therefore I move that the committee's report be accepted as a whole and complete.

... The motion was seconded, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: The Chair now recognizes Brother Scott Milne, the fraternal delegate to the International Labor Press.

REPORT OF THE FRATERNAL DELEGATE OF THE INTER- NATIONAL LABOR PRESS OF AMERICA

President Green and Delegates to the Seventy-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Once again it is my pleasure to come before this gathering and bring a message to you—the greatest group of labor leaders in the world—and to make a report to you, and to make an appeal to you. Now you have listened to a lot of speeches in the past few days and so I am going to take as little of your time as possible, but in this brief report I bring you the accomplishments and the thoughts and the aspirations of one of the most important segments of our American labor movement—a segment to which we do not always give our full cooperation and support. I speak for all the editors and for all the labor magazines and papers, great and small that make up the living voice of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor, the International Labor Press of America.

We have accomplished much in that labor press of ours in the past year, but before we tell you about it, we want to say something else.

As we sit here in this hall, we delegates from unions all over these United States and Canada, we make decisions and map the policies to guide our great American labor movement for another year.

But I say to you—if it were not for the men and women of the labor press, who pick up our words, who transmit our resolutions to the eight million odd labor unionists at home, whom we represent, this Convention would not mean very much.

We owe a lot to those writing editors—those crusaders for the truth, who strive day after day to do a job for the American Federation of Labor. They range all the way from the man who edits a journal for a powerful International to the fellow cranking his message out on a second-hand mimeograph machine in Little Town, U. S. A.—they're all selling the A. F. of L. and what it stands for to any and all who will listen. And brothers and sisters, millions are stopping—and looking—and listening. Our people read the American labor press.

And so I further say to you, and I know I speak for many other officers of our International Unions, the labor press is doing a job—our job. It deserves our best cooperation. It deserves our utmost in moral support, and it deserves our financial support to the fullest extent we are able. Remember, the more attractive the magazine or paper, the more people will read. It takes money to make our organs readable. We want to put our message and that of the American Federation of Labor over to our membership and to the public at large. If we will back up our labor editors, they'll do the rest and give the daily press a run for its money into the bargain. The daily press in general will not give labor its just due. Your labor press will. Give it a chance to do the job.

That's our appeal to you. Now for a summary of what the ILPA is and what it did during the year 1951-1952.

The International Labor Press of America is the official press organ of the American Federation of Labor. It was founded 41 years ago by the great Samuel Gompers himself, who often said that if it were not for the labor press, much of the Federation's work would be left undone. Sixty-nine international publications and 151 local papers are members of ILPA, a total membership of 220 today as against 208 a year ago.

You may like to know who the officers of our organization are. They are men and women long established in the labor movement. President of ILPA is Matthew Woll, editor of *The International Photo-Engraver*. Secretary-Treasurer is Lewis M. Herrmann of the New Jersey Labor Herald. Vice Presidents are Frank X. Martel, Detroit Labor News; Ruth Taylor, Labor

Press Columnist; Stanton Dann, Mobile Labor Journal; J. Scott Milne, Electrical Workers' Journal; Edward N. Doan, Madison Union Labor News; L. O. Thomas, Machinists' Monthly Journal; C. J. Hagerty, California State A. F. L. Bulletin; Dallas B. Huggins, Railway Carmen's Journal and William B. Schnitzler, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Journal.

These are the officers of your labor press who are asking you to give your best support to the one group of publications which we know are on our side—union papers, willing and ready—and as able as you will them to be—to fight the workers' battles in the never-ending struggle for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These officers are pleased to report to you that during the past year there has been a continued and marked improvement in the appearance, news and editorial content of the American labor press, so much so that we have a "man-bites-dog" item to report to you. It is not just the opinion of persons within the American Federation of Labor who are convinced that there has been a vast improvement in the American labor press, but such publications as the *Wall Street Journal*, *Commerce*, *Printers' Ink*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Advertising Age* and others, have commented upon our papers and magazines and urged their constituents to read them lest they miss items of import to them.

And your ILPA has just concluded the greatest Awards Contest in its history, from the standpoint of number of entries. Professor Philip F. Griffin, head of the School of Journalism for the University of California, and chief judge of the contest, had this to say on the subject:

"We who have had the privilege of judging the entries in the 1952 ILPA Contest, have found the labor press, judged by the examples entered in this competition, to be competent and valuable representatives of the press system of our country."

And so that it may be included in the record, we bring to you here, the list of the labor publications which won the awards in the competition of this year: *Building Service Employee*, *Bakers' and Confectioners' Journal*, *Seafarers' Log*, *The Paper Maker*, *Electrical Workers' Journal*, *Retail Clerks' Advocate*, *Machinists' Monthly Journal*, *Catering Industry Employee*, *Textile Challenger*, *Justice*, *The Hat Worker*.

Overture, Oregon Teamster, San Francisco Labor, The Labor Tribune, Columbus, Ohio, Oregon Labor Press, Portland, Michigan Hotel Bar-Restaurant Review, Detroit, Michigan, New Jersey Labor Herald, Newark, The Labor World, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Union Labor Bulletin, Little Rock, Arkansas and The Federationist, Baltimore, Maryland.

It is the decided opinion of the officers and the member publications of the ILPA that these journalistic contests with their friendly competition are a definite stimulus to the improvement of our publica-

tions. We are looking forward to a bigger and better contest next year and the School of Journalism of the University of Michigan has already consented to act as the Committee on Awards.

Your ILPA feels also that it may point with pride to the consistent fight it has made against communism and for keeping the free countries of the world free. It has also given full cooperation to such worthy national and community projects as Defense Bond, American Red Cross and Community Chest drives, Blood Donor Service and others.

As far as Labor's League for Political Education is concerned it has, by admission of the Director of that fine organization, been LLPE's right arm in fighting reactionaries and promoting liberals in the true Gompers sense of rewarding friends and defeating enemies.

During the past year, your ILPA has continued its tenacious fight to curb unethical publications parading under the guise of the A. F. of L. We have had splendid cooperation from A. F. of L. President Green and Secretary-Treasurer George Meany in this endeavor. We are grateful for their help, and we here and now ask every member here present at this convention, to help us in this fight to eliminate "racket" papers which do our legitimate labor press so much harm.

We are pleased to announce that a newspaper known as Labor's Daily, sponsored by the International Typographical Union has recently been issued. We urge your support for this necessary innovation in the labor press field.

A significant point to be mentioned with regard to any organization is this one: is it sound financially? We are glad to report that committee audit proved all accounts of ILPA in order and showed a balance on hand of \$6,104.37.

The International Labor Press of America has just concluded its 41st Annual Convention. It was a full and interesting meeting and our largest to date, with 145 persons in attendance. Representatives of international publications and local labor papers met in joint sessions for two days and profited by the talks made by such outstanding persons as Kent Cooper, Executive Director of the Associated Press, J. H. Oldenbroeck, General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U., Edward Allen of the I.L.O., James McDewitt of Labor's League, Philip Delaney of the A. F. of L., and others.

In addition to the joint sessions, an afternoon forum session was held in which the editors of international journals met to discuss ideas and problems pertinent to their type of publication, and editors of weekly newspapers did the same. Outstanding teachers of journalism, newspaper men and typographical experts were on hand to lend their help to the editors in their search for a better way to present their writings to their readers.

Numerous reports and resolutions were presented during the course of our three-day meet. I shall not detain you with a detailed report of these, but should like

to highlight briefly some of those on which we are asking support of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and the members of this Convention.

One concerns the very complete and comprehensive report of our News Service Committee. This Committee made a survey of existing news services available to the Labor Press and commended much that had been done well by Labor Press Associates, the International Labor News Service, Contributions of the Federal Government and others. But its report was chiefly concerned with the A. F. of L. Weekly News-Reporter. The Committee requested, and its resolution was passed by our Convention, that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. set up a separate news service, aside from this weekly paper, the A. F. L. Reporter. It is sincerely hoped that the Council will look favorably upon this request, since an extensive survey proved that our labor editors are badly in need of such service.

Another resolution for which your ILPA urges support is that the ILPA be consulted when advisors to A. F. of L. representatives attending periodic meetings of the ILO and Federal agencies are appointed and that one advisor be selected from the editors' group in order that activities of the ILO and the Federal agencies on which the A. F. of L. has representation be publicized in the several hundred papers of the A. F. of L. affiliates.

Other important resolutions passed by ILPA at its 41st Convention concerned a recommendation that a committee on the Labor Press be created to function as a regular convention committee at future A. F. of L. meets; a pledge by ILPA endorsing Workers' Education and promising active assistance and widespread publicity in member publications; a resolution regarding a primary election system in all states; a resolution pledging ILPA to continue to publicize the William N. Oatis case and to continue to work for his freedom; one denouncing the suppression of the newspaper La Prensa of Argentina.

Another notable resolution urged use of qualified labor editors from the ranks of the A. F. of L. in United States Information programs abroad.

One of the most important resolutions of the whole convention concerned the role of the labor press in electing a liberal Congress which embodied a number of things—the urging of all member labor publications that they increase the space and the emphasis devoted to the election of a liberal Congress and the "dethronement of the reactionary Congressional coalition."

We urge your interest and support for these measures. And while time and space will not permit a full analysis here, your ILPA officers will be happy to supply further information and details if desired.

In concluding this report, we return to our initial theme. The officers of the International Labor Press of America are interested in where the labor press

is going. We feel we have come far. Sam Gompers would be pleased could he be with us today and see how far his labor press—the organ which he founded—has come. But there is still the long road ahead with many a detour, rough spot and road repair job to be done. We must continue to improve our publications, make them interesting and attractive. They could contain the knowledge of the ages and the secret of eternal youth and they would remain unknown if they were not inviting enough to bring the reader past the headlines.

And we need help! The American Labor Press is willing—it is anxious to tell the story and sell the policy of the American Federation of Labor everywhere. That is the purpose for which it was created—to do the job the A. F. of L. wants done. And God willing, if you, the International Unions of this country, the State Federations and Central Labor bodies will back us up and give us the means and support, we'll do that job.

We ask you to take a real interest and back us to the limit. If you will do that, we'll tell the American labor story and we'll tell it fair and square. We'll do a job for Labor's League for Political Education and get out the vote. And yes, we'll help to raise the money to support it. We will help to rid the Congress of the United States of the reactionaries who have been a curse to us all. We will fight for repeal of Taft-Hartley with all our strength. We'll help you organize and we'll promote the union label and sell union goods and services in every segment of these United States and Canada.

Give us the ammunition—we'll fire the guns. If you will do this, you will be doing more than just promoting unionism and telling the A. F. of L. story to the world. You'll be helping to preserve the first foundation of American democracy—freedom of speech, freedom of the press. And you'll be doing something more, you'll be spreading the story of American democracy not only throughout our nation but throughout the world, proving that democracy can work—it works here and it can work in every corner of our earth, even in those countries now strangled in the greedy claws of communism.

With the help of our A. F. of L. Council and our unions we can bring a message of freedom and hope to the world, a world that, God knows, needs a light for its darkness!

Help us to do the job!

Respectfully submitted,

J. SCOTT MILNE,
Fraternal Delegate

... The report of the fraternal delegate was received with the thanks of the convention.

... President Green in the Chair.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now the Chair is going to call on Vice President Birthright to serve as presiding officer of this convention for a period of time.

... Vice President William C. Birthright in the Chair.

CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: Vice President MacGowan, Chairman of the Committee on State Organizations, is now ready to report

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MACGOWAN: The report of the Committee on State Organizations will be presented, as usual, by that most charming and capable of secretaries, Miss Berniece Heffner.

Miss Berniece Heffner, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on State Organizations had no resolutions referred to it either by the Executive Council or the Convention.

The committee discussed numerous problems which confront our State Federations of Labor and realizes that the State Federations of Labor must have the full and complete support and cooperation of all International Unions and their local affiliates if they are to resist the concerted attacks of the anti-labor elements which apparently centralize much of their activity in numerous states.

As your committee recognizes the present burden placed upon State Federations of Labor, we recommend that all international unions provide, by constitutional methods, the compulsory affiliation of all their local unions with all State Federations of Labor. We commend those international unions whose constitutions now contain this provision, as this indicates their complete cooperation with State Federations of Labor. We further recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor make a survey, ascertaining those international unions whose laws require affiliation of their subordinate locals with State Federations of Labor, with the view of recommending to those international unions which have not yet taken this progressive step that they utilize the first opportunity to change their laws so as to bring about complete A. F. of L. cooperation and support of its State Federations of Labor.

Your committee calls attention to the great need for the coordination of the various State Federations of Labor in their legislatures by the A. F. of L. Your committee believes this coordinating program is more essential at this

time than at any other time in our history and the need for guidance by the A. F. of L. is imperative, due to the concentration of the anti-labor forces in the various state legislatures with particular respect to anti-labor legislation. We recommend that the Executive Council give consideration to appointing a State Legislative Coordinator and staff by the President of the A. F. of L.

In view of the paramount necessity of intensifying and making efficient the work of our State and Local Labor Leagues for Political Education, your committee recommends that all international unions call upon their subordinate organizations to give full support and cooperation to these Leagues. Your Committee notes the lack of aggressive functions of some State and Local Leagues, apparently caused by fear of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Your committee wishes to point out that while this obnoxious law does contain restrictions on union financial contributions, there is no law which prohibits the use of union dues monies for the work of political education or direct financial aid to candidates or issues on the state or local levels.

Your committee cannot stress too strongly the necessity of making our Local and State Leagues strong and aggressive functioning organizations, and therefore, is placing this emphasis for the full support of the Leagues, which are the political arms of the Labor Movement and the sum total of the strength of the National Labor's League for Political Education.

... Committee Secretary Heffner moved the adoption of the committee's report.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY HEFFNER: This concludes the report of the Committee on State Organizations, and the report is signed:

Charles J. MacGowan, Chairman
Berniece B. Heffner, Secretary
Henry Segal
George L. Googe
Joseph A. Mullaney
Phil Hannah
Fred Scafidi
C. J. Haggerty
W. S. Gross
Thomas A. Murray
Phil E. Zeigler
Gust Anderson
J. S. Smith
John J. Brennan
Joseph Fogarty

John Kelly
J. Scott Milne
Thomas Burke
Paul C. Sparks
Bernard A. Downey
R. A. Olson
Paul R. Hutchings
E. A. Carter

Committee on State Organizations

... Committee Secretary Heffner moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: The Committee on International Labor Relations is ready to report, and the Chair recognizes Chairman McSorley.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MCSORLEY: The Committee on International Labor Relations has had referred to it some twelve sections from the report of the Executive Council and six resolutions. The committee has given careful consideration and made an analysis of these resolutions and reports and they are now in position to present them to this convention, for your favorable consideration, we trust. Vice President Woll, secretary of the committee, will make the report.

Committee Secretary Woll submitted the following report:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

(Pages 95-109, 110-114, 117-123, 126-133)

After examination of the above sections of the Executive Council's Report dealing with the entire international crisis, our nation's foreign policy, the communist menace, and the urgent tasks of the hour, your International Committee has found the analysis to be thoroughgoing and sound.

In line with the constructive spirit and valuable content of this Executive Council survey, the International Committee proposes the adoption of the following:

In their firm desire for peace, the democracies swiftly disarmed at the end of World War II. They turned their energies to economic reconstruction. But the very

progress of economic restoration and the extent of disarmament by the democratic powers served only as additional reasons for the Soviet regime to intensify communist subversion and launch a series of ruthless aggressions (Czecho-Slovakia, China, Korea).

Today, it is the peoples of Asia, Europe and Africa who are most directly and seriously threatened and least able to withstand Russian aggression and Communist subversion. The progress made by Free Europe in rearmament to date is not yet sufficient to deter, let alone defeat, Soviet imperialist aggression which continues as a grave threat to world peace and human welfare. It would, therefore, be fatal folly to assume that this program has already increased our collective security or reduced the danger of Soviet aggrandizement enough to warrant a slowdown or stretch-out of our rearmament efforts. On the contrary, slowing down our pace of rearmament is a most dangerous way of stretching out the period of insecurity and intensifying the peril of aggression.

However, American policy must aim at more than securing adequate rearmament to cool the Kremlin's ardor for aggression. We dare not limit the objective of our situations of strength merely to securing a better bargaining position with Stalin and his successors. Such an approach can never give the free world a feeling of stability and security or keep alive the hope of freedom and strengthen the will to resist despotism in the Soviet orbit. We must supplement and combine our rearmament program with an economic, political and social program for improving and promoting democracy and making the free world a better place to live in. The democratic peoples must simultaneously develop economic, political, and social measures which will help undermine the quiescent regimes of Mao Tse-tung, Gottwald, Beirut, Rakosi and their ilk. Let us reduce our trade with them to a minimum, so as to force them to fall behind still more in their delivery of loot to Moscow, increase their demands on Russia for capital goods, and inflict new stress and strain on Soviet economy.

Our government should combine such an approach with a program for cementing political and economic cooperation among the democracies, strengthening the democratic forces on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and expanding Point Four and similar aid measures, rendered on a reciprocal basis, in order to help stabilize and improve the economies of friendly peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin-America. America and the other democracies must act in such a manner and pursue such policies as will convince the impoverished peasants and workers of these areas that only through the democratic processes and close association with the free nations will they be able to attain an expansion of production, a greater supply of goods, a more equitable distribution of income, higher purchasing power, national independence and human liberty.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

GUIDING LINES FOR FOREIGN POLICY

Realizing that peace, freedom, and prosperity cannot be built on a firm foundation in one country, while ignoring the conditions in the rest of the world, and fully aware of the overriding aim of the totalitarian Soviet empire, we make the following proposals as guiding lines for our country's foreign policy:

1. Adequate rearmament must have foremost priority in our national life.
2. Appropriations for foreign aid should henceforth be on a two-year, instead of a year-by-year, basis in order to reduce the elements of uncertainty hampering the progress of European rearmament and to help the democratic powers coordinate more effectively their own production and boost their defense contributions to the NATO.
3. Redoubled efforts should be made to have our allies speed the extension of democracy, economic welfare, and national freedom in all underdeveloped areas under their political control.
4. Measures should be taken for assuring fair and stable prices for vital raw materials produced in the industrially underdeveloped areas.
5. An agreement should be sought with our allies to prevent more effectively the shipment of strategic materials to the Soviet orbit, the economy of which is totalitarian and geared to military aggression. A special fund should be set up by the co-operating countries for the purpose of compensating any nation which has suffered economic losses directly resulting from its loyal participation in such economic collaboration for discouraging aggression and maintaining world peace.
6. To foster closer co-operation of the democracies in the global campaign to resist and defeat Soviet aggression and Communist subversion, an American deputy should be appointed to the British and French commanders on the Malayan and Indo-Chinese fronts as well as a British Deputy to the U. N. Commander in Korea.
7. Active steps should be taken to speed the revision of the present European Defense Community Treaty so that democratic Germany shall enjoy full national sovereignty and equality of status with other members. In line with Article 38 of the E.D.C. treaty, a plan should be prepared and proposed for facilitating the development of political union among the

co-operating states. In the same spirit and towards the objective of eliminating the existing barriers to economic unity among the free nations of Europe, the Schuman Plan should be revised and strengthened.

8. Offshore orders should be stepped up particularly to Italy to help her utilize her vast reservoir of skilled workers and modern machinery for the production of arms and the enhancement of collective security.

9. Adequate assistance should be rendered to France in her efforts to build up her own armament industry.

10. Every effort should be made to impress the French government with:

(a) the justice and urgency of releasing all Tunisian free trade unionists and representatives of the Neo-Destour Party (Bourguiba) imprisoned because of their struggle for national freedom and

(b) negotiating with these democratic forces the adoption of a program for home rule and the furtherance of the policy proclaimed by Robert Schuman in June 1950 "of trying to understand Tunisia, and of leading her to the full development of her riches and to the independence which is the final objective for all territories in the French Union."

11. All negotiations with the Franco dictatorship for bases in Spain should be dropped and further economic or any other assistance to the Falangist enemies of democracy and oppressors of the Spanish people should be discontinued until all free trade unionists and fighters for democracy are released from prison and democratic rights are restored to the people of Spain.

12. Towards promoting the attainment of greater social justice and democracy—the two most urgent needs of the peoples of Latin-America—our country should direct its aid to our neighboring republic principally towards projects for improving the economic and social conditions of the great mass of the people rather than towards providing the reactionary juntas and military dictatorships with weapons which they tend to use either for suppressing the people or in clique struggles for power.

13. In consultation with free labor and democratic organizations of the New World there should be developed a program for co-ordinated joint action to counteract and eliminate the dangerous trend towards dictatorship in various parts of Latin-America. Towards dramatizing United States support of this goal, our government should declare its wholehearted sympathy with and pledge its full support to the aspirations of the democratic labor forces in Bolivia and all other Latin American Republics to utilize the

great natural wealth of their homelands for the greater benefit of the people as a whole rather than any domestic or foreign group of profiteers.

14. A mutual security pact with the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China (Nationalist) should be entered into.

15. To broaden or entirely replace the present Pacific Security Pact (United States, Australia, New Zealand) so as to include the maximum number of freedom-loving peoples of the Orient.

16. Encourage the free nations of Asia to develop unity of action amongst themselves and, upon their request, aid them in joint resistance to aggression and subversion by the Moscow-Peiping Axis against their national independence and democratic rights.

17. To set the pace in efforts to secure adequate representation of free world labor (through ICFTU) in NATO and all other international bodies dealing with the social and economic problems of rearmament.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

Aid to Allies

We call upon the United States Government to appoint a competent representative commission to review past experience and prepare a new program of aid to our allies—to be based on indirect assistance rather than on the policy of direct grants. We make the following proposals for consideration as guiding lines of this new mutual aid program:

1. Longer-term contracts in the purchase of raw materials from our allies.
2. Stabilization of prices of these commodities and strategic materials through agreed-upon parity arrangements similar to our farm-support formula.
3. Biennial appropriations voted by each new Congress.
4. Setting up a fund for currency stabilization.
5. Comprehensive plan for promoting trade and removing barriers to commerce and investments among allied democratic nations.
6. Every measure of aid tendered is to be reciprocated with some form of assistance to our country either through services, sales or mutual security arrangements.

7. In all such arrangements, special provisions should be made against the depressing of labor standards and for raising purchasing power and stabilizing employment.
8. Our government should place its moral prestige and influence on the side of encouraging other democratic governments to pursue policies which will insure a just distribution of the benefits of American help through the Mutual Security Agency, Point Four Program, and other projects of American assistance.

The application of the principle of mutual aid along the above lines would help prevent the envy and disappointment flowing from the present system of protracted direct grants which give the utterly wrong appearance of a beggar-donor, alms-recipient and philanthropist relationship prevailing between America and its weaker allies.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

Policy Towards the People Behind the Iron Curtain

America wants and expects the liberation of the oppressed people of Communist Russia, China and the Soviet satellites in Europe. We loathe the Communist yoke under which these people are now suffering; just as we vehemently oppose any expression of tyranny and injustice outside the Iron Curtain. In expressing this solidarity with those who are today victims of totalitarian despotism, we assure the people behind the Iron Curtain that we are not proposing to launch adventurist military measures against their oppressors. We likewise assure them that they can count on our moral and material support in their efforts to develop forces of democratic resistance and liberation within the Soviet empire. In line with such assistance, our government should renounce all previous arrangements and agreements which have been utilized by the Soviet dictatorship for destroying the full national sovereignty and democratic rights of the people forced into the Soviet slave sphere.

In co-operation with other democracies, we should strive to develop effective measures for helping the escape of anti-Communist fighters for freedom to the free world, when they find it necessary. No effort should be spared to assure such democratic refugees in our midst treatment which will protect their human dignity, self-reliance, and a constructive independent role in their organized endeavors to undermine tyranny and strengthen the ranks of freedom in their native lands. We should aid these efforts not as a matter of charity or personal favor, but in line with the principle of mutual aid and moral and material reparations to these

democratic forces some of whom are now in exile largely because of the appeasement policies once pursued by the allied democracies towards Russian aggression.

The struggle now being waged by the International Free Trade Union Center in Exile, the International Peasants Union and various bona fide democratic national exile committees must be considered as an organic part of the global struggle for democracy, national freedom and world peace. In our relations with these loyal and valuable democratic forces, we must avoid all domineering patron-and-client methods and practices characteristic of totalitarian regimes. In our conception of the future free world, there is no room for satellites of America or any other lands.

In consistently and clearly distinguishing between the totalitarian dictatorships and their victims behind the Iron Curtain, we must assure the Russian, Chinese, Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Balkan, Baltic and East German peoples that we are not seeking to replace their present despotic regimes with other reactionary governments or to impose on them any particular economic, political or social system. After they shall have rid themselves of the savage Communist regime, they are to have full opportunity to develop economic, social and political relations of their own choosing through the democratic process.

In line with this policy, our government should co-operate with and aid only the genuine democratic forces among these oppressed peoples and should avoid every policy and practice which might give the impression that we are trafficking with the remnants of feudalistic and tyrannical regimes which once dominated these countries and whose reactionary policies only prepared the ground for and facilitated their replacement by Soviet despotism.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, Pages 114-117)

Your Committee on International Relations has carefully considered this section of the Executive Council's Report.

We particularly draw your attention and commend for your full approval the determined efforts made by the Executive Council to help the I.C.F.T.U. play an independent, vigorous, and militant role in the struggle to protect and promote the democratic rights and social and economic interests of labor, human liberties and peace in the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Africa as well as in the most industrially developed countries. We further recommend for your whole-

hearted indorsement the firm course pursued by the Executive Council in seeking to have the I.C.F.T.U. become an ever stronger and more effective force for the improvement of the standards of life and labor, human freedom, and democracy.

We particularly approve the memorandum of the Executive Council to all affiliates designed to strengthen the I.C.F.T.U. and to develop its collective leadership.

In this spirit, we call upon the I.C.F.T.U. to urge the bona fide free trade unions of France to have their government discontinue its present policy of forcing the workers of Algiers and Morocco to belong to the Communist-controlled C.G.T. of France and instead to grant these workers the right to organize themselves into genuine free trade unions of their own nationals. We further urge the I.C.F.T.U. to pledge to the democratic trade unionists of Algiers and Morocco that after they shall have thus severed completely their relations with the Communist C.G.T. of France, it will welcome them to take their rightful place in the international democratic labor movement as affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Neither our government nor our labor movement can force countries which receive American aid to have a just and adequate distribution of the benefits accruing from such help. On the other hand, the trade unions and labor movements of the countries thus aided should see to it that their governments and employers pursue economic and industrial policies which will enable the working people and the nation as a whole, rather than any special interests, to enjoy the fruits of American help. In the spirit of vigorous international labor solidarity and in full co-operation with the I.C.F.T.U. the A. F. of L. will actively help all militant struggles conducted by the workers of these aided lands for the achievement of this goal.

With these comments, we recommend approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

A. F. OF L. ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA INTER-AMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION (O.R.I.T.)

**(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 123-126)**

We have considered the sections of the Executive Council's Report dealing with this situation and the A. F. of L. and O.R.I.T. activities in Latin-America. We

urge your indorsement of this section of the Council's Report.

Within the year, the A. F. of L. has been actively engaged in bringing the message of free trade unionism and democracy to the workers of our neighbor republics. Through the various new publications, effective propaganda has been made against the Peronista and Communist totalitarians as well as against the spreading plague of military dictatorships.

We have been unsparing in our contributions and efforts to build the O.R.I.T. New steps are being taken to strengthen this vital regional organization of the I.C.F.T.U.

Your Committee recommends for your hearty approval the many constructive activities of Serafino Romualdi in this vital phase of our international work.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

FREE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

**(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 133-136)**

Your Committee on International Relations has carefully considered this section of the Executive Council's Report regarding the activities of this dynamic auxiliary of the A. F. of L. We recommend your indorsement of this section.

We commend the Free Trade Union Committee for its energy and effectiveness in carrying out the international policies of the American Federation of Labor, in promoting an interest in and understanding and support of these policies by the membership of our affiliates, and in furthering the knowledge of these policies abroad as well as at home.

As the strongest free trade union movement and as the leading labor federation in the United States—which bears the heaviest burdens of world democratic leadership—the A. F. of L. has special responsibilities and tasks in aiding and rallying the ranks of the international free trade union movement to eliminate the threat of Communist subversion and to deter and, if need be, defeat the menace of Russian aggression against world peace, human freedom, and social progress.

We commend the splendid services rendered by A. F. of L. European Representative Irving Brown—particularly in his constructive pioneer activities in Turkey and Tunis. We likewise commend the activities of Henry Rutz, A. F. of L. Representative in Germany and Austria; Richard Deverall in Japan and Harry Goldberg in Indonesia who, as Free Trade Union Committee representatives, have rendered real service to the cause of international free trade unionism, to a better understanding of and with our labor movement and the American people.

We point to the special value of having representatives of the A. F. of L. in various countries to study and observe at first hand the labor movements and conditions abroad, so that they can become fully qualified and available to serve the international free trade union movement. We point to the further value and need of such A. F. of L. observers in counteracting the Communist slander campaign which has for decades made our country and the A. F. of L. its special targets, and in promoting better understanding and cementing lasting friendship between the American and other democratic labor movements.

In all its activities, the Free Trade Union Committee has endeavored to work in close association with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to help its efforts for developing and strengthening the free trade union movement.

We recommend generous support of the publications and activities of the Free Trade Union Committee as a valuable A. F. of L. auxiliary body.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

LABOR POLICIES IN MUTUAL SECURITY AGENCY

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 136-137)

This section of the Report of the Executive Council has received our very careful attention. We recommend its acceptance. We further propose your approval of the following supplementary recommendations:

The protracted military conflict in Korea calls for a new emphasis on the development of military strength by the free nations. Such military prowess, indispensable to our national and collective security, cannot be realized by any country unless its economy and social structure are healthy and sound.

The structure and organization of the various labor offices should be reorganized to meet the particular requirements of the newer functions of the Mutual Security Agency. In this light, the organization and staffing of the Labor offices in this agency should be examined anew in order to help make labor's participation fully effective. Towards this end, we suggest that the responsible heads of the M.S.A., together with representatives of labor and other interested organizations, consider the following proposals:

1. The Office of Labor Adviser in Washington should become part of the Office of the Director for Mutual Security so that the Labor viewpoint can be fully expressed and its contribution made in all phases of the Mutual Security program.

2. Major labor policy should be made at the Washington level, in close consultation

with representatives of the American labor movement.

3. Adequate means for implementing and administering labor policy should be provided for along the following lines:

- (a) There should be labor officers—directly responsible to M.S.A.—as part of every country mission in Europe, where any technical assistance or productivity project is undertaken or where there is any significant American expenditure for procurement of military supplies.

- (b) Similarly, there should be labor officers in every country mission in Asia where the aid program of technical assistance projects bear on labor's field of interest.

- (c) There should be a Chief of European Labor Affairs in Paris to report directly to the Special Representative in Europe. He should be charged with coordinating all labor functions including training, manpower, migration, productivity, and labor information.

- (d) There should be organized a Trade Union Advisory Committee, consisting of representatives designated by the trade unions co-operating with M.S.A. in the various country missions and to advise the Mission Chief on all M.S.A. programs within their respective countries.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 138-144)

Your International Relations Committee recommends for your adoption this thorough-going section of the Executive Council's Report dealing with the various activities of the International Labor Organization.

We point to the vital importance of this world institution as a guiding center and clearing house in helping to meet the tasks arising from the expansion of the Point Four Program, the initiation by the U.N. of various development projects, the spreading menace of slave labor, and the grave jeopardy in which human rights now find themselves in various parts of the world.

By improving the standards of work and the living conditions in other countries, we raise the purchasing power of their people and thus promote and enhance trade and economic relations among the various nations.

We note the numerous conferences and undertakings by this great world body and commend to you the tireless activities of George P. Delaney in discharging his duties as the Workers' Delegate from

the United States and in ably aiding the I.L.O. in the fulfillment of its duties.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

UNITED STATES LABOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 144-145)

We recommend your adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report dealing with the activities of the United States Labor Advisory Committee.

In recommending our continued cooperation, we point to the need for reviewing its activities with the thought in mind of strengthening it.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

LABOR REPRESENTATIONS IN UNITED NATIONS

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 145-148)

Your Committee has thoroughly considered the Executive Council's Report section dealing with the U.N.

We recommend the indorsement of this section.

Realizing the vital need of building the U.N. into a powerful force for preserving peace and promoting human well-being, we urge that, towards the furtherance of these objectives, our government delegation in the U.N. should give favorable consideration to the following proposals:

1. In association with our democratic allies and through our own initiative, our government should strengthen and improve the efficacy of the U.N. not only as an instrument for preserving peace but also as an organ for systematically advancing and applying policies calculated to eliminate every vestige of colonialism and every imperialist course—whether it be the old type of nineteenth century imperialism or the new type of totalitarian Communist imperialism.

2. The U.N. countries administering trust territories should include representatives of the native populations from the territories on their delegations to the Trusteeship Council. Wherever possible, these representatives should be democratically elected by the native populations themselves, as a step on the road towards their attainment of national freedom and democracy.

3. To demand a thorough-going investigation of the role of Russia in instigat-

ing and arming North Korea and the so-called Chinese volunteers for waging war against the United Nations and the Republic of Korea.

4. To oppose all measures aimed at curtailing effectiveness of the consultative system and the rights of the Non-Governmental organizations (Category A) therein.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

UNESCO

(Executive Council's Report,
Pages 148-149)

We recommend your adoption of this section.

We further propose that American participation in UNESCO be directed towards having it function much more dynamically and consistently in propagating and promoting the ideas of the U. N. charter. Such UNESCO educational work should be stepped up regardless of any opposition it may incur on the part of U.N. member governments that are totalitarian in character.

In further comment on the proposed treaty affecting copyright provisions, we would emphasize a fundamental principle of the A. F. of L. that no group of workers should profit at the expense of any other group. Hence while we shall continue to protect the copyright of all creative workers in the liberal and the fine arts we shall also protect the production rights of the workers in the graphic arts.

Further, while we shall insist on protection of the basic right of the free flow of ideas from land to land, we shall not accept the destruction of labor production standards in our country by allowing goods produced by cheap labor to be imported into our country and thereby destroy the worker standards of our printing trades. The free flow of ideas is not synonymous with the free competition of goods produced by cheap labor and by labor living under American standards.

We shall support a copyright treaty only if and when such treaty does not include a provision for destroying American wage standards.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

ECONOMIC AID TO ITALY

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(Page 45, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution calls for an emphatic reaffirmation of the A. F. of L. policy favoring adequate and timely aid to democratic Italy.

We heartily recommend indorsement of this resolution. In this connection, our Committee points out the pivotal role the Italian people play in the highly strategic Mediterranean area. We emphasize the importance of rendering every aid to defeat the unrelenting subversive drives by the Kremlin and its lavishly financed Communist fifth column seeking to destroy Italian democracy.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

HISTADRUT

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Louis P. Marclante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(Page 45, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution lauds the accomplishments of and reaffirms the A. F. of L.'s solidarity with the General Federation of Labor in Israel.

We recommend approval of this resolution. The vigor and vision of the Histadrut, in fulfilling its historic mission in Israel, would be greatly enhanced by joining hands with the American and other free trade union movements organized in the I.C.F.T.U.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON MIGRATION OF WORKERS

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates H. L. Mitchell, Hank Hasiwar, National Agricultural Workers Union.

(Page 46, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution points out the evils attendant to the large-scale illegal importation of Mexican nationals as farm hands for intense exploitation by big farm operators in the United States and proposes A. F. of L. sponsorship of a conference of trade unions from countries involved in order to devise a program for eliminating this menace.

Your committee is sympathetic to the objectives sought by this resolution and recommends its reference to the Officers and the International Labor Relations Committee for consideration and such action as may be deemed practical and helpful.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Theodore E. Brown, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 46)

We recommend approval of this resolution which calls for a condemnation of the outrages perpetrated by the arbitrary and inhuman Malan regime in South Africa against the Negro and East Indian population whose labor has contributed decisively to the development of industry, commerce, and economic achievements in this land.

We direct your attention to the fact that the Executive Council in its Report has strongly condemned the Malan regime as pursuing "a Hitlerite racialist policy without regard for basic human values." We further draw your attention to the inspiring declaration of the Executive Council's Report that "democracy is not only for those whose skin is white but for the entire human race."

We urge our government to have its delegation in the U.N. place this gross violation of human rights for consideration and action by the appropriate agency of the United Nations.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PLEBISCITE FOR TRIESTE UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION

Resolution No. 117—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman, Julius Hochman, Joseph Breslaw, David Gingold, Harry Greenberg, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings, Page 65)

This resolution appropriately calls for ending the dangerously strained relations between democratic Italy and Tito's Yugoslavia by having "the destiny of the Trieste territory left to its inhabitants through an early plebiscite under U.N. supervision in the contested zones."

Your Committee recommends indorsement of this resolution. We further recommend that our government make every effort to rally British and French support of the proposal to settle this vexing problem along ethnic lines. In this connection, Yugoslavia, which has been receiving considerable military and economic aid from our country for the purpose of preserving its national independence now menaced by Russian aggression and Soviet satellite provocation, should be reminded in a firm and friendly manner that, to be worthy of continued American help, it

should reciprocate such life-saving aid by accepting this moderate and just proposal for eliminating Italo-Yugoslav friction over the problems of the destiny of Trieste.

... Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of the report of the committee.

... The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE ANTONINI, Ladies' Garment Workers: I rise at this moment for just a couple of comments. I am sorry this important report is given at this time in the convention. Maybe in the future this important committee can report before the election.

I had the intention of speaking on part of the report, the part where it speaks of the Free Trade Union Committee. I think the committee was entirely too modest, because they did not mention the people that truthfully gave their activity to this committee. For instance, I know the part that President Green, Secretary Meany, Vice President Woll and Vice President Dubinsky gave to this activity of the American Federation of Labor. I think they deserve the praise of this convention.

Speaking of this last resolution and the report of the committee, I want to combine it together with the other part on economic aid to Italy. These two important questions are vital for democracy in Italy. Once again the American Federation of Labor gave support to the right aspirations of the freedom-loving Italian people. I remember the action of last year at the San Francisco convention. I remember the actions taken by the American Federation of Labor during the last 11 years.

The Italian-American Labor Council received the full support of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor is very well known in Italy, and to defeat the totalitarians in Italy, not only the Communists but the Fascists, who are again trying to take control of the country, these two problems have to be solved—economic aid to Italy and also the question of Trieste. In 1948, the allies, and I mean America, Great Britain and France in the Tripartite Declara-

tion, favored the return of Trieste to Italy, but nothing was done up until now because of Tito. But don't forget that while we are working for the friendship of Yugoslavia, remember they are still Communists. In Italy they are asking for justice, and justice can only be given if the allies, and especially the government of America, will take the right step in that direction.

Thank you very much.

... The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

The report of the committee was continued, as follows:

LABOR ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, William Harding, Minnie Teitelbaum, Jacob Roberts, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union; Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, Edward Friss, Charles Feinstein, International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers Union.

(Page 65, First Day's Proceedings)

This resolution reviews the progress made by the State of Israel, its potentially progressive role in the Near East, and the part played by the Histadrut in the building of this new republic. Its essential spirit and content are embraced in Resolution No. 65 already acted on.

Insofar as the activities of the American Trade Union Council of the National Committee for Labor Israel are concerned, your Committee notes that various A. F. of L. affiliates have been co-operating with and helping this organization and that no additional action is required for furthering such co-operation which affiliates are free to tender.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Woll, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY WOLL: That completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, and it is signed by the committee:

Wm. J. McSorley
Matthew Woll, Secretary
D. J. Tobin
Wm. L. Hutcheson
Joseph V. Moreschi
Joseph P. Ryan
Christian M. Madsen
W. C. Birthright
John B. Haggerty

Isidore Nagler
 George Meany
 W. Richardson
 Patrick E. Gorman
 Edward J. Volz
 Harry C. Bates
 Joseph P. McCurdy
 Alex Rose
 Charles J. MacGowan
 Richard J. Gray
 John R. Stevenson
 Richard F. Walsh
 Committee on International Labor
 Relations

Committee Secretary Woll moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole and as acted upon by the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: I will now return this gavel to the distinguished President of the American Federation of Labor, and I thank you for your decorum.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED FROM FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECRETARY MEANY: This is a report of the action taken by the Executive Council on resolutions received from federal labor unions, which resolutions under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor are referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition.

This year only one resolution has been received. It is from United Shrimp Headers Local 21044 of Galveston, Texas and requests the appointment of a colored Organizer for the Gulf Coast area. Inasmuch as the appointment of A. F. of L. Organizers is by direction of the President, this resolution is referred to the President's office for disposition.

PRESENTATION TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT GREEN: We will now pause in our deliberations for the purpose of performing a very pleasant duty. You all know it has been a custom with us for almost half a century to present to the fraternal delegates who attend our

conventions suitable remembrances of their visit to our great country when they return to their homeland. We are pausing now for a moment in our deliberations to discharge that very pleasant duty.

First I want to call upon Brother Roberts to come up—the fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress.

Brother Roberts, I want to present to you this beautiful badge. You have seen it on many occasions. It is presented to you by the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention, with their best wishes and their kindest regards for you.

In addition, I present to you this beautiful watch and chain. This is everlasting. You can take it home, keep it and use it as long as life remains—a token of friendship from the officers and delegates attending this convention. Our best wishes and kindest regards.

Most of the fraternal delegates who come here from Great Britain bring their beloved wives with them. Our good friend here from Canada has brought his wife. Brother Roberts did not bring his. I don't know why. He will have to tell you.

But we are going to send her an appropriate remembrance, and with this he ought to be able to live with her on better terms when he returns to his home. Take this beautiful watch home to your good wife.

And gifts similar to those I have just presented to you, Brother Roberts, I will ask you to take home to your associate and his wife. Brother Arthur was unable to come on account of illness, and we ask you to take these home to him.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE ROBERTS: President Green, members of the Executive Council and fellow trade unionists: I am rather at a loss for words in receiving these very beautiful gifts. Perhaps I should explain, first of all, that my wife did not come because she did not want to come, and not because I did not want to bring her, contrary to what some people may believe. The fact is, she is a very, very poor sailor, and she would be sick even crossing the Hudson River on a ferry boat. And there you have the reason why she is not here.

I shall be very, very glad to take this beautiful watch back to her and be able to say that it is a present, not from me, but from the American Federation of Labor. It is said on occasions that when a man has a particularly guilty conscience he takes a particularly handsome and costly present home to his wife. I can absolve myself from this on this occasion.

With regard to the watch you presented, President Green, I shall certainly treasure it as long as I live, and not only will I treasure it for its value, but for its associations. I have been here now for just over a week. I have enjoyed myself immensely. I have made many old friends, and I think I have made many new ones as well. I hope I have done nothing which will mar the harmony which exists and which has existed to a greater or lesser degree between the American Federation of Labor and the British Trade Union Congress.

I believe it is vital to the people we both represent that those ties which have bound us so long should continue to bind us, and bind us even closer. That is the purpose of my visit here, not merely to meet and to talk to you, but to bind more closely still the ties we have always had between our two organizations.

I am very, very glad to have had the privilege of being here and meeting so many and seeing how your convention is run. It differs very greatly from ours, but strangely enough, we achieve the same results, if I am to judge from the proceedings of the past week.

With regard to my colleague, Arthur, who should have been with me, I ought to tell you he is a miner and he was looking forward very much to coming here. But he suffers from that very dread disease, silicosis, which afflicts so many miners, and just two weeks before he was due to sail, on the advice of his doctor he had to cancel his passage to this country.

He asked me personally to convey his very warm regards and his sincere regrets that he was not able with me to join you during this convention. I am sure these beautiful presents will be some consolation to him for his inability to be present.

May I say finally that I have enjoyed being here, and I shall carry the memory of this visit with me for many months. I hope to be with you again in the very near future.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT GREEN: Now, Brother Graham, please come forward.

I know I can truthfully say we deeply appreciate having Brother Graham here as fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I wonder if you have noticed, as I have noticed, that he has been a regular attendant at all the sessions of our convention. He made a record, and he performed his duty well.

I want to present to you, Brother Graham, this gold badge, a duplicate of the one I have just presented to Fraternal Delegate Roberts, and I say to you as I said to him, it is something that you can keep as long as life remains.

Then in addition to that a beautiful watch similar to the one presented to Fraternal Delegate Roberts. On both of these there is the inscription, "Presented to the Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by the American Federation of Labor Convention in New York." That will be a constant reminder to Brother Graham of his visit here, and I know he will appreciate it as a lasting memento of his presence here at our Seventy-first Annual Convention.

We give this to you with our warmest feelings of love and devotion. We hope you will have a delightful visit here and a safe return to your homeland.

And now, Mrs. Graham, will you please come forward?

I present to Mrs. Graham, the wife of our fraternal delegate from Canada, this beautiful watch that she can keep as a souvenir from the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention. It is an expression of their admiration and their deep appreciation of your visit to this convention.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE GRAHAM: President Green, Secretary George Meany, officers of the Executive Council and delegates here assembled: On an occasion like this I feel some way or other that it is kind of hard to express one's self. But I will say this, that I have enjoyed attending the American Federation of Labor convention immensely. I have been keenly interested, because over a period of years I have watched with deep interest the deliberations of the many conventions since the days of Samuel Gompers up to the present day. This is the first occasion on which I have been able to be actually present.

Your President evidently has noted my keen interest by sitting up at this table, and I have been deeply interested all the way through.

I appreciate very much the extensive hospitality that has been shown. It has been of the first water. The many courtesies that have been shown to Mrs. Graham and myself during our sojourn in this great city of New York leaves me without words in the English language to express my feelings properly.

On the other hand, I have noted with great eagerness many of the deliberations and the wonderful discussions that have taken place in your convention. Frankly, I will say this: At this morning's session I think the American Federation of Labor made history. I was delighted with the supplemental report that was put before you this morning by your Executive Council, and I am very happy indeed to think that in no way did they interfere with the liberty of the individual to vote as he pleases, but they did advise you, for God's sake, to get out to the polls and vote. That's what they told you.

They also pointed out to you very definitely and very emphatically that the policy that was laid down by your founder to bless your friends and damn your enemies should be carried out to its logical conclusion. Therefore, I say that what you did this morning was historic and it will go down in the records as such.

I wish to thank you very much for all of the courtesies extended, for the many

kindnesses that have been expressed, and for the beautiful gifts that you have given to myself and my wife. When I go back to Canada I will not forget to give them a general report of what took place in this Convention of the American Federation of Labor. But I want to thank them also, because I have noted without any reserve whatsoever that in the city of New York evidently the Irish are a predominant factor. And let me add this, that your great American hospitality and the spirit that you have shown as American brothers puts me definitely in mind of a little country known as Scotland.

Thank you very much.

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED MEMBERS

PRESIDENT GREEN: It is now appropriate that we perform a solemn duty in memory of our associates departed during the past year. I now recognize Secretary Meany.

... Secretary read the following list of departed members:

Michael F. Greene, former President of the United Hatters and Retired Secretary-Treasurer of its successor organization—October, 1951.

Joshua Chadwick, Vice President of National Brotherhood of Operative Potters—October, 1951.

Louis Lopez, Printing Pressmen—November, 1951.

I. T. McKelvey, Former Treasurer of Air Line Dispatchers Association—December 3, 1951.

W. D. Wilson, American Federation of Labor Organizer—December 5, 1951.

Leonard R. Smith, American Federation of Labor Organizer—December 22, 1951.

Drew Taylor, Chemical Workers International Representative—January 5, 1952.

Francis Carothers, Former President of American Federation of Musicians—January 8, 1952.

John H. Donlin, Editor of Plasterers' and Cement Masons' Magazine—January 24, 1952.

Chauncey A. Weaver, Executive Officer of the American Federation of Musicians—February 15, 1952.

Albert Adamski, Vice President of the United Garment Workers of America—April 21, 1952.

John Acker, Secretary-Treasurer of the Indiana State Federation of Labor—May 24, 1952.

George F. Williams, Secretary-Treasurer of the Nebraska State Federation of Labor—September, 1952.

Dennis J. Healy, Business Agent, Local No. 1, International Union of Elevator Constructors—February 28, 1952.

Charles M. Rau, Business Representative, Local Union 597, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada—December 23, 1951.

Archie Milligan, Vice President of Boilermakers.

Israel Feinberg, Vice President, I.L.G.W.U.—September 17, 1952.

Reuben Guskin, Vice President, A.A.A.A.—September, 1951.

Vincent J. Ferris, Former President New York City Allied Printing Trades Council—September 11th.

Edward Ackerley, Third General Vice President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

William P. Covert, Second Vice President, Toronto, Canada I.A.T.S.E. and M.P.M.O.U.S., Canada.

Wilson Frankland, President of Local No. 597, Pipe Fitters; Secretary, South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly—December 23, 1951.

Harry Wander, Vice President, I.L.G.W.U.—December, 1951.

Amos Theeley, Electrical Workers.

John Fitzmaurice, Vice President, Bricklayers.

James White, Vice President, Bricklayers.

Raymond Britton, Vice President, Bricklayers.

Hyman Langer, General Organizer, I.L.G.W.U.—February, 1951.

W. A. Armstrong, Electrical Workers.

Claude O'Reilly, Teamsters.

John Jockel, Special Representative of the Bricklayers.

Following the submission of the list the delegates rose and remained standing in silent tribute for a brief time.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair now recognizes Delegate Hicks, Secretary of the Committee on Union Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

Delegate Hicks, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your committee is reporting on that portion of the Executive Council's report titled, "Union Label Trades Department" and Resolutions No. 134, 135, 136 and 137, all referred to this convention by the Union Label Trades Department; and respectfully submits the following report:

Union Industries Show

Your committee is of the belief that no greater demonstration of practical labor-management relations has occurred in the Northeastern section of the United States than the Union Industries Show, held May 17 through 24, 1952. This show was the greatest exhibition of any kind ever held in the New England area. Upwards to three quarters of a million spectators marched through Mechanics Building in Boston to view this all union spectacle.

While the Union Industries Show held earlier this year did not establish a new attendance record over prior shows, it did set a record in viewers of the show in cities of comparable size. The 1952 show did exceed all prior shows in the degree of participation and in variety and quality of exhibits. With an aggregate value of twenty million dollars involved in the colorful and educational displays, the quality of the show was greatly enhanced by an additional number of "live" exhibits; new exhibits employing the element of motion; and the special events held at intervals throughout the vast hall. The greater quality of the 1952 Union Industries Show is attested by the broader coverage given it by television, radio and the daily press than occurred in connection with any earlier show.

Your committee concurs in the belief of officials of the Union Label Trades Department that future Union Industries Shows should embody a greater number of "live" and "motion" exhibits as the most effective means of demonstrating and dramatizing the craftsmanship of American Federation of Labor members and the quality of the products and services which they produce and render. It is hoped that national and international unions and other exhibitors participating in future shows will benefit by the experience gained in such "live" and "motion" exhibits as the most effective method of impressing their message on viewers and in holding spectator interest. The special events held at the recent show in increased number over those provided in earlier shows were an effective augmentation to the show itself and can be used beneficially in connection with virtually all exhibits.

The growing success of these shows from the standpoint of public interest,

and the increased cooperation and participation extended by management, fulfills the basic purpose of the show in effectively demonstrating existing labor-management relations to the American public. Your committee is confident that no greater demonstration of good labor-management relations can be found anywhere. The American Federation of Labor is indebted to those manufacturers, distributors and service industries which participated in the show and who joined with us in clearly and forcibly demonstrating to the public the extent to which private enterprise and free labor can work together.

It is noted that the eighth Union Industries Show will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 18 through 25, 1953. Your committee concurs in the decision of the Union Label Trades Department to hold successive shows in a section of the country considerably removed from that of the prior show.

Union Label Week

September 1 through 7, 1952, was observed as Union Label Week and indications point to its having received greater attention and participation this year than ever before. The increased attention given Union Label Week by national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and local and state Union Label Councils is indeed encouraging and clearly demonstrates that American Federation of Labor organizations are eager that this annual period fully serve its intended purpose; namely, to create better public relations and goodwill coupled with promotion of the union label, shop card and service button. The increased attention given this observance by manufacturers, merchandisers and service establishments and the proclaiming of Union Label Week by the governors of many states and the mayors of a host of cities is ample proof and testimony to the effectiveness of our campaign to encourage the purchase and use of goods and services produced and rendered under the high craftsmanship standards of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee notes with satisfaction the extensive coverage given Union Label Week by the labor press and the publicity arms of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations. The officials and staff of the Union Label Trades Department are to be commended for the wide use of radio, television and the daily press in the promotion of Union Label Week earlier this month and the effectiveness and quality of posters, brochures and other materials prepared and distributed by the Department in advance of the observance. Particular recognition is made of the aggressive and effective observances staged by local unions, state and local Union Label Councils and city and state groups in every locality. The continuation and implementation of this aggressive spirit and cooper-

ation by all concerned will insure vastly greater success in future Union Label Weeks.

Union Label Councils

The Union Label Trades Department is to be commended for its renewed organizing activity which during the past year has resulted in the establishment of more than 50 new Union Label Councils and the reactivating of numerous already existing groups. The establishment by the Department of a Label Councils Division meets with the approval of your committee as it is recognized that such a division can be of great aid to state and local Union Label Councils in resolving normal operational problems and in guiding and coordinating their activities. All phases of the organizing work undertaken by the Department should be continued without interruption.

The committee concurs in the action of the Union Label Trades Department in more clearly defining the nature and purpose of state and local label groups by changing their designation from Union Label Leagues to Union Label Councils.

American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor

Your committee notes with pleasure the report of the Executive Council on the steady and substantial progress being made by the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. The committee concurs in the observations of the Executive Council regarding the active part which members of Women's Auxiliaries play in promoting the union shop card, label and service button as well as their advancing the principles of the American Federation of Labor in civic, state and federal affairs and in welfare and charitable organizations; and urges those national and international unions having already established women's auxiliaries to give attention to strengthening them; and encourages affiliated organizations which have not established such auxiliaries to do so at the earliest practical time.

Your committee concurs wholeheartedly in the acknowledgment by the Executive Council of the able assistance and encouragement extended the Union Label Trades Department by President William Green, Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, officers of national and international unions, Director of Organization Harry E. O'Reilly and his staff, Publicity Director Phil Pearl and his associates, Bernard Tassler, Managing Editor of the American Federationist, Frank Edwards and his daily newscasts and a host of friends in state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the committee's report was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY HICKS:
The following resolutions referred to your committee were all submitted to this convention by the Union Label Trades Department:

Your committee recommends concurrence

... On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION INDUSTRIES SHOW

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 350, Second Day's Proceedings)

This resolution calls attention to the increasing success of Union Industries Shows; the fact that they reflect the high craftsmanship of American Federation of Labor members; that participation by all national and international unions would broaden the scope of these exhibitions; and proposes that each national and international union affiliated with the A. F. of L. be prevailed upon to participate in Union Industry Shows by taking at least one booth.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, the recommendation of the committee was adopted.

UNION LABEL COUNCILS

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 350, Second Day's Proceedings)

This resolution points up the benefit to the Union Label Trades Department in the establishing of Union Label Councils in each city and urges that all central labor bodies and state federations of labor interest themselves in, cooperate with and support such councils wherever they are organized.

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 350, Second Day's Proceedings)

This resolution proposes that this convention designate the next Union Label Week as September 7 through 13, 1953.

UNION LABEL CLUB

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(Page 350, Second Day's Proceedings)

This resolution calls attention to the need for A. F. of L. members and representatives to meet together in their respective areas at frequent intervals in a Union Label Club, through which closer cooperation and coordination may be achieved among the different unions in each locality in much the same manner as management utilizes its various business and professional organizations; such Union Label Clubs serving the primary purpose of tightening the bonds between A. F. of L. local unions by fostering and strengthening the spirit of cooperation.

The committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, the recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recommendations of the Committee

Your committee is cognizant of the excellent job being done by all officers, officials and employees of the Union Label Trades Department and extends its particular commendation to Secretary-Treasurer Raymond Leheney and all those associated with him in their successful and worthwhile activities in promoting the union label, shop card and service button; the objectives and principles of the American Federation of Labor; and for the part they play in fostering an improved labor-management relationship.

In conclusion, your committee makes the following two recommendations:

1. That the Union Label Trades and Services Department of the American Federation of Labor give consideration to holding the 1954 Union Industry Show on the Pacific Coast and that in this connection it give favorable consideration to the city of Los Angeles.

2. It also requests the Union Label Trades and Services Department to investigate the growing menace of the Lithographers Label replacing the label of the Allied Printing Trades on political literature of candidates supported by the American Federation of Labor and of national health drives which have received the en-

dorsement of the national officers of the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, your committee recommends that our members recognize and request only those labels, shop cards and buttons which represent organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

... On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the committee's report was unanimously adopted.

Committee Secretary Hicks: This completes the report of the Committee on Labels, which is signed:

Raymond Leheney, Chairman
J. Howard Hicks, Secretary
Charles W. Hanson
Alvin D. Holt
Joseph Belsky
Marx Lewis
Madge King
Joseph Addy
E. M. Weston
Peter A. Tufo
E. L. Wheatley
John J. Zitello
Joseph Denny
George Baumbach
Mario Azpeitia
Robert Lester
James A. Suffridge
George Baldanzi
Frank W. Anderson
Horace L. Imeson
Charles Naddeo
A. Vincent Busby
Julius Hochman
Alex McKeown

Committee on Labels

... Committee Secretary Hicks moved adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (continued)

Committee Chairman Woll submitted the following resolution on behalf of the committee:

THANKS TO NEW YORK

Resolution No. 144—By the Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, Brothers Martin T. Lacey, President, and James C. Quinn, Secretary-Treasurer, respectively of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, and all officers and members of the Central Trades and Labor Council, and all members of our convention committee, as well as the officers and members of the New York State Federation of Labor have truly outdone themselves in their efforts as cordial, generous and warm-hearted hosts to this convention; and

WHEREAS, our Local Convention Committee, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and many other national and local unions have done everything within their power to make our stay comfortable and interesting and to make available to us, as their guests, the best entertainment that the Broadway stage and screen can provide; and

WHEREAS, the Mayor, the officials and the people of the City of New York have extended to us the warm and friendly hospitality of the greatest city in the world; and

WHEREAS, the government and the people of the great Empire State have welcomed us, our friends and our guests, as only could true New Yorkers, and have given us the opportunity of a richly rewarding visit; and

WHEREAS, the representatives of the press, radio and television have been unstinting in their service and cooperation to carry the message of the American Federation of Labor Convention to all corners of the land and of the world; and

WHEREAS, the management of the Commodore Hotel and staff of employees have met all our requirements and have made us feel at home during our stay; and

WHEREAS, during our stay in New York we have derived spiritual inspiration and encouragement in carrying on Labor's historic task of furthering social justice and economic betterment and of making human rights secure; and

WHEREAS, the officers, delegates and guests of this, seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor, are deeply thankful for the welcome extended to them and hospitality accorded them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the officers, delegates and guests of the seventy-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend their deep appreciation and sincere thanks to all and everyone who have contributed toward making this the most successful, the most enjoyable and the great-

est Convention in the history of our organization.

Matthew Woll, Chairman
 James A. Brownlow
 John F. English
 William E. Maloney
 William F. Schnitzler
 John B. Haggerty
 L. P. Lindelof
 R. G. Soderstrom, Secretary
 Thomas H. O'Donnell
 John J. Mara
 John L. Reilly
 M. A. Hutcheson
 Arnold S. Zander
 John E. Rooney
 Joseph P. Ryan
 Richard F. Walsh
 Alex Rose
 Thomas E. Dunwody
 Woodruff Randolph
 Charles S. Zimmerman
 Robert J. Tormey
 Wm. H. Cooper
 Wm. J. Buckley
 Sam P. Ming.

Committee on Resolutions.

... On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

**CLOSING REMARKS OF
 PRESIDENT GREEN**

And now we have reached the end of our constructive journey to New York City, the end of our work here. All of our committees have reported. Action has been taken upon all the reports that have been prepared for your consideration.

I want to thank the members of the committees for the excellent and most valuable service they rendered at this convention. That service will be outstanding in the records of American Federation of Labor conventions. They did their work well, in a careful and deliberate way. They exercised good judgment and submitted reports that challenged our admiration. Those reports were submitted for your consideration and action and then you, as a jury, passed upon those reports after giving them careful thought.

Our convention will go down in history as one of the outstanding conventions of the American Federation of Labor. You can go to your homes, back to your cities and towns feeling happy and satisfied over the work you performed here in the great City of New York.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the constructive and wonderful service which you rendered here at this convention.

I wish to announce that the Executive Council will meet in Parlor C at 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning.

And now, exercising my official responsibility and duty as President of the American Federation of Labor I declare the Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned *sine die*.

At 4:55 o'clock, p.m. Tuesday, September 23, 1952 the Seventy-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned *sine die*.

John J. Brennan.

Assistant Secretary.

George Meany

Secretary-Treasurer.

APPENDIX

Dedication of Peter J. McGuire Memorial

In accordance with the action of the 1952 Convention, as directed by Resolution No. 12, following is the text of addresses delivered at the dedication of the Peter J. McGuire Memorial, August 9, 1952, at Arlington Cemetery, Township of Pennsauken, New Jersey.

Homage was paid to the "Father of Labor Day" as a result of a resolution passed by the Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

At the 26th General Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, September 5-12, 1950, a resolution was presented by William L. Hutcheson and Frank Duffy, General President and General Secretary Emeritus, respectively, of the United Brotherhood, which was adopted by the General Executive Board of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and introduced to the 26th General Convention and by unanimous action was adopted by the delegates attending the Convention.

The resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, Peter J. McGuire, the founder of our great organization and its first General Secretary for twenty years, was born in New York City, New York, on July 6, 1852, and died in the City of Camden, New Jersey, on February 12, 1906; and

WHEREAS, he devoted all his life to the Labor Movement and the betterment of the working people and was popularly known as the most vigorous and aggressive defender of the wage earners at all times and on all occasions; and

WHEREAS, he was one of the most active men in the formation of the Federation of Trades, having drafted the Call for the convention to be held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 15, 1881, to form a Congress of Trades or a Federation of Trades so as to unify Labor on matters of material interest and concern to all involved and thereby present a solid and united front to its enemies; and

WHEREAS, on May 8, 1882, he proposed to the newly formed Central Labor Union of New York City; that

One day in the year be designated as "Labor Day" and be established as a General Holiday for the laboring people; and

WHEREAS, he reorganized the then dying labor movement—The Federation of Trades—at a specially called meeting in Columbus, Ohio, on December 8, 1886, into what is now known as the American Federation of Labor, where he was unanimously elected Secretary by acclamation, although he strenuously objected, but without avail. He was unanimously elected Secretary of the American Federation of Labor by acclamation for the years 1887,

1888 and 1889, when he steadfastly refused to hold that position any longer as he wanted to give all his time to organizing the Carpenters. He was then elected Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and in 1890 First Vice President by acclamation, and held that position for ten years, when he retired on account of ill health; and

WHEREAS, all these activities on his part clearly, definitely, and distinctly show and prove that he did his best to make the working and living conditions of the workers better and more satisfactory and agreeable, to abolish slavery and to make this world better than he found it; and

WHEREAS, on June 28, 1894, by act of Congress, Labor Day—the first Monday in September each year—was made a "Legal Holiday" and thereafter Peter J. McGuire was known and referred to as the

"Father of Labor Day"

Now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That as the centennial of his birthday falls on July 6, 1952, celebrations of that great event be held in his honor by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and all its subordinate bodies until the end of the year 1952; and be it further

RESOLVED, That as a strong sentiment exists among all the unions comprising the American Federation of Labor that a monument or memorial be erected to his memory as the

"Father of Labor Day"

that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America erect such a monument or memorial under the authority and supervision of the General Officers and the General Executive Board, so that his memory and the good he accomplished for American workers may be perpetuated for all time.

On August 9, 1952, American Labor paid homage to one of its great early leaders. On that date several thousand union members and friends of labor assembled in Pennsauken Township, near Camden, New Jersey, at Arlington Cemetery, before a gleaming marble monument. Upon the face of the monument was inscribed: "In Memory of Peter J. McGuire, Founder of the U. B. of C. and J. of A. and Father of Labor Day."

This monument is primarily the honor bestowed by the United Brotherhood upon its founder, but actually it is more than that. It is a symbol of American Labor's recognition of the struggle which brought about its birth.

McGuire was once a man, but now he is a legend to those who knew him personally, and the many who have heard of his deeds. Although he was relatively small in stature,

his size has grown in the minds of men until he has become the giant who worked for the laboring men of the world.

As the assembled throng of young and old paid tribute to his memory, his grandson, Vincent W. Cayo, pulled the cord unveiling the life-size statue of that great labor pioneer. Each heart beat faster, and each spirit was uplifted at the thought that a simple man, in whom burned a crusading spirit, was at last being given the recognition he so richly deserved.

Louis P. Marciante, president of the New Jersey Federation of Labor, and both Edward M. Stewart, Mayor of Pennsauken, and George F. Brunner, Mayor of Camden, were proud and honored that their community was the final resting place of Peter J. McGuire.

General President Maurice A. Hutcheson, of the United Brotherhood, addressed as well as directed the ceremonies and many other great men of today's labor movement added their voices to honor their great forerunner.

Among the speakers to follow were: Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor; William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor; George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL; Richard Gray, President of the Building and Construction Trades Department; and Frank Duffy, General Secretary Emeritus of the Carpenters.

Mrs. Kathryn Cayo and Miss Lillian McGuire were present to see their father honored. Also present were two granddaughters, Mrs. Dorothy Daugherty and Mrs. Iris Rossell.

Following are the texts of each of the addresses.

Address of

M. A. HUTCHESON

General President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

Secretary Tobin, President Green, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here today to pay tribute to Peter J. McGuire, who within our organization, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, is known as the Founder of the Brotherhood.

In August, 1881, a group called together by Peter J. McGuire, after several days' session, organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters. Later in 1881, Peter McGuire was instrumental in and a co-founder of the American Federation of Labor, and records also show it was because of his persistence in advocating the idea of one day in the year as a holiday for

working men and that Congress did see fit, after so long a time, to designate the first Monday in September as Labor Day, and it was the sound thinking and planning of Peter J. McGuire and the co-founders of our organization that has made our Brotherhood what it is today.

The philosophies propounded by that group are still prevailing in our organization. We have advanced on that foundation and carried on the ideas set up for us, so that today we have established for our aged members a Home in Lakeland, Florida, as well as a Pension Plan, and those who do not care to attend the Home may take the pension.

Also, on the founding of our organization, it was based on advancement of our working and living conditions under our American way of life and we have always kept that in mind, as for instance in 1936 our organization included in its obligation that no applicant was acceptable in the organization unless they made a statement that they were not Communists, that they did not belong to any subversive group and would never participate in such. Today, with the world in the turmoil it is, it shows that there was sound thinking and planning on the part of the organization in that respect.

And today, with the conditions as they are, we contend that the organized Labor movement in America, following our American way of life, provides the greatest bulwark and protection for the Nation against the infiltration of subversive groups.

At our last convention in 1950, a resolution was presented by the then General President, William L. Hutcheson, and General Secretary Emeritus Frank Duffy, providing for the erection of a Memorial to Peter J. McGuire, which was unanimously endorsed and approved by the delegates attending that convention. It was referred to the General Executive Board with instructions that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners erect a Memorial under the authority and supervision of the General Officers and the General Executive Board, so that his memory of the good he accomplished for the American workers may be perpetuated for all time.

Inasmuch as this is the centennial year of his birth, which occurred July 6, 1852, it was decided that this would be the appropriate year to have it erected.

I, therefore, here and now dedicate this memorial and statue to the memory of Peter J. McGuire. May it stand to the end of time as a tribute to his accomplishments.

*Address of***FRANK DUFFY****General Secretary Emeritus, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America**

When I say I knew Peter J. McGuire well, that is putting it mildly—very mildly. We were very closely associated with one another for years and years. He the founder and organizer of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and its General Secretary for twenty years, and I a member of our General Executive Board from New York and the Eastern States. No man in the Labor Movement knew him better. Let us see where we stood.

Peter J. McGuire was born in New York City, July 6, 1852. He was just nine years older than your humble servant—I was born May 6, 1861. Sam Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, was eleven years older than myself. My old friend Terence V. Powderley, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was in the same group; so was another very dear old friend, Gabe Edmonston, first General President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. They, with Peter J. McGuire, were the old masters in the Labor Movement.

I saw in a paper a short time ago that Peter McGuire was born in Dublin, Ireland. Well, it would not be any harm if he had, but the fact is he was born in New York City. Another magazine had it that he died in 1914. Wrong again; he died in Camden, New Jersey, February 18, 1906, but you know the Freedom of the Press gives these fellows all the leeway they want but seldom or ever will they correct misstatements or mistakes.

McGuire was a great supporter and advocate of Free Press and Free Speech and would jump to their defense at a moment's notice. Where Fredoem was involved you could count on his support everlastingly. In August, 1881, he organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—now one of the largest and most influential International Unions, not only in America, but in the entire world.

The following year, 1882, he was a delegate from the Carpenters' Union of New York City to the Central Union of that city.

On May 8, 1882, he proposed to the Central Labor Union of New York City that:

"One day in the year be designated as Labor Day and be established as a General Holiday for the working people."

In support of this proposition he spoke with vim, grit, determination and all the strength and vigor at his command, kindly, friendly, forcibly and patriotically, first, last and all the time as a pioneer, as an American as a lover of liberty and as a good citizen.

What did he say? I have not time at my disposal to tell it all to you now. A few sentences from that famous speech will suffice as far as I am concerned. He said:

"Labor Day should be observed as one festal day for tribute to the genius of American Industry."

"It should be dedicated to peace, civilization and the triumphs of industry."

"It was reserved for this country and the American People to give birth to Labor Day and in this way honor the Toilers of the Earth who from rude nature have carved all the grandeur we behold."

I consider that speech equal to and comparable with the brilliant never-to-be-forgotten and now famous address of President Abe Lincoln at Gettysburg. In fact, I consider those two speeches to be the best pieces of literature we can place before young America in our Public Schools today.

I can tell you a lot about Labor Day both ancient and modern, but where's the use, we are not going back to cave days and slave days. I don't want to; I am not living in the past. I am living in the present with great expectations for the future. I hope I won't be disappointed.

Labor Day became popular right away. In a few years it was celebrated in cities, towns and villages all over the country. It was made a legal holiday by Act of Congress and that Act was signed by President Cleveland on June 28, 1894. All the credit, all the praise, all the honor, all the glory go to Peter J. McGuire, Father of Labor Day. This beautiful Monument now being dedicated is a certificate to that effect from those who knew and loved him best.

He had other things to combat. At that time the working day was from dawn to dark. The ten-hour work day was demanded. It was a long drawn out affair but eventually won.

In 1884 a demand was made for an eight-hour day. This was thought ridiculous and out of reason. It seemed no organization was ready to make the move in that direction, although they all wanted it. They were not well enough organized—they were not prepared—they practically had no funds. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was then authorized to select the union to inaugurate the eight-hour day and at a meeting of that body held in New York City,

N. Y., on the 17th of March, 1890, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was selected as the best organized and equipped union to do the job. McGuire the leader was notified by Sam Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, clear and definite that it must go into effect on May 1, 1890.

Peter got busy right away. He had to. He had not much time to prepare—about 6 weeks. Eight-hour conventions were called in several of the large cities and Pete McGuire the leader had to be there.

The short hour day the eight-hour day was a success and why not? The carpenters were good soldiers; they obeyed orders, they won the shorter work day quicker than they thought.

McGuire was a great fellow—a wonderful man—active, wide-awake and up to date on everything affecting the wage workers. He was well educated, well read and well balanced. He was rather of a quiet and retiring disposition; he was the gentleman of Labor. He wanted to settle all misunderstandings, controversies and disputes in a quiet manner by mediation, conciliation and arbitration. He was opposed to strikes. He did not want to strike. He advised against strikes. It was only when all other means failed when the employer and his representatives refused to meet and talk with the men that he consented that they should strike.

He was a good speaker, a brilliant orator, few could equal him. He was a great debater and a good writer. When a boy in New York City he picked up the German language on the Eastside playing marbles with his German playmates and became proficient in its use.

Many a time when addressing carpenters meetings and knowing that many Germans were present who did not understand the English language very well he would switch from the English to the German language and thereby capture the house. They cheered him to the echo.

He had a charming personality and a pleasant disposition. He was full of wit and humor and thus the meetings were turned into friendly, entertaining, educational affairs, pleasing to everybody. I say without hesitation he left his footprints on the sands of time.

Peter J. McGuire in the Great Beyond I am thankful and grateful to the General Officers and Members of the General Executive Board of this great organization for giving me, your old friend, chum, pal and co-worker of the long ago a chance and an opportunity to tell the public, plain, clear and definite and the world at large that you tried during the short

time you lived to make this world better than you found it.

You will be remembered for all time to come. The greatest of the great and the mightiest of the mighty will pass away; statesman will be forgotten but you will be kindly and lovingly remembered forever and forever by the men, women and children of Labor for whom you have done so much.

Here on this sacred ground our Friend and Brother sleeps his last long sleep with a beautiful Monument erected to his memory by the Organization he loved so well. What more can I say. Just this:

Peter, your old friend, co-worker and co-officer says good-bye, farewell, forever and forever.

May God be with you.

Address By

HONORABLE MAURICE J. TOBIN

Secretary of the United States Department of Labor

President M. A. Hutcheson; President of the American Federation of Labor, William Green; Secretary George Meany; General Secretary Emeritus Frank Duffy; your Honor Mayor Stewart; your Honor, Mayor Bruner; members of the McGuire family and those who are gathered here to do honor to the memory of a great American.

I feel that I have a right to be here, other than in the capacity of Secretary of Labor, because my father joined the Carpenters and Joiners Union of America approximately in the year 1890. The Tobin family were the beneficiaries of the great contribution made by Peter J. McGuire and his associates, through the better living standards the Tobin family could afford due to this great organization and to the great man whose memory we are honoring here today.

Then, I am proud to come to this cemetery to see this beautiful, gorgeous memorial that will stand here as long as there are people on the face of the globe, commemorating the memory of a man who played a great part in the development of the great nation of which we are fortunate enough to be citizens.

I can't but help feel that when we consider the great debt we owe to George Washington for the work he did in the founding of this nation; the debt we owe to Abraham Lincoln for the freeing of the slaves; that to men like Peter J. McGuire and Sam Gompers we owe a great debt of finally bringing about truly the emancipation of the working men and women of America.

Our nation would not have the great strength it has today if it hadn't been for the vision of men like Peter J. McGuire, who issued the first call for the organization of the American Federation of Labor.

The contribution that this great organization has made to the building and strengthening of private enterprise system in America cannot possibly be overestimated. Our country today, in no small measure, is the most powerful nation in the land due to the vision, the courage and foresight of men like Peter J. McGuire.

Seventy-eight years ago the man we honor here today, and Sam Gompers, the first president of the American Federation of Labor, were part of a vast crowd in an outdoor meeting at Tompkins Square, New York City. McGuire had organized the meeting even though the city had refused to grant him a permit. A squad of mounted police was on hand to see that the meeting did not take place. The police charged into the crowd with their clubs swinging. Sam Gompers, as he later told the story, very wisely got out of the way of the clubs and he said, "I was caught in the crowd in the street and barely saved my head from being cracked by ducking down a cellarway." Peter J. McGuire stayed behind to resist the police and to have his head cracked.

I believe these two great men, Gompers and McGuire and their behavior on that day of January, 1874, in Tompkins Square, symbolized the two major strands that have gone into making the American labor movement.

Sam Gompers was as courageous a man as ever lived. He was afraid of nothing and millions of other men took courage from his leadership, but Gompers was above everything else a man of practical wisdom.

Peter J. McGuire who shared with Gompers in the founding of the American Federation of Labor, had a different type of contribution to make. His bold, rash Irish spirit would never tolerate the notion of keeping safe to fight for another day. His genius was the genius of battle.

The spirit of McGuire was the spirit of pure flame. He was the fighter for the rights of working men and women for the eight hour day, for a five-day week, for a child labor law, for a National holiday on labor day, for a strong united labor movement, and for a whole series of measures that would strengthen and improve the lot of the men and women who toil in the United States and Canada.

Peter McGuire was a crusader in the noblest sense of the word. He was in the front ranks of the great crusade of American labor, which has brought the American worker to the high-

est pay, the greatest pleasure, the best working conditions, the greatest dignity and more of the good things of life than any other worker in the civilized world.

McGuire brought his crusading zeal into everything that he did. He spoke at over 10,000 meetings, he toured the country on foot and on the rods of railroad cars. He went everywhere that workers needed help. On his death bed he talked of some workers in California who needed him, and he wanted to get up and go to their aid.

If Sam Gompers gave to the American Federation of Labor its practical wisdom, Peter J. McGuire gave it his great fighting spirit. Gompers was mind and spirit both, but the mind came first. In McGuire it was the spirit that held the upper hand.

I want to read this very brief comparison of the two men from a very excellent short biography by A. Charles Corrotus and Charles W. Phillips. It reads as follows: "The prudent Gompers was always abreast of his time. The impetuous McGuire, with Gaelic fire in his blue eyes, could seldom wait for time to catch up. Gompers was to write a voluminous, but highly entertaining record of his own life from carefully preserved notes and manuscripts. McGuire, the draftsmen of the American Federation of Labor, was to write a thousand letters, platforms and manifestos, and save nothing. His eye for posterity was not a personal eye, he submerged himself more completely in a cause than any of the great labor leaders of the 19th Century."

McGuire imparted his great fighting spirit, not only to the American Federation of Labor, but to the great international he helped to found, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. That union is as much a memorial to McGuire as the one we dedicate here today.

The Brotherhood of Carpenters, under the past leadership of its beloved president, William L. Hutcheson, and now under its great president, Maurice Hutcheson, is carrying on the spirit and traditions of McGuire through its services to its members and to all of American Labor.

I have emphasized the difference between McGuire and Gompers. I would like to point out one very important point of similarity. In their youth, both men sought to find the answer to the problem of their day in radical ideologies. They were Socialist theorists, planning for the construction of a new social order. In their youth they believed that Socialism was the answer for American Labor.

But as they grew older, both men learned

that the answer to the problems of American labor was not to be found outside the American Labor movement, but inside of it. They learned that the challenge of labor was not to tear down our private enterprise system, but to strengthen it and to see to it that the greater share of its benefits could go to the workers.

As he grew older, McGuire realized that a vigorous and united trade union could do more to win his great goal of an eight-hour day than all the mass meetings and all the manifestos and all of the parades and all the Socialist theories put together. So in his later life, McGuire channelled his energies into the building of a great practical trade union for carpenters and a great federation of trade unions in the American Federation of Labor. Through these organizations, the Carpenters and the A. F. of L., he began to see the realization of his life's ambition.

Both Gompers and McGuire ended up by placing their faith in the trade union movement itself and in the system of private enterprise, to which they contributed so much to make our nation the economically powerful nation that it is today.

But time and health were running out, and Peter J. McGuire, giving his all for American workers, had failed to take care of himself. So, in need and in ill health he retired to his house in Camden to spend his last days. Neglected and almost forgotten by the great movement to which he had devoted his life, in a letter to a friend a few days before his death, he wrote, "I am very tired of it all, old boy, and of late looking my past in the face, I wonder if the game was worth a poor candle, the more so when I see the ingratitude of those who have benefited by our labors."

This great meeting today is a sign to all the world that Peter J. McGuire has not been abandoned. The game was worth the candle, for ideals of Peter J. McGuire are embodied today in the strongest, most vigorous and most dynamic labor movement the world has ever seen. The working people for whom McGuire gave his life, are better off in America than any time in the history of mankind. This meeting today is dedicated not only to Peter J. McGuire, the man, but to those ideals which he always put above himself, the ideals of American Labor.

The story of Samuel Gompers is recorded in many volumes and in many publications of the American labor movement and trade unions will turn to Gompers again and again for the practical wisdom to help them through their troubles. But even as it needs practical

wisdom, the American labor movement also needs courage and heart and inspiration and fighting spirit to move forward in these perilous times. When the road is rough, when the drab shadows close in, when obstacles seem overwhelming, the working men and women of America can turn to this humble graveyard in Arlington Cemetery for the hope, the faith and courage to go on.

We will always need the fighting spirit of Peter J. McGuire. That fighting spirit is today the life blood of the American labor movement. Labor must never lose that crusading zeal, that fearless and restless energy and that high idealism which will always be associated with the flame-like spirit of Peter J. McGuire.

And I am sure that there is a smile on his face as he looks down from that special place in Heaven that God's Son must have set aside for Peter J. McGuire. Because God, in his divine wisdom, has an appreciation of those who give their lives for the benefit of the less fortunate in life. No man met his eternal reward or met his Maker with a greater balance on the right side of the ledger for humankind than did Peter J. McGuire, may God grant that his soul may forever rest in Peace.

Address of

WILLIAM GREEN

President of the American Federation of Labor

President Maurice Hutcheson; Your Honor, the Mayor of this great city; representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and members of that great organization and relatives of Peter J. McGuire:

My friends and fellow citizens, this is indeed a great occasion. It is both historical and deeply significant. We are paying a deserving tribute to a man who lives in our hearts and in our affections. True, he is gone to the Great Beyond, but he still lives with us. We are conscious of the fact that he is influencing our lives in the building up and in the promotion of our great organized labor movement and, may all of us, as long as we live, be moved by the same spirit in promoting the welfare of our union that Peter McGuire was moved by when he lived. Two substantial labor organizations owe a debt of gratitude to the vision and the organizing genius of Peter J. McGuire—the American Federation of Labor and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Peter McGuire was born in New York City, the great distributing center for immigrants. It was there that he got his early schooling,

and it was there also that he met Samuel Gompers at Cooper Union, an institution for higher learning that has provided for those who must work for a living. These two vigorous young workers eagerly tested to the fold the varied and rich opportunities of New York City where the life of the great city was enriched but not submerged by political refugees from revolutionary movements in many European Countries. Many other revolutionaries had been active union members abroad and joined in forming unions in America. They added both experience and vigor.

Peter McGuire's second generation felt that carpenters needed an all American carpenters union. He made the carrying out of this idea his personal responsibility. He brought his carpenters into the first federation which, in 1886 was recognized and given the name of American Federation of Labor. As he served the Brotherhood faithfully so he served the federation of all unions. As its secretary from 1881 to 1886, he was elected second vice-president and then its first vice president until his health failed. He served in these days when the federation struggled to live and could provide no favors. For love of a cause, he helped to build wisely so that the organization might endure and serve labor, he worked hard and received very little pay. He believed that the shorter work day was our main key to workers' progress and so led his carpenters to spearhead the eight-hour movement in 1890. That was a movement to establish the eight-hour day by economic action as only a union can. Permanent for that level yet flexible enough to move upward Peter McGuire's spiritual movement is a general holiday in honor of Labor. Labor Day was first organized and celebrated in New York City in 1882 under his direction. As the Day grew in significance and became more generally observed, a federal law designating the first Monday in September as Labor Day became a legal holiday.

Pete McGuire, as he was generally called had a genius for friendship and for oratory. He became a crusader for union organization and federation and gave his strength and ability without reservation. The fine qualities of his heart and mind were woven into the fabric of his growing organization and succeeded in unifying all diverse elements. Peter McGuire was one of those devoted advocates of trade unionism who realized the consequences of the Knights of Labor in an effort to take over the functions of trade unions and he determined to invite the invaders to a finish. He had abandoned socialism which tried to lure men from practical purposes and became

a spokesman for unions. He, together with Samuel Gompers, Adolph Strausser and other founders are responsible for developing labor's economic power which secured for each group basic economic gains for higher standards of living with a hope of a better tomorrow. And with machinery set up for sustained progress, he wanted these things as do all devoted trade unionists so that wage earners might also be free and make decisions with courage and dignity.

When the leadership of Eugene V. Debs brought the pullman strike to a crisis, at which unions were asked to express their sympathy to a general strike, Peter McGuire joined with Samuel Gompers and other officials of the American Federation of Labor in declaring that such a strike was inexpedient, unwise and contrary to the best interests of the working people. Thereupon Sam established a policy toward this revolutionary tactic which had been repeatedly opposed a law to protect existing standards provided by union contracts. Revolutionary progress was established as the true procedure. Again this pioneer trade unionist broke new ground when he and Samuel Gompers served as first fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress in 1895. That regular exchange between the English speaking national labor organization has been most fruitful in good will and understanding, and forms a strong tie between our nations in emergencies as well as in times of prosperity. Labor founders established new traditions when McGuire, Gompers and W. D. Mahon assisted the United Mine Workers through strikes in both bituminous and anthracite industry.

These are only a few of the services which this devoted trade unionist contributed to the foundation of the American labor organization. Peter McGuire and other labor leaders tried to inspire their workers to be American citizens first so that they could be tried and true unionists always. They caused their workers to advance their economic interest through cooperation with other individuals and their political interest through persuasion and domination over the termination of a special interest political party. They urged instead that unions seek to convince national political organization of the justice and constructiveness of their program and procedure, so that provisions for labor's welfare would be an integral part of national policy. They were asked to support those who were friends to this policy and punish its enemies. What they began we have carried forward and coming generations will expand the whole structure in accord with their needs. Nothing on earth I care not what

it is will ever stop us from going on fighting, sacrificing, giving whatever we need to give in order to build the union that Peter McGuire and Sam Gompers established in America.

Address of

GEORGE MEANY

Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and friends:

This is to me a most unique occasion. Here are gathered in this little cemetery on the outskirts of one of our great industrial cities more than a thousand people to dedicate a monument and to pay tribute to a man who passed from this life 46 years ago. And who is this man?—a great military leader to whom we dedicate our monument, a great man of science, a great statesman or politician? No, we are here today to dedicate a monument to a simple American, to a worker, to a carpenter, to a man who was associated all his life with the common people. This is truly an American occasion where we pay tribute and where tribute is justly deserved. I wonder if Peter McGuire and Samuel Gompers realized in their lifetime just what they had achieved, just what contribution they had made to the building of this great nation. It can be truly said of these men they built far better than they knew. Yes, we are a great nation, we are a wealthy nation, wealthy in the standard of life of the great mass of our citizens, but where comes this wealth, where would we have been but for the Peter McGuires and Samuel Gompers and those associated in founding this great labor movement which brought to the common people of America a decent share of that which they produced. If we did not have this movement, if these men had not fought in the pioneer days, would we today be a wealthy nation? Where would be the great consuming purchasing power that enables us to produce and produce and produce. If it was up to the great captains of industry what kind of an economy would we have had today? Thanks to men like Peter McGuire we are today constantly moving forward; we are raising our standard of life; we are looking forward to greater progress.

Yes, I say to you today, when we dedicate this monument we should think of what we as Americans, not as trade unionists, owe to these men who brought up the American standard of life and who made it possible for us to

boast today that we are the greatest and wealthiest nation on earth; that we are able to make our contribution as a nation to the great cause of peace because we are strong and because we are free. When we look at this monument and we think of Peter McGuire we should also think of his work and what he has done for us. We should also think of what we are going to do with that movement which we inherited from him and those associated with him.

Yes, we should look back, but not with a feeling of complacency; not with a feeling of satisfaction. We should look back to the lives of these men and their experiences only for what knowledge we can gain in order to face the future and carry on the movement which they gave us. We must look forward. The ideals of our movements are the same now as they were when Peter McGuire and Sam Gompers founded the American Federation of Labor. We want decent working conditions and a decent share of the things which we produce. We are ready to meet any adversary on any field of battle to carry out that objective. The American Federation of Labor during its long history has made a record of meeting our enemy on practically every battlefield. We fought the company's spies; we fought the company thugs; we fought the anti-labor injunction; we fought the efforts to starve out our people and we can meet the battle of today on the legislative front. It is not a question of the objective, the objective of labor still remains the same. We must find the method; we must meet the enemy on the battlefield wherever he shows his head and it looks to me that the battlefield in the days ahead will be on the political front. If they can, by restrictive legislation, by restrictive laws in the Nation's capitol and in the various state capitols, take away from us the things that we have achieved in the movement given to us by Peter McGuire then they can bring us back to the 1850's and bring us down from the pinnacle of the proudest nation on earth to a nation that would have just two classes—a few in the high, wealthy brackets and the great mass of under-privileged.

I say to you today that we are not going back. In dedicating this monument today, we re-dedicate ourselves to the principles and ideals for which Peter McGuire and those associated with him stood. We are here to consecrate our lives to the furtherance of those ideals to carry on the simple trade union philosophy—the bread and butter philosophy of labor obtaining for the worker a fair share of that which he produces. If we do that, we make

our contribution to the great wealth of our nation. We make a contribution which makes our country great among nations. We make a contribution to the furtherance of world peace. I say we can do this and we should do it with the ideals and principles of Peter McGuire in mind. Thus, in dedicating this monument today ladies and gentlemen, let us also re-dedicate ourselves to the task which lies ahead.

Address By

RICHARD GRAY

President of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor

President Hutcheson, Honorable Secretary Tobin, relatives of Peter J. McGuire, fellow trade unionists and friends: It is with humility that I add my voice to those of the other speakers here today in paying tribute to the everlasting accomplishments of Peter J. McGuire. Brother McGuire was much more than the founder of the great United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Father of Labor Day. Indeed, well known to all of us the major role he played in bringing into being the American Federation of Labor. During his lifetime Brother McGuire accomplished many other worthwhile achievements for the working men and women, perhaps not as well known as those just mentioned, but in many ways more important to all of us.

Of all his great achievements for labor, one stands apart from the others. It is like a bright and illuminating North Star, which points the way among the many brilliant celestial bodies. If we would but raise our heads and seek out this bright star, we would learn much toward solving the many complex problems which confront us during these troubled times.

Brother McGuire's philosophy and way of life was dedicated to advancing the well being of all working men and women. His intellect and farsightedness were truly remarkable. His adult life was a model of trade unionism for all of us to emulate.

Permit me to illustrate why I sincerely believe that Brother McGuire's greatest achievement was his trade union philosophy and his way of life. Politics is a subject discussed by all of us, and naturally so with the National election a few months away. Here is what Brother McGuire said on the floor at the A. F. of L. Convention in 1898, just fifty-

four years ago, during a discussion of party politics, and I quote: "Because some of us stand firmly for the trade movement we are called pure and simple. Better any time a pure and simple trade unionist than an impure and complex confusionist. Vote for your friends." Those words, my friends, were chuck full of wisdom and are more true today than they were fifty-four years ago when uttered by our illustrious brother, Peter McGuire. His use of the words, "... impure and complex confusionists," would seem particularly applicable to the sponsors and advocates of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act. No one can deny the act is complex and that it has created confusion within our great trade union movement. There is a solution, and the message from Brother McGuire is quite clear. He says, and mind you he said this fifty-four years ago, "vote for your friends."

To carry this message to a natural and successful conclusion, we must fortify ourselves with facts and figures to ascertain which of those men who hold or aspire to hold public office are true friends of the working men and women of America. Let us not be too concerned with party affiliation, party platforms and promises, rather let us scrutinize the record to determine who are our friends. Let us avoid those who advocate an impure and complex confusionist's doctrine. Let us accept and follow the wise and far-sighted council of Brother McGuire, and each of us, in respect to his memory, re-dedicate our lives to being pure and simple trade unionists. Again, let us vote for our friends.

Hardly a day passes but that some spokesman of labor does not issue a plea for unity within the ranks of labor. These pleas for unity are not without cause. One need only review the many daily decisions of the National Labor Relations Board to be appraised as to the extent of the disorganization in the ranks of organized labor. The daily NLRB cases show not only CIO and AFL unions fighting each other for bargaining rights, but also many AFL unions filing unfair labor charges against each other. Indeed, my friends, there is cause for concern and alarm about the well being of organized labor, and it is high time that we pay heed to the advice of our departed friend, Peter J. McGuire.

Brother McGuire understood the virtues and dividends which flow from a united, organized union of workmen. Way back in 1881, when issuing a call for national union of competent carpenters, he said: "Single handed we can accomplish little, but united there is no power of wrong we cannot defy." That was

his unity message given to us some sixty-one years ago, like his intelligent, political instruction, these words are most appropriate today. We of organized labor have gained a great deal from our membership during the past fifty years and it has been possible only because we have united as one for our many crusades.

If we are to continue to advance the lot of the working men and women of America, let us recognize the elements which are at work doing their utmost to split organized labor into many small and divided camps. Let us heed the advice of Brother McGuire, and unite

all segments of organized labor under the banner of the great American Federation of Labor. If we succeed in this struggle for unity among the many segments of organized labor, and succeed we will, then as Brother McGuire pointed out sixty-one years ago, . . . "There is no power of wrong we cannot defy." And, my friends, in my humble opinion, that includes the Taft-Hartley Act and its many ramifications.

It has been a real pleasure for me to come here today and pay tribute to that great labor statesman and humanitarian, our beloved and respected Peter J. McGuire.

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